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4 December 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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MINISTER SPEAKS ON REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 84 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Prof Aleksandur Fol, minister of public education, by Slavka Antonova: "Realism and Innovation: During the New Academic Year a Comprehensive and Long-Range Solution to the Problems of Reorganizing the Educational System"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] A new holiday, the start of the academic year, has come within days after the celebrating of the jubilee of our socialist motherland. For the teacher and instructor as well as for the students from the 6-year-old 1st graders to the students in the institutions of higher learning, the work weeks are beginning in the classrooms and auditoriums.

Before the first day of school, the editorial representative Slavka Antonov spoke with the minister of public education, Prof Aleksandur Fol, on the tasks which the educational workers must carry out.

[Question] Comrade Fol, at the National Conference for Education Workers in July of the present year, the previous academic year was spoken of as a decisive moment along the path of reform. On what basis have such judgments been made?

[Answer] During the 1983-1984 academic year, all activities in the educational area were carried out under the impact of important events for our people, the national party conference and the 40th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Successful steps were taken along the path of reorganizing education in following the Theses of the BCP Central Committee adopted at the July (1979) Plenum. An integrated system of educational and indoctrinational work was introduced from the 1st to 3d grades for the ESPU [unified secondary vocational school] and curricula and syllabuses for the general educational and vocational training in the 11th grade. An initial experiment was carried out to combine freely chosen training with general requirements and electives.

We feel that the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was celebrated in a completely fitting manner by all the educational

workers. They are aware that what the Bulgarian people have achieved under the leadership of the BCP in all areas of life has been both the contribution and pride of the educational system.

[Question] Let us continue with a traditional question: On the eve of the new academic year are the teachers and faculties ready for viable work of high quality from the very first meetings with their students?

[Answer] The secondary and higher schools are now on the threshold of the new 1984-1985 academic year. The plan for admitting students to the various schools has been fulfilled. The school network has been brought into greater accord with the needs of the national economy for highly skilled workers and specialists. The teacher, faculty and leadership personnel is ready.

Each year the state allocates significant amounts to build a new physical plant for instruction and to modernize the existing one. According to the 1984 capital investment plan, around 165 million leva should be used. With these funds in 1984, 7,900 places will be completed and put into operation for full-day nurseries and around 800 classrooms for schools of all types and levels. The people's councils have promptly completed the routine repairs and major overhaul of the physical plant and classes will start in modern and clean buildings.

In line with the electronization of the educational process, in 1984-1985 there are plans to introduce into the educational system around 3,500 Pravets-82 personal computers. The 1985 graduating class both from the secondary and higher schools will be characterized by a better ability to handle electronic computer equipment and particularly the Bulgarian personal microcomputers. Preparations have started to provide the software for the computers both in the administration of education and in the educational process.

[Question] The public has shown great and justified interest in the new processes in education. The reform in this area is just beginning. What basic tasks will be carried out during this academic year? What positive changes are expected?

[Answer] In the new 1984-1985 academic year, a new curriculum will be introduced everywhere for educational work in the nurseries as well as new syllabuses and curricula in the 4th grade with a 5-day educational week.

There will be a further improvement in the vocational training centers, in job-polytechnical training, in vocational guidance and the vocational training of the younger generation. We will continue to improve the range of professional areas and specialties in accord with the needs of the economy and the strategic areas of scientific and technical progress (electronics, robotics, flexible automated systems, biotechnology and so forth).

In a spirit of the adjustments made in the curriculums and the given directions for improving the educational content, a maximum effort will be made to overcome the informational overload on the students. This problem remains one of the central ones for the following academic year.

All the higher schools which train educational personnel, as of this year, will operate under new syllabuses and curricula in order to provide unity among the psychological-pedagogical, scientific, procedural and vocational-practical training of the future teachers.

During the new academic year, the educational system as a whole must prepare conditions for converting to truly universal secondary education, it must qualitatively improve the skills of executor personnel and create forms and units for broadening the scope of these activities.

During the new academic year we must work hard on the scientific-procedural, personnel and material prerequisites for further reforming higher education.

[Question] The pending tasks truly require the full mobilization of the professional and moral forces of the teachers and instructors. But does this not mean that there must also be a complete change in the attitude toward the difficult tasks and the mastery of a new approach in carrying them out?

[Answer] Realism in resolving the complex problems of further reforming education is the basic approach during the new academic year. This means that we must go more profoundly into the essence and complexity of the phenomena and processes, we must think and act boldly, and comprehensively, with an eye to the future, carry out the tasks which stem from the Long-Range Program for Improving Quality adopted by the National Party Conference, the post-congress ideas of Comrade Todor Zhivkov as well as the Moscow Summit Conference of the CEMA Member Countries in June 1984.

It is also essential to more actively utilize certain basic factors for intensifying instruction. Of primary importance among them is the new educational content which is being constantly improved in order to provide the ideological, philosophical and intellectual development of the students.

An intense educational process cannot be achieved without modern teaching equipment. Let me repeat that we are proceeding more confidently than last year to introduce electronic computers and particularly the microcomputers into education.

The role of the student in the educational process, as an active partner, is another important condition for improving the quality and effectiveness of education. An ever-broader place is to be given to active forms of independent work, to solving creative, special-problem and applied practical assignments in debates and discussions, seminar exercises, conferences and so forth.

[Question] Can we expect a greater part played by the students in the educational process and in creating conditions to disclose and prove their creative abilities with instructors who do not possess high pedagogical and special training and a flare for modern requirements. Certainly a large portion of the Bulgarian teachers have shown their professional maturity. Yet what concerns will be shown to develop the creative capabilities of the instructors?

[Answer] Pedagogical creativity brings together the problems of vocational guidance, growth and self-affirmation. It is essential to approve the "Basic

Provisions for the Vocational Guidance of Young Men and Women Into the Teaching Profession" with new criteria for selecting the candidates. The aim is to establish a unified system which in practical terms utilizes the efforts of all social factors in order to direct the young men and women with visible pedagogical inclinations into this profession.

The improved skills of the pedagogical personnel during the new academic year will be subordinate to the basic ideas set out in the Long-Range Party Program for Improving Quality. Qualification will be carried out where it is most effective, that is, in the schools, in production itself, in scientific institutes, in specialized groups and so forth. Preference will be given to those types and forms of activity which provide instruction with no or partial leave from the former professional duties.

In a special decree the party, government and public organizations have taken extensive decisions in order to significantly increase the material incentives for all pedagogical personnel. This is one aspect. The other aspect, so to speak, the reverse effect of the document, has been truly very strong on all educational workers for whom it is a moral admonishment in the spirit of the Charter of the Bulgarian Teacher and demands boldness and competence from them in order to solve the creative problems of the indoctrination and education of the students.

[Question] In this process of improvement and creative rise, what will be the role of the communists and primary party organizations in the schools?

[Answer] It is becoming clearer and clearer that the role of the primary party organizations and the communists in all types and levels of schools will rise to the level of a historical imperative. This imperative is to protect the honor and the future of the socialist revolution through and in education so that, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov aptly put it, across this bridge generation after generation can pass in their advance toward communism. Personal responsibility and not the consideration of any exterior measures, professional discipline, professional noncomplacency and competence, implacability in the ideological struggle for the minds of the younger generation--these are the qualities which should now lead the pedagogical collectives.

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INTERNAL MINISTER STRESSES ROLE OF SECURITY FORCES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 84 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and minister of internal affairs, given at a ceremony devoted to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organizations, given on 14 September 1984 at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia: "Always Under Party Leadership, Always in the Service of the People"]

[Text] Respected comrades, dear friends. Just several days ago our people celebrated the 40th anniversary of the victorious 9 September Socialist Revolution. The magnificent celebrating of this brightest day in the 1,300-year history of Bulgaria became a vivid manifestation of the victories of the socialist social system, of the unshakable moral, political and social unity of the Bulgarian people and their solidarity with the general April line of the BCP; it became a demonstration of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of the consistent struggle to strengthen world peace and social progress.

With immeasurable warmth and trust our people have expressed their unbounded love and gratitude toward the BCP and to the great Soviet people and their Leninist Communist Party.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was a natural result of the many years of class battles by the party and the people against capitalism and fascism and achieved with the decisive aid of the Soviet Army.

The triumphant and optimistic words of the first party and state leader given at the ceremony on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria deeply moved the Bulgarian people and found a cherished and permanent place in their hearts. With clear and accurate generalizations, Comrade Todor Zhivkov disclosed the historic victories of socialism in our country and the creative forces and talent of our people.

"Over the four decades," he pointed out, "Bulgaria has fundamentally changed its appearance, and at present our small land has become an industrial-agrarian land, green and fertile, unified and rich, a paradise land, an exemplary land, a land to be envied! In this land socialism has been victorious finally and

irreversibly and in this land of ours the people live without suppression, without exploitation and without unemployment, under the conditions of social justness; the people live and create in a strong moral-political unity around the general April line and policy of the BCP. Inspired by the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, our people have entered the crucial period of building developed socialism. And there is no unprejudiced person who does not see that the society which we have created is the high point in the 1,300-year history of Bulgaria."

The role and importance of the April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and of the consistently carried out Leninist April line have been historic for the achieving of these revolutionary changes and victories.

Due to the April course, the creative and guiding activities of the BCP have been brought into accord with the objective laws of social development, confidence in the revolutionary and transforming force of the party has been strengthened, steady development rates have been achieved, the energy and creative initiative of the people have been unleashed, and real prerequisites and guarantees have been established for the ongoing improvement of social relations, for the further development of democracy, for the strictest observance of legality and for the full expression and realization of the socialist personality.

The general secretary of the Party Central Committee and the chairman of the State Council, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, has been the universally recognized strategist, organizer and inspirer of the Lenin April line and the faithful continuer of the great cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov. A great son of Bulgaria and the BCP, a major theoretician and organizer, a revered party and state leader for nearly three decades, Comrade Todor Zhivkov in a Leninist manner has worked out party strategy, he has enriched Marxism-Leninism, he has dialectically linked theory and practice and has ably led the party and state. His rich theoretical and practical activities have established him as a prominent and respected figure in the international communist and workers movement and as an eminent statesman.

Comrades. The establishing of the system of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] on the next day after the victory of the socialist revolution was a natural phenomenon and was of enormous political import.

On 10 September 1944, the Council of Ministers approved Decree No 1 which resolved to organize from the personnel of the rebel detachments new detachments of the MVR as one of the armed detachments of the dictatorship of the proletariat for defending people's [communist] power and for guaranteeing security and public order in the nation.

In establishing the MVR bodies, the BCP Central Committee was following the view of V. I. Lenin that "any revolution makes sense only if it is able to protect itself."

The right and high trust of becoming fighters on the front of defending security and socialist public order was won by some of the most faithful sons and daughters of the party and people and tempered in the years-long and fierce battles

against the class enemies. These included partisans, illegal party workers, political prisoners, partisan supporters, helpers, active figures of the party and the Komsomol as well as loyal and honest Bulgarian patriots. They defended the cause of socialism with the same dedication with which they participated in the struggle against fascism and capitalism.

Even during the first days after 9 September 1944, Georgi Dimitrov had shown exceptional interest and concern for setting up the MVR bodies, he determined their tasks and directly led their diverse and responsible activities. "We cannot conceive of the correct and democratic development of Bulgaria in socio-political life and in the area of security," emphasized Georgi Dimitrov, "without strong, disciplined and enlightened MVR bodies."

We are proud that the name of Comrade Todor Zhivkov is linked both with the founding as well as the further establishing and developing of the MVR bodies. The first Staff of the People's Police in Sofia was organized and worked under his direct supervision.

Such prominent figures in the BCP as Comrades Stanko Todorov, Dobri Dzhurov, Boyan Bulgaranov, Vladimir Bonev, Dimo Dichev, Encho Staykov, Radenko Vidinskiy, Khristo Boev and Kapriel Kaprielov also emerged from the founders of the MVR. In the central and territorial administrations of the MVR, the party promoted as leaders responsible party figures and partisan commanders.

Just 20 days after the historic victory on 9 September 1944, Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the party organ RABOTNICHESKO DELO published an article, "Our People's Police," which explained the essence and tasks of the police. "In a crucial historical moment," he wrote, "during the days of the great war to save the motherland from the German hordes, responsible tasks have been placed on the People's Police. These are:

"...To be fully in the service of the authorities of the Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian people to defend its rights, freedoms and interests.

"The People's Police is at the disposal of the people. The people are at the disposal of the People's Police. The people and the police are a single whole and must be a single whole.

"The people will be the supreme controller of the deeds of their offspring, the People's Police."

Thus, our party has indoctrinated the MVR workers and bodies in the ability to protect and defend its victories.

The MVR bodies have correctly understood their place in carrying out the instructions of the Central Committee and government. They have waged a merciless struggle to defeat the bourgeois state machine and political system. They successfully carried out the task set by the party of eliminating the reactionary fascist organizations and neutralizing the provocateurs, pillagers, black marketeers and speculators. Crushing blows were dealt to the reaction and in a short period of time the military-fascist conspiratorial organizations such as King Krum, Neutral Officer and Military Alliance had been rendered harmless.

Inscribed in our combat chronicle was the elimination of the counterrevolutionary organizations and the leaders of foreign enemy centers of sabotage, treason and political banditry.

With tenacity and self-sacrifice, with total dedication to the party and people, the workers of the MVR protected the socialist revolution and people's power. Thus they established the strong bases for the militant traditions of our ministry.

The process of renewal commenced after the historic April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee also had a strong beneficial and constructive force on the MRV bodies. All their activities were placed under the immediate leadership and control of the party Central Committee. The content, purpose and nature of the functions and tasks carried out by them were enriched. Their ties with the workers were strengthened and deepened and the social [voluntary] principle was broadened. Broad scope was given to the initiative and creativity of the personnel with the strictest and unswerving observance of socialist legality and the creative application of the Leninist style and methods of work and leadership.

At present, the MRV is a modern organized system in the state apparatus and social administration. In it the revolutionary traditions and virtues of the party and people are safeguarded and developed. Efforts have been made to improve the activities of the MRV bodies in all areas and to raise them up to the level of the present-day complex and responsible tasks which the party and the socialist state are carrying out.

In recent years, the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the government have adopted important decisions and enforceable enactments which form a solid political and legal basis for improving the operational, investigatory, security and administrative activities of the ministry.

Over the past 40 years, our people have not only built a new socialist Bulgaria but have also shown maximum vigilance, heroism and dedication to defending their state against the encroachments of the domestic and foreign enemies. The historic path followed by the Bulgarian people in the struggle to build and strengthen a socialist social system is the path which has also been followed by the MRV bodies. Under the party's leadership and concern, they have successfully carried out their basic obligations of providing conditions for peaceful and creative labor.

State security made a number of attacks which unmasked and rendered harmless a number of agents and emissaries from the enemy special services. Ever more skillfully they have parried the attempts to carry out espionage, terrorist, smuggling, ideological and other subversive and corrupting activities.

The workers of the People's Police have successfully combated crime to protect socialist and private property, the individual, the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens. The perpetrators of crime have been promptly discovered and a healthy social order has been provided.

The glorious border guards vigilantly and courageously are on guard and ensure the inviolability of the state frontier.

Our fire fighters worthily protect the enormous social wealth, the life and property of the citizens against the disaster of fire.

All the positive results and victories of the MVR and its bodies over the last 40 years are due to the unstinting labor and dedication of the workers who are communists and Komsomol members and to the broad support from the workers. They have been achieved under the leadership and supervision of the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally. All the employees of the ministry are infinitely grateful and cognizant of the unceasing concern, attention and confidence which have been shown to us and for the systematic and concrete leadership and support in the present-day building up and development of the MVR.

Allow me to assure the Central Committee of our party, the Politburo and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally that we, the employees of the MVR, are united and have closed ranks around the general April line of the party and that in the future we will participate wholeheartedly in the struggle to defend and build a strong socialist society in our country and for the flourishing of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Comrades. The BCP has carried out enormous theoretical, political and organizational work in fulfilling the decisions of the 12th Congress to create a modern material-technical base, to consistently apply the new economic approach and its mechanism, to carry out intensification everywhere and introduce the peak scientific and technical achievements, to improve the political system, democracy, legality and administration, to better the quality of all spheres of material and spiritual life and to shape and indoctrinate a well-rounded socialist personality.

The new theoretical ideas and the practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov concerning the patterns of mature socialism, the political and scientific approach, the scientific and technical revolution as the crucial factor for social progress, the owner and master of socialist property, the further increasing of the standard of living and the development of socialist democracy, raising the education and skills of the personnel, strengthening discipline and raising exactingness and responsibility are of strategic significance for creating a developed socialist society.

The workers and fighters of the MVR have accepted the new party plans with profound inner conviction as their own fighting program and are actively working to carry them out. A number of programs have also been worked out and are being implemented to improve the activities of the MVR bodies, for their even more effective participation in realizing the protective and creative function of the socialist state, and to increase their contribution to the further development of the political system, social relations and socialist democracy.

Protection of the security and public order in Bulgaria is a question which involves the interests of the entire people. Precisely this determines the profound democratic nature of the activities of the MVR bodies. They do not and

cannot have other goals aside from protecting the victories of the 9 September Socialist Revolution and the victories of the Bulgarian working people. The MVR employees realize that in thwarting any encroachment on our socialist state, they are acting in the interests of all society. The MVR bodies have been set up by the people themselves for their self-defense against the intrigues of the imperialist intelligence services and the actions of hostile elements. They have organized their work on the principles of socialist democracy and humanism and are under the constant control of the people, the BCP and the government.

In accord with the requirements of the party, the Constitution as well as with their humane essence and goals, the basic area in the activities of the MVR bodies is broad preventive activities to indoctrinate and protect the citizens against harmful actions even before the standards of the socialist law have been violated. These activities conform most fully to the fundamental interests of the socialist society and play an important role in eliminating the causes and conditions which can give rise to antisocialist actions and other negative manifestations.

A further improvement in the effectiveness of preventive work requires the carrying out of scientifically sound and systematic research on the causes and conditions which give rise to negative phenomena and crime, a study of social contradictions and their prompt disclosure and resolution. In this area the MVR bodies in the future will rely widely on the workers and will collaborate most closely with the other state and public bodies and organizations, with the scientific and cultural institutions and the mass information media.

The increased sociopolitical and moral criteria, the growing implacability of the citizens against negative phenomena and any unworthy action which encroaches on the honor and dignity of the working man have created a new social situation and require an even more decisive struggle for limiting and reducing crime, violations of the law and other antisocial actions.

For this reason, we feel that in the future one of the main areas in the activities of the MVR bodies must be a consistent, competent and offensive struggle against criminal encroachments on the individual, private and public property, the maintaining of strong public order and calmness among the citizens. All of this is an inseparable part of the efforts to further raise the standard of living of our people, to increase their capacity for labor and social activeness and to establish the socialist way of life.

Under the leadership of the BCP Central Committee and the government, the new economic approach and mechanism have been applied consistently and everywhere and these reflect the objective needs of social development. The qualitatively new party tenet of the state owner and the proprietor labor collective is of fundamental significance for forming the new approach, for its correct understanding, application and improvement. Also deriving from these party tenets are the new tasks for the MVR bodies related to the protection, defense and development of the economy. These are determined by the functions of the state and conform fully to the interests of the labor collectives and the economic and administrative leadership for high effectiveness and quality, for production development and for introducing the peak scientific and technical achievements.

In the future it is essential to strengthen the ties of the MVR bodies with the labor collectives and economic organizations, to provide them competent help in organizing the protection of socialist property and seek their aid in combating embezzlement, theft, mismanagement, emergencies, disasters and fires which reduce the economic effect in production. We must more deeply study the processes and phenomena in the economy and improve the information and analytical activities and the alerting functions to the party, state, economic leaders and labor collectives. The MVR bodies in the future will work more actively and uncompromisingly to protect the socialist economy against criminal encroachments and to secure and recover the losses caused to the state and economic organizations.

Comrades. The tasks of the MVR bodies in the area of exercising the protective function of the state and for defending the socialist victories of our people are of primary significance. These are becoming even more pressing at present when the external threat to the security of Bulgaria and the other socialist commonwealth countries is growing.

As is known, due to the fault of the ruling circles of the United States and the NATO countries, the international situation is exacerbated to the extreme.

The development of international events fully confirms the fundamental judgments contained in the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Member States of 5 January 1983, the Moscow Joint Declaration approved on 28 June 1983 and the Declaration of the CEMA Member Nations of 14 June 1984. The course of confrontation followed by the warmongering circles of imperialism and primarily America has increased seriously the tension in the world and has disrupted the normal development of international political and economic relations. The established historical realities and agreements since the end of World War II have been placed in question. These actions also undermine the Helsinki Agreements. This aggressive policy has been accompanied by military preparations such as the deployment of the Pershing nuclear missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe and the programs for militarizing space and utilizing chemical weapons. This is expressed in the brutal invasion and suppression of freedom in Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua and the people of El Salvador, in the unceasing provocations against Cuba, in the ruthless actions of the American military in Lebanon and the Near East and the attempts to destabilize a number of other countries.

The USSR, Bulgaria and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth firmly and consistently defend the position that peaceful development, coexistence and collaboration between different states and peoples are fully possible with an honest, constructive approach and clear political will.

The socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union has come forward with a whole series of initiatives to reduce and ultimately eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons, to ban the militarization of space, to reduce expenditures on military purposes, to move on to disarmament and the signing of a treaty for the mutual renunciation of force and for maintaining peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

In this context, of enormous significance for the world of today are the clear and categorical positions of the Soviet Union expressed by the general Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko: "In the present," he stated, "extremely tense international situation we clearly declare that the Soviet Union will continue to carry out a policy of peace, a peace that is lasting and just for all peoples, large and small.... But anyone who thinks that we are in favor of peace because we are weak risks a fatal error. No believers in military adventures will succeed in catching us unprepared and no potential aggressor can hope that he will avoid a devastating retaliatory strike."

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is taking an active part in the efforts to improve the political climate in the world, in Europe and primarily in the Balkans. The steps undertaken by our party and state leadership to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons have received and are receiving broad recognition and approval.

Socialist Bulgaria as a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA is doing everything necessary to achieve a decisive turn toward peace and disarmament and at the same time is taking the necessary measures to strengthen its security and defense might.

The aggressive foreign policy course of the U.S. administration has been accompanied by attempts of unprecedented scope to instigate an ideological offensive against the socialist countries and this has already assumed the nature of total psychological warfare. In this regard, a special role is played by the intelligence and other special services of the United States and the NATO countries and their ideological subversive centers.

American imperialism and the NATO countries more and more are endeavoring to destabilize and disrupt the economic life of the socialist and developing countries to ruin their economic development plans and to cause harm to foreign trade and international economic collaboration. They are also showing a greater intelligence interest in the questions of the political, economic and scientific-technical development of our country and particularly its defense capability.

Moreover, they are attempting to intervene openly in the domestic affairs of the socialist and developing countries. These measures are aimed at fostering political and social inertia, at belittling and denying the achievements of real socialism and its spiritual values and at provoking antistate actions and creating centers of hostile activity. For these purposes, they are utilizing the entire ideological arsenal of anticommunism and the old and new means of fighting against socialism. In their subversive activities, the United States and the NATO countries more and more frequently are resorting to extremist forms, including terror. The ruling circles in the United States and the CIA are carrying out subversive and terroristic actions and operations to destabilize the political and state life in a number of countries. At the same time they are organizing noisy propaganda campaigns in order to accuse other countries of terroristic activities as well as weapons and drug trafficking.

In recent years, the United States and certain Western states have systematically carried out carefully prepared and staged outbursts of hegemonism, spy hysteria, hysterical statements and slander. Characteristic in this regard has been the international provocation against Bulgaria in the so-called "Antonov Case" which was inspired by extremist circles in the United States and NATO with the aid of the CIA and the other Western special services.

The leading circles of the United States and NATO have undertaken a number of measures to reorganize their propaganda machine, in giving particular attention to working out and implementing special programs for their ideological subversive centers and are attempting to establish channels for sending subversive propaganda literature and are increasing the activities of their emissaries who have been given special assignments to inspire antisocialist activities.

Experience has shown that regardless of the enormous material outlays and the scope of the conducted actions and operations, the class enemy has not achieved the desired subversive results. All its attempts to carry out its criminal plans have encountered the strong moral and political unity of our people and their closest solidarity with the BCP and its Central Committee.

In protecting the interests of the socialist society, the State Security bodies in the future will focus their efforts on the actions of the main organizers of espionage and ideological subversion, that is, the special services and the ideological subversive centers of the imperialist powers. The struggle against them has the most decisive and uncompromising nature. It requires that we increase more and more our political vigilance and the effectiveness of the measures to defeat the actions of the enemy's intelligence and ideological centers.

All our ideological front and all our community are fighting and must fight evermore firmly against the ideological subversion of imperialism. At the same time this struggle more and more is becoming one of the basic lines in the activities of the State Security bodies.

It is the high political and patriotic duty of the bodies evermore skillfully and promptly to unmask the perfidious methods and attempts by the enemy to spread the germs of ideological corruption, moral degradation and ideological confusion.

The State Security workers are well aware that the struggle against the ideological subversion of imperialism is primarily political work and they themselves are the party's political fighters at the hottest points of the class struggle.

To guarantee the security and public order, we in the future will work most closely with our comrades in arms from the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Justice, the Chief Prosecutor and Supreme Court. As up to now, so in the future we will seek out and rely on the aid and collaboration with the fatherland front, the Komsomol, the Bulgarian trade unions, the volunteer detachments of workers and all our public. Deep ties with the workers have been and will be our source of strength and guarantee for new successes in all our activities.

Allow me to express profoundest gratitude and thanks to all for the all-round support and aid which have been given us. We are confident that in the future our common activities will be even more beneficial.

The BCP has always shown consistent and effective internationalism, it has always indoctrinated its cadres and workers in loyalty and dedication to the cause of the international communist and workers movement and has completely strengthened and developed friendship and collaboration with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist commonwealth nations.

Friendship and unity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU at present remain the cornerstone of the domestic and foreign policy of the BCP and an objective pattern in the historical development of Bulgaria.

In all the stages of establishing and developing the MVR bodies, we have obtained the aid and support of our Soviet comrades. The enormous experience of the bodies of the KGB [State Security Committee] and the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] with whom we maintain a pure and sacred friendship has been an inexhaustible source for mastering operational theory and practice and for increasing the professional training of the MVR workers.

On the day of our holiday, let us express our profound gratitude and sincere thanks to the Soviet brothers and comrades in arms for their great responsiveness and comradely mutual aid.

We also send our fighting greetings to the security and public order bodies of the other socialist countries with whom we are fighting together for our great cause.

Comrades. Directly after the 9 September Socialist Revolution, the party clearly outlined the most important principles and activities for the MVR: total dedication to the cause of the revolution, close ties with the people, unswerving loyalty to the party and communist power, legitimacy and firmness in the struggle against the class enemies and high proletarian humanism. These democratic principles have been and remain now the basis of activities for the ministry's employees.

Under the leadership of the BCP, in the struggle for defending the socialist victories of the heroic Bulgarian working people, tested cadres, employees and fighters of the MVR have grown up and been tempered. Linked to their activities is the image living in the people of the MVR worker, a passionate revolutionary, a person of purest honesty and personal courage, implacable in the struggle against the enemies, severe for the sake of duty and humane, ready for self-sacrifice in the name of the people's cause to which he has devoted his life.

The employees and fighters of the MVR consider as their highest duty to maintain this pure and bright image and to be faithful to it in all their activities.

Among us, in this large and attractive auditorium, as well as in all the corners of our socialist motherland there are thousands of comrades for whom the first steps of the MVR bodies, the first fierce clashes with the enemy and the struggles to confirm our present were not merely history but their fate, the sense and content of all their aware life.

On behalf of the collegium and the rayon party committee, let us voice our sincere gratitude to the MVR veterans. We are firmly convinced that in the future they will be constantly in our battle formation.

In this solemn hour, let us pay proper honor and profound respect to the memories of our fighting comrades who gave up the most cherished thing, their lives, in carrying out their party and official duty. Their revolutionary path and cause will be eternally alive and are an inspiring example for emulation.

An exceptionally important victory for us that, in steadily following the general April line, the MVR has carried out a consistent policy of unification, respect and trust for the various generations of cadres, and for establishing the necessary prerequisites and conditions for their correct recruitment, training, indoctrination and realization. The revolutionary experience, the political class-party tempering and loyalty to the party's cause, the wisdom and operational skill of the senior cadres who have been tested in the class struggles are being passed on to the younger generation and are being combined with their modern ideological-political, scientific and operational training.

The integrated activities of the MVR bodies require a constant rise in the professional training of the personnel and greater discipline and the capacity to work under modern conditions. We must deepen intellectualization on the basis of modern scientific and technical achievements and constantly broaden the political viewpoint of each employee. We must decisively eliminate routine and rote, we must provide scope for creativity and ardor in work, operational theory and practice must be enriched and greater attention must be paid to the study and application of positive experience.

The process of greater ideologization is essential and obligatory for the officers, employees and fighters in the MVR system. This must be constantly broadened and enriched and lead to the formation of a consistent and active political position in each employee and fighter, to a feeling for the new and the ability to take correct and purposeful decisions in the most complex situations.

Permit me, comrades, on the day of the militant holiday of the MVR, on behalf of the collegium and the BCP Rayon Committee, to warmly and sincerely congratulate all the employees and wish them and their families good health, good cheer and new successes in their responsible, humane and noble activities.

The supreme order in our intense work is the motto taken from the oath: "Always under the leadership of the party, always in the service of the people." For this reason there is no higher reward for us than the positive praise given by the 12th BCP Congress to the labor of the employees and soldiers of the MVR. This praise inspires, animates and mobilizes us to new deeds and we will not spare either our forces, knowledge and labor to be worthy of the party's trust and will always be the steel shield and sword of the victoriously advancing socialist revolution.

Long live the leader, inspirer and organizer of our socialist ascent, the BCP, and its Dimitrov Central Committee headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov!

Long live the glorious Leninist CPSU and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Konstantin Chernenko!

May our dear fatherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria have long life, greater strength and endure over the centuries!

Happy holiday, dear comrades!

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PROPER MAINTENANCE, REAR SUPPORT FOR AIR OPERATIONS URGED

Better Aircraft Maintenance

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Sep 84 p 1

[Editorial: "With Concern and Respect for Aviation Equipment"]

[Text] The Bulgarian People's Army [BNA] possesses powerful combat potential, the rapid and complete realization of which in the aim of repelling possible aggression is most vividly expressed in constant combat readiness. This is determined primarily by the quality of the field, air and sea training of the personnel, upon the degree to which they have mastered the weapons and combat equipment assigned to them and upon the discipline and organization of the troops. Combat readiness like a focus reflects the devotion and concern of our people to provide our army with everything necessary for life and combat, the awareness and concrete professional abilities of the officers, sergeants and soldiers.

As an inseparable part of the Armed Forces, the Air Defense Troops and Air Forces night and day carry out intense combat training work. Aviation operates under conditions close to actual combat, with practice firing at ground and air targets and in close cooperation with the units of other branches of troops. In the course of the daytime and nighttime flights, the air fighters improve their tactical, gunnery and flight skills. Their first assistants are the engineers, technicians and other air specialists whom we rightly term the masters of the aircraft. It is their job to prepare the equipment for take-off and combat employment in a short period of time and with a high degree of safety.

At present, our combat aviation is armed with supersonic aircraft of varying modifications, modern helicopters which incorporate the most recent achievements of science and technology. The sight-navigation, pilot-navigation and electronic systems with which the modern aircraft are supplied, the increased thrust-to-weight ratio of the aircraft, as well as the improved aerodynamic performance and ability to carry a high combat load have increased the striking power of the aviation by several-fold. At the same time, this has further increased the role and importance of the ground services and has necessitated the revising of certain aspects in the training of the engineers and technicians in maintaining the aviation equipment.

In order to have the aircraft and helicopters excellently readied for flights under the conditions of increased combat preparation, the air specialists must possess high technical skills, discipline in observing the operating and maintenance rules of the aviation equipment and weaponry, high awareness and a feeling of personal responsibility for flight safety, for the life of the pilots and for successfully carrying out the task given to them.

The past months of the training year indicate that the combat training plans have been carried out without emergencies and near misses where the equipment and weaponry are maintained in an exemplary state. As a rule, in these subunits the questions of dependable preparation of the aircraft and helicopters for the flights are constantly in the field of view of the commanders, the political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations.

Each year the units receive aviation specialists who are graduates from the Georgi Benkovskiy VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force School] and the Secondary Sergeants Air Force School. It is the duty of the senior chiefs and more experienced specialists to pay particular attention to their combat development, in effectively familiarizing them with various undertakings arising out of the initiative of the leading military collectives, in boldly utilizing moral and material commendations for the best officers and sergeants.

The equipment operating units under the corresponding formations hold an exceptionally important place in maintaining the aviation equipment in proper working order and safely. Many of them have already acquired significant experience in organizing the production process and in carrying out adjustments and repairs precisely and in minimum time.

Directed by the requirements of the National Party Conference, specialists from various formations have done a good deal to further improve the quality of the preliminary preparation of the aviation equipment for flights. At the same time in individual areas, substantial shortcomings have been permitted and these have been based upon violations of the rules for preparing the aircraft and helicopters for flight. For example, due to the poor quality inspection of aviation equipment by MSgt Vulkov, the left wheel of the aircraft did not retract and this created a threat to the successful conclusion of the flight. Insufficient supervision by the senior flight technician Lt Filipov led to a substantial omission in the preparation of one of the helicopter gunships and this nearly led to an accident. Instances of poor quality preliminary flight preparation of the aviation equipment and ground supervision by the leading specialists have also occurred in the air unit where Officer Tsokov serves.

The commanders, political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations must pay unflinching attention to the questions related to training highly skilled air specialists who are fond of their difficult but glorious profession and by all forms of party political and indoctrinational work develop in them a feeling of responsibility for carrying out the tasks entrusted to them to maintain the equipment in constant readiness for combat.

In developing a broad socialist competition, the personnel of the air engineer service of our Air Forces is waging a constant struggle to further raise the combat readiness of the units, it is endeavoring to strengthen and add to the

results achieved in honor of the glorious 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and to celebrate the approaching jubilee holiday of the BNA by new successes in military and political training.

Air Rear Services in Operations

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Military Sciences, Maj Gen Dimitur Velinov: "The Rear Services in Modern War"]

[Text] The history of all wars and particularly World War II has shown in a categorical way that for waging them colossal amounts of materiel are required. Each belligerent provides and creates this materiel for its army and for defense as a whole, depending upon its economy and its development level in peacetime.

This requires that the organizers supply the men with food, clothing, shelter, equipment, fuel for the equipment and maintain the same in proper working order and that they supply the subunits with the necessary ammunition and other military gear.

This is approximately how the picture looks with a situation where a country and its economy must move from peacetime to a wartime footing. This transition will depend upon the ability of its organizers as well as upon the existing situation.

All the activities which are involved here must, to put it figuratively, pass through the hands of the rear bodies of the appropriate units and facilities to assume a form convenient for use by the troops. During the first days of a mobilization, a significant portion of the troops will still be fed under conditions close to peacetime, that is, without any particular difficulties. But clearly this period will be short, because it will be necessary to quickly move into the designated areas, to deploy, to anticipate the enemy and the situation, and if need be, enter into battle.

All that has been said up to now applies fully to the rear of the air defenses and Air Forces. The correct anticipation of these questions provides an opportunity to consider that more than ever before the transporting of the materiel must be done ahead of time because this materiel is enormous in volume and weight and its movement in the shortened times is almost impossible when the situation requires. The transporting of materiel during combat is harder to carry out due to the great destruction of railroads and highways, enemy actions, the concentrating of the second echelon formations and so forth.

At a recently held exercise under the leadership of Officer Kumsiyski, the organizing of an air subunit was demonstrated with everything necessary for a repeat flight: fuel, compressed gases and ammunition. The leadership of the exercise had high praise for the actions of the men. The excellence and effectiveness of Officer Georgiev were commended in directing the rear command post.

The technical flight support during the mentioned exercise also conformed to the high level of modern combat and Officers Tomov and Kharalampiev were largely responsible for this.

At the same time, one cannot help but point out certain shortcomings related primarily to the violating of march discipline during transport, individual delays in the delivery of materiel to the supply points and so forth and which in an actual wartime situation could have had fatal consequences....

While prior to World War II the great Soviet military leader Frunze had said that "in a future war more and more frequently operational-tactical questions will pass through the operational rear units," and this was confirmed by the great testing imposed on the USSR and the socialist system both in the heavy defensive battles as well as in the major offensive operations of the Soviet Army in defeating the Nazi military machine, at present one can say with even greater justification that without operational rear service it would be impossible to successfully resolve operational-tactical questions in a future war.

In air defense and air operations, the rear services of the air defense and Air Forces will be subjected to the greatest dynamicness. The material losses which the troops can suffer in the first air attacks by the aggressor will cause moments of crisis in the support of the air enemy [sic], and will demand that the rear services supply fuels, lubricants and all types of ammunition and other sorts of support including quartermaster, medical, airfield-engineer and so forth in order for the troops to conduct successful combat operations.

Even during the first minutes it will be imperative to maneuver the aviation in shifting to alternate airfields due to the knocking out of the basic ones or required by the overall plan of combat operations.

When the offensive troop operations start and aviation supports their combat operations with greater intensity of aircraft testing, the situation will be even more complex. Here the rear services of air defense and the Air Forces must be quickly reorganized for transporting and supplying materiel particularly where the given operation is being carried out. The axis for transporting the materiel to fully supply combat operations must also be concentrated on the main sector. The transport "leg" must be the shortest possible in order to deliver materiel daily to the most forward airfields or to those from which the most intense air operations are carried out. However, this cannot be continued indefinitely because with the advance of the ground troops and the capturing of new territories, the delivery of materiel becomes more and more difficult. The circumstances for this are rooted in the fact that the distance from the central supply depots (dumps) will increase significantly and the transport time will rise.

In conclusion, we must emphasize that the rear services of air defense and the Air Forces with their particular features will have a decisive influence on the course of combat operations. If these circumstances are anticipated in peacetime and are skillfully resolved in a modern war, they will be of substantial aid in forging a victory over a strong and perfidious enemy.

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DEVELOPMENT OF AIR FORCE OUTLINED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 pp 11-14

[Article by Lt Gen Strakhil Mladenov: "Forty Years of Socialist Air Force"]

[Text] Socialist Bulgaria is the embodiment of everything valuable and lasting created by the talent of the people in the course of their century-old history. Today's generation has not only the privilege but the responsibility of looking at the heroic past and the happy present and communist future. The 40th anniversary of our socialist revolution and of its precious offspring--the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army]--stands at the peak of the contemporary socialist panoramic view.

It is with legitimate pride that air force commanders and troops note their new socialist calendar. The combat road of the air force is a glorious and heroic one. As the descendants of the great traditions and revolutionary passion of the antifascist heroes, they are profoundly tied to the patriotic cause of the daring military pilots Radul Milkov and Prodan Tarakchiev, who laid the foundations of the Bulgarian Air Force more than 70 years ago. This has been a path of building, advancement and steady strengthening. The 9 September 1944 victory laid the foundations of the future new socialist Bulgarian Air Force, which became a reliable guardian of the achievements of the people and of the purity of the blue Bulgarian skies within a short period of time.

Profound revolutionary changes were made under BCP leadership, which brought about a revolutionary transformation and radical changes in the class nature of the old air force, converting it into an air force of a new socialist type.

Thanks to the organizational work done by the party and the concern and personal attention of Georgi Dimitrov, our air force participated in the Patriotic War and made its contribution to the faster victory. This was the first combat test of the newly created socialist air force, which fought shoulder to shoulder and wing to wing with the famous Soviet fliers of the 17th Air Army.

The starting of a peaceful life created favorable conditions for the reorganization of the air force on the basis of the rich experience of the Soviet army. In this respect the party helped successfully to resolve problems such as the training of new air force cadres, equipping the air

force with new modern Soviet ordnance, and making the organizational structure of aviation units and subunits consistent with the requirements of contemporary military science.

A new content was introduced in the training and upbringing of the personnel. Within a short time, despite difficult circumstances, hundreds of new pilots, navigators, aviation technicians and other specialists from the people were trained. Loyal party sons, trained by the Soviet air force, such as Zakhari Zakhariyev, Kiril Kirilov, Avgust Kabakchiev and others were promoted to leading positions in the air force. Displaying tireless energy, they implemented the party's decisions on the development of the air force.

The physically worn-out and morally obsolete disparate aviation equipment was replaced by a large number of new modern Soviet aircraft.

The Soviet Union and its air force provided invaluable help in the creation and development of the Bulgarian Air Force, expressed in a number of directions: at first by supplying us with aviation equipment, sharing experience with the help of Soviet aviation specialists and instructors, training our cadres in Soviet military schools, reciprocal visits of delegations for the exchange of experience, etc.

The first Soviet advisers made an invaluable contribution to our air force: Major General Yer'omin, Major General Petrukhin, Major General Vishnyakov, Colonel Subotin, Colonel Sukhachov, Colonel Sinitskiy, Colonel Shishenok, Colonel Yakhnov and the many others who followed them.

G. Dimitrov, the leader of the Bulgarian people, deserves tremendous credit for the development of the Bulgarian Socialist Air Force. Immediately after his return to the homeland he deemed it necessary to address the Bulgarian fliers as follows: "You, who are going into the air force and the army, must well remember that you were educated in the land of socialism. Do not forget that you are communists!" On his insistence and with his personal guidance the BCP Central Committee Politburo dealt especially with the problem of political work in the air force and marked specific steps aimed at decisively enhancing the combat capability and readiness of the air force.

The historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum had a particularly beneficial influence on the further growth and strengthening of the air force. It unleashed the creative forces of the party and people in all areas of social life, including the military.

During that period great credit must be given to the contribution of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the elaboration of the party's military policy and, subsequently, the practical solution of a number of very important problems related to the development of the armed forces and the air force and the training and upbringing of the personnel. Particularly important in this respect was the October 1958 BCP Central Committee Plenum. Its decisions were not only of tremendous importance in the implementation of the April line in army life but also in contributing to the further development of the party's military affairs policy.

The country's increased economic possibilities, related to the April line, had a particularly beneficial impact on the development of the air force.

During the 1950s our air force began to be extensively supplied with jet aircraft. This marked the beginning of a new stage in its development.

Today our air force is equipped with modern Soviet supersonic aircraft, helicopters and automated control systems. Steady efforts are being made to enhance flying skills and tactical and specialized training. The rich experience and achievements of the Soviet air force are extensively studied and applied in daily activities in improving piloting techniques, complex and superior piloting and enhancing flight skills and the ability to carry out assignments under all weather conditions and in complex situations in the air. As a result, our aviation has drastically increased its combat possibilities. Today it is successfully fulfilling assignments on low and extremely low altitudes or in the stratosphere, over land and sea, day or night, under simple or complex meteorological conditions. The efforts of military fliers who spared no effort and time in carrying out their assignments in the spirit of the party's requirements of enhancing and maintaining high combat readiness are worthy of respect. Many are our commanders and specialists who should be singled out for the high successes they have achieved in combat and political training. This includes officers Yovchev, Dochev, Vladimirov, Gerasimov, Asenov, Tanchev, Iliev, Zhechev, Kovachev, Penchev and many others.

The party allocated substantial funds and paid particular attention to expanding, enriching and updating the classroom and field training-material facilities. The troops have a number of training classrooms, simulators and altitude and guard facilities. They are armed with modern technical instruments and help to enhance the quality and efficiency of the training and flight activities and control.

The cadres, whose appearance has changed drastically, are the greatest accomplishment and wealth of the air force. The antiaircraft and air force troops are staffed with well-trained, ideologically tempered aviation cadres, loyal to death to the party and the people. Today they have excellent and highly trained commanders, staff, communications and rear line officers, political workers, fliers and aviation specialists. The overwhelming percentage of them are graduates of the G. Benkovski VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force Academy] and other academies both in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Today more than 85 percent of the officers are university graduates.

Great changes have taken place in the rank and file and noncommissioned personnel. Our sergeants and troops are young people with high educational and cultural standards and steadily growing interest in science and technology, capable of excellently mastering the most complex combat equipment and armaments.

The concern shown by the BCP in developing and strengthening the air force is also manifested in improving the living conditions and material support of the troops. Many new dormitories, mess halls, washing and laundry combines,

and others have been built in accordance with the December program. During the past few years alone hundreds of new modern apartments have been built for military personnel and their families. Substantial improvements have been made in the feeding of the draftees. Prices in the messes for officers, master sergeants, sergeants and their families have been reduced considerably. Great concern is shown for the cultural development of the personnel.

The main and determining features in the steady concern shown by our party for the development of the air force is communist idea-mindedness in the education of the personnel, which is united and closely rallied around the April line of the party's Central Committee. More than 90 percent of the officers are BCP members. They are guided in their daily command-organizing and political work for upgrading the combat and mobilization readiness of the troops by the stipulations and resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the National and 15th All-Army Party conferences.

The prime concern of all party members, commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations is to improve the quality of command-organizing and political work in order to increase the results of the training process and military work, the struggle to master to perfection combat equipment and armaments and the enhancement of the flight training and strengthening of discipline.

In the present extremely tense and peace-threatening international situation, commanders and troops show high political conscientiousness, vigilance and a feeling of responsibility in training the troops and keeping them in a state of constant combat readiness.

The air force personnel answers the fatherly concern of the BCP with filial gratitude and specific military accomplishments, making 1984 a year of shock qualitative military work for achieving new and even greater results in combat and political training. Tactical flights, exercises, flight missions, fire practice and studies are taking place under stressed and difficult situations in the air, as a result of which the combat skill of commanders, staffs and troops is rising steadily.

We can be proud of the fact that today, with its training and loyalty to the party line and the Warsaw Pact, the air force is able and ready, together with the air forces of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact members, to defend the cause of socialism.

From the height of the great 40th anniversary, we proudly look back at our accomplishments and admire the new blossoming and picturesque view of socialist Bulgaria and the accomplishments of our people and their great armed forces. With heart and soul we realize that all of these successes and victories are the result of the proper policy of our heroic BCP, tempered in the class battles against the enemy, and its wise leadership. They are the result of the fraternal and selfless aid of the Soviet Union and are members in the great family of the socialist commonwealth.

The enthusiasm generated from our accomplishments is naturally mixed with a feeling of duty and responsibility for successfully defending the accomplishments of the people. That is why commanders, all party and Komsomol members

and the rest of the personnel are working so persistently in training more excellent graded specialists and entire excellent units. This is a worthy contribution to the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution and to making the air borders of our dear fatherland an impregnable fortress.

For the sake of justice we must point out that, regardless of achievements in the development and training of the air force in the period of building socialism, a great deal remains to be done to ensure the full and total implementation of the strict requirements of the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference in enhancing the quality of the combat training and status of combat readiness even higher.

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QUALITY OF MEDICAL CARE IN ARMED FORCES IMPROVED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 pp 21-25

[Interview conducted by Colonel Rashko Avgustinov with Major General Professor Kупenov, chief of the VVMI [Higher Military Medical Institute], and other leading institute cadres: "Constant Aspiration To Strengthen the Health of BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] Troops"]

[Text] During the 40 years of existence of our socialist homeland the party and the government have devoted continuing concern for preserving the health of our people.

Under the people's regime considerable successes were achieved in the medical services provided to generals, officers, sergeants, master sergeants, military personnel and their families.

The Higher Military Medical Institute (VVMI) has done the most to enhance the high standards of diagnostic and treatment activities in our people's army. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the creation of the Bulgarian People's Army, Col Rashko Avgustinov, a member of the editorial board, met with Major General Professor Kupinov, chief of the VVMI, and other leading cadres at the institute for a discussion. He asked the chief of the Higher Military Medical Institute to answer the following questions:

[Question] What have been the successes of the Higher Military Medical Institute until the eve of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the BNA?

[Answer] The entire collective of the VVMI welcomes anniversaries with a high feeling of fulfilled duty to the homeland and the feeling that it has made and is making an increasing contribution to strengthening the health of the troops and developing medical support in the BNA.

The new base of the institute has been developed completely. The new building rises like a white palace, drawing the people's attention. It does not merely have an impressive appearance but also creates very good conditions for BNA troops treated by the VVMI. The most important thing which should be mentioned, perhaps, is that this great building, which is an achievement of Bulgarian architecture, is equipped with the most modern facilities which are the result of the scientific and technical revolution in recent years. The

most modern diagnostic and treatment apparatus and equipment, some of which are one-of-a-kind facilities, create prerequisites for enhancing the level of the institute's overall activities and successes in this respect are obvious.

Above all, the number of military personnel and their families who can be treated by the VVMI has increased. The procedure and efficiency of examinations in the polyclinical offices have been improved and the time needed for completion of all necessary paraclinical studies has been reduced.

Diagnostic work has been improved significantly. It is helped by the set of new modern clinical-laboratory biochemical, bacteriological and virusological methods, including isotope and radio-immune diagnosis, the use of sonic and ultrasonic equipment, a machine for computerized tomography and all other types of X-ray diagnosis on all parts of the body.

Another gain of the institute is the opening of a clinic for functional diagnosis in which, regardless of the studies made in the specialized clinics, complex functional studies are made of the vascular, respiratory, nervous and other systems with the help of noninvasion and invasion methods.

Treatment activities have been improved. Improvements in diagnosis made possible the earlier and more specific treatment, which also yields better results. We should note at this point the great concern shown by the BNA medical service in supplying the institute with a sufficient amount of modern treatment facilities for all kinds of cases.

The high skill of our specialists, most of whom are professors, docents, senior scientific associates, candidates and doctors of medical sciences, etc., is essential to improving diagnosis and treatment. These specialists make the institute a highly skilled military medical institution. We are pleased to note that along with great and noted specialists, and under their guidance, young, talented and promising cadres are developing. This creates continuity and ensures the further development of the institute.

A number of people consider the VVMI the largest military hospital. Some people are even referring to it as a "military hospital." This is understandable, for treatment is what people are aware of most. However, this is also inaccurate, for the VVMI is not a hospital but a higher military medical treatment, training and scientific institution, and that is why its name is Higher Military Medical Institute.

Substantial successes have been achieved in training. The faculty and scientific personnel of the institute are engaged in extensive and efficient activities in training military medical cadres in medical and, particularly, military medical disciplines. These are activities the significance of which increases daily, bearing in mind the international situation.

Scientific research is a foundation for the development of treatment and training work. The growth of scientific work may be judged merely by the fact that seven scientific workers at the institute have been awarded the title Dimitrov Prize Laureate.

These are briefly some of the successes in the overall activities of the institute achieved in honor of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the creation of the BNA and in implementing the resolutions of the National Party Conference. These successes will become even greater in the future.

[Question] What is new in the struggle for the quality of medical services after the National Party Conference and the quality improvement program it adopted?

[Answer] Comrade T. Zhivkov stipulated with exceptional perspicacity that at the present stage the key problem "which faces us in its entire gravity and firmness is that of quality," and stipulated that "the task is not to achieve any kind of general solution of the problem of quality as an objective requirement..."

The slogan "High Quality Everywhere and in Everything" mobilized our entire people in fulfilling the imperative of our time and provided a powerful boost in resolving problems in building a developed socialist society.

The problem of quality may be defined with complete justification as a key problem in the work of the VVMI as well. There was a time when we were forced to resolve important problems related to medical services to BNA forces with old and insufficient facilities. Even with such archaic facilities the VVMI achieved remarkable successes in diagnosis and treatment and became one of the most skilled medical institutions in the country. Achievements were made in training and scientific activities as well. This was the result of the proper attitude of the military medical workers toward the quality of their highly responsible work. However, the old base was a hindrance in upgrading the standard of overall activities, diagnosis and treatment in particular. That is why the problem of material facilities was basic.

A radically different situation prevails today! Thanks to the concern of the BCP Central Committee and, personally, our first party and state leader Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and under the direct and steady guidance provided by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, the new material facilities of the VVMI were built within an exceptionally short time. They offer excellent conditions for work. That is why the problem of quality in medical activities became the basic general problem and we, in accordance with the resolutions of the National Party Conference, have planned a number of steps in this respect and, most importantly, have achieved significant results.

It would be impossible to describe all of our successes. Allow me to mention a few areas in which our activities aimed at improving the quality of our work are concentrated.

One of the trends is to improve polyclinical work even further. This meant not only to improve the organization of serving the patients faster and without wasting time but also the increasingly better development of prevention, the more extensive use of the outpatient method, which is of exceptional

importance in assessing the health of the person, and taking prompt improvement measures.

Diagnostic activities will be enhanced even further as we master and apply new diagnostic equipment and instrument-free methods.

Another crucial problem is to upgrade the efficiency of treatment, highly consistent with the specific features of the etiology and pathogenesis of all diseases. Some new trends will be developed as well, such as microsurgery, cryogenic surgery, laser therapy, etc.

Naturally, improving the standards of training and scientific work is an important problem. Thus, for example, in terms of training we intend to improve the theoretical standards and, particularly, the efficiency of practical training. In scientific work our efforts are directed toward decisively improving scientific medical information, enhancing the methodical standards of scientific development, and, particularly, putting rapidly into practical use scientific achievements.

Naturally, in order to improve quality in all institute activities, we are planning extensive measures aimed at steadily enhancing the skills of the medical personnel, the young medical workers in particular.

[Question] What are your wishes for the personnel of the VVMI and medical cadres in the BNA on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the BNA?

[Answer] I wish the personnel of the VVMI and the medical cadres in the BNA, in honor of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the BNA, to achieve even greater successes in their highly humane efforts. I wish them high creative successes in medicine and even higher scientific progress. The international situation raises a number of important military medical problems related to providing medical support for the troops under all situations.

I am convinced that the high feeling of responsibility, characteristic of military medical workers, will contribute to the successful solution of all such problems.

Officer Tonev answered the following questions:

[Question] What are the gains achieved in honor of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the BNA by the VVMI in upgrading the quality of treatment and strengthening the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and collectives?

[Answer] The main task of the institute now is to upgrade the quality of treatment in accordance with the requirements of the long-term quality improvement program adopted by the National Party Conference.

In the area of treatment quality the institute has achieved significant accomplishments which make it a sought-after medical institution in the

country. High-level care is provided to the sick and, particularly, the very sick. The average stay of the patients in the institute's clinics has been reduced and the percentage of favorable treatment results has been enhanced; a significant number of new methods have been introduced, which contribute to upgrading the quality of diagnosis and treatment. Considerable successes have been achieved in improving preventive care.

Successes in the institute's treatment efforts are closely related to the activities of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and societies. In recent years the primary party organizations acquired new rich experience. Their possibilities of becoming the political leaders of the collectives have increased in the struggle for implementing the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the tasks set by the National Party Conference of upgrading the quality of military medical work.

A characteristic feature of the activities of the party organizations today is their political impact on the collectives and the increasingly fuller implementation of their functions as a political nucleus. High results have been achieved by the party organizations of the chairs of anesthesiology, reanimation and intensive care (Karil), the first internal diseases clinic, the polyclinic, the skin treatment clinic, the urology clinic, etc.

The trade union organizations and groups are making a substantial contribution to the struggle for upgrading the quality of military medical work. Through their specific work methods they are contributing to improving the care of the sick, strengthening the discipline, promoting the socialist competition, maintaining material facilities and promoting the communist upbringing of trade union members.

Also fruitful is the activity of Komsomol societies. As a result of their active organizational and educational work young physicians, nurses and laboratory technicians work zealously, showing initiative and creativity. The youth projects in the clinical sector are exemplary in patient care.

The institute's collectives are united and rallied around the April line of the BCP. A cheerful atmosphere prevails in them, which contributes to the successful solution of problems.

[Question] What trends are being followed in party political work in the practical implementation of the resolutions of the National Party Conference?

[Answer] The practical implementation of the resolutions of the National Party Conference on upgrading the quality of military medical work requires decisive improvements in the quality of party political work and making its entire arsenal of approaches and means and methods consistent with the requirements of decisively improving the quality of military medical aid provided by the institute. In this connection, we are currently working in the following directions:

First. Systematic application by the party organizations of a political approach in the struggle for upgrading the quality of military medical work

and military medical assistance. Providing comprehensive political guidance of processes and phenomena in the institute, which determine treatment and diagnosis quality. Enhancing the skill of primary party organizations in encouraging, supporting and protecting medical workers who show daring, initiative and innovativeness. Improving party control over administrative managements of chairs, clinics and laboratories in terms of quality improvements. Upgrading exigency and self-exigency by party organizations in terms of their own work. Enriching the content of PPO activities in terms of the quality of military medical work and problems related to the application of new methods in diagnosis and treatment, mastering and applying Bulgarian and foreign leading experience in medical practice and mastering the use of new medical equipment.

Second. Improving the educational work of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and societies. Enhancing the feeling of duty among physicians and concern among nurses. Upgrading the vanguard role party members and the model role which Komsomol members play in the struggle for improving treatment and diagnosis quality. Enhancing the quality of PPO management and of the labor, social and ideological life of the collective. Improving the attention and concern of the PPO for mastering and using by the collective of their qualitatively new rights and responsibilities and their role and obligations as managers of socialist property. Improvements in the quality structure of primary party organizations and Komsomol committees by improving the selection of new young party members and creating party nuclei in Komsomol societies.

Third. Closer relation of ideological work with the tasks of enhancing the quality of military medical work. Efficient utilization of the ways and means of ideological work in turning the struggle for attaining the best possible quality of treatment and diagnostic work into the understanding, conviction and motivation for action by the entire personnel of the institute. Ideological education work must be such as to create the type of changes in military medical circles and in the minds of military medical personnel that everyone would live in the problem of quality of medical, raising to a cult its decisive improvement. Dedicating constant concern for the development of the military medical worker as the basic factor in the struggle for steady improvements in the quality of military medical aid and ideological work at the institute. Engaging in sociological studies and studying public opinion and the feelings of the medical personnel and the patients on matters related to treatment and diagnostic work.

Fourth. Enhancing the role of the trade union organizations and Komsomol societies in upgrading the quality of military medical work. In this connection, the trade union organizations and groups must develop through political and organizational activities and mass reciprocal and comradesly control a situation of intolerance toward violations of the requirements of quality work in medical services and to create an atmosphere of high exigency and responsibility for the accurate observance of the treatment and nutritional regime and promote socialist competition for the best possible medical services and the efficient utilization of pharmaceutical drugs and the medical equipment and instruments.

The work of the Komsomol societies is directed toward mobilizing the forces and knowledge of young military medical workers in order to improve the quality of military medical work and mastering the new equipment and new methods in diagnosis and treatment.

The technical and scientific creativity of young people at the institute is directed toward the solution of specific problems related to enhancing the quality of treatment.

Colonel Docent St. Gatev answered the following questions:

[Question] How effective is physiotherapy in the treatment system?

[Answer] At the present stage in our development physiotherapy is an important link in the comprehensive treatment of a number of diseases. In some of them it could even be the chosen treatment method.

Thanks to the tempestuous development of technology and physics, the role and significance of physiotherapy increased greatly over the past 15-20 years and so did its efficiency as a result of the fact that it was enriched with a number of new and highly efficient equipment and systems such as ultrasound, treatment instruments using low, high and superhigh frequencies (radar), apparatus for treatment with intensive infrared and laser radiation, and many others.

Today equipment exists which cannot only efficiently eliminate pain but also favorably influence inflammation and swelling and increase the mobility of joints.

[Question] What possibilities exist of treating various diseases with new modern equipment?

[Answer] Whereas in the past, more than 30 years ago, when the foundations of military physiotherapy were laid by Colonel of the Medical Service, Prof Dr Svetlana Boykikeva, honored physician of the Bulgarian People's Republic, all she had at her disposal was a single instrument, half a slot for a nurse and a single soldier, today the clinic at the VVMI is equipped with more than 150 various instruments for electric and light treatment and balneological-technical and rehabilitation equipment. This also determines the possibilities of treating diseases with new and modern equipment.

The clinic is now equipped with such apparatus as an extension vibrator which provides a combination of triple treatment: simultaneous extension, deep vibramassage and heat influence for patients with some commonly encountered diseases of the spine. Such an instrument can replace the work of three medical workers.

We also have equipment (infrared applicator and laser) which reduces the time of application by a factor of 5-10 (in terms of seconds) and achieves high treatment results, particularly in some diseases and traumatic damages to the frame and motor systems.

It is a matter of pride and dignity for the Bulgarian People's Army to have such a contemporary high military medical institute in which the professional and military medical training of medical cadres in the BNA is steadily enhanced and in which every serviceman in our armed forces can obtain skilled medical aid. This has significantly enhanced the contribution of the VVMI to upgrading the combat capability and readiness of the BNA.

We wish further success to the institute's personnel in their future activities.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE OF ARMED FORCES ANALYZED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 pp 45-52

[Article by Col Rayko Raykov, candidate of military sciences: "The Commander and the Spiritual Readiness of BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] Personnel for the Armed Defense of the Homeland"]

[Text] In a modern war there will be no time for gradual and extensive conversion from conditions of peace to war. This circumstance sheds a new light and makes quite urgent the problem of shaping the spiritual readiness of BNA personnel to convert from peace to the armed defense of the homeland and the cause of socialism.

A great deal has been written on moral-political and mental training. However, theoretical work on the problem deals also with the spiritual potential and spiritual factor and related spiritual forces, spiritual training and spiritual readiness. These are more comprehensive concepts and the use of such categories would be more expedient. The "moral-political" and "mental" concepts have their relatively autonomous significance and place although they are included in the former.

The concept of spiritual readiness is wider than moral-political and mental readiness and includes the following components: world outlook, political, moral, legal, aesthetic and mental readiness. The first five put together constitute the ideological readiness or ideological stratum of spiritual readiness. The socio-mental is another of its strata. The core, the nucleus of spiritual readiness is found in the world outlook and the political and moral readiness, for it is they which essentially shape a system of socially significant views, beliefs, needs, interests and motivations for participation in combat operations and perform a system-shaping, energizing and guiding function in terms of the troops' mental processes and behavior. Profound ideological convictions and high political consciousness are the basic, the inexhaustible source of high combat readiness and endurance in combat.

Spiritual readiness for the military defense of the socialist fatherland is a sum total of stable ideological-political, moral, mental, combat and other qualities and a specific spiritual condition of the military personality and the military collective in successfully taking part in the armed struggle and ensuring the total routing of all aggressors.

As a combination of stable qualities it includes the following:

- a) a system of ideological-conceptual, military-political, moral, legal and aesthetic views and convictions, a feeling of responsibility for the defense of the homeland and socialism, a positive attitude toward military work and combat assignments and sufficiently stable positive motivations for combat activities;
- b) the knowledge, skills and ability needed for successful combat operations;
- c) character features, ability and manifestations of temperament consistent with the requirements of contemporary warfare and combat;
- d) durable features relative to perception, memory, attention, imagination, thinking, vocabulary (not applicable to everyone) and other military professional features important from the viewpoint of full participation in the armed struggle.

Spiritual readiness as a condition means realizing existing capabilities and converting potential into real possibilities of successful actions at a given moment and under given circumstances. It includes the following components.

- a) motivational (a system of positive value orientations, a sharper feeling of duty, a turning toward and need for successful implementation of assignments, interest in problem-solving, desire for success and positive expression, etc.);
- b) cognitive (understanding of the assignment, assessing its political and military significance, knowledge of the ways and means for achieving the objective and gaining an idea of probable changes in the situation);
- c) emotional (a feeling of responsibility to the collective, the homeland and the cause of socialism, confidence in success, optimism, joy, enthusiasm, need to prevent failure, class hatred of the enemy, etc.);
- d) will (ability to master and mobilize forces, concentration on the assignment, abstraction from negative influences, and eliminating doubts and fear).¹

The structure of the spiritual readiness must be known in order to ensure greater success in shaping it. In this respect the approach used by other authors relative to the structure of mental preparedness may be used here as well.² In terms of target, tasks and time spiritual readiness may be classified into long-term and specific-target or situational. The latter, in turn, may be early and direct. Depending on the object of influence, which is developed for purposes of combat activities, we distinguish between spiritual readiness of the military person and that of the military collective. In accordance with the common and individual (specific) requirements, the general and the special spiritual readiness are singled out.

In our view, three stages may be singled out in the activities of commanders, political workers and party and Komsomol organizations in shaping the spiritual readiness of the personnel.

The first covers peacetime conditions. It is the longest and it is at that point that the long-term spiritual readiness for armed struggle is established. The second is related to a drastic worsening of the international military political situation with periods of crises during which the real threat of war becomes more immediate. It is during that stage that the early specific-target spiritual readiness for active combat aimed at repelling possible aggression is shaped. The third stage is related to the eve and outbreak of the war. During this stage a direct specific-target spiritual readiness is developed in the personnel to carry out specific combat assignments. The sociopolitical and military-strategic nature of contemporary warfare and the increased danger of a sudden armed attack by NATO countries demand the full use of all possibilities offered by the first, peacetime stage in shaping maximally high long-term spiritual readiness in BNA personnel for military defense of the homeland. This will be a good foundation for the faster development of the necessary early and direct specific-target spiritual readiness among the troops on the eve of and at the outbreak of an eventual war should the imperialists start it. These three stages apply generally to the peacetime period. Activities related to shaping, maintaining and enhancing spiritual readiness for carrying out a variety of combat and other assignments will continue in the course of the war as well. However, the level achieved at the moment of its outbreak will be of exceptional importance in the successful waging of the war, particularly at its initial period.

The spiritual readiness of BNA personnel for the armed defense of the homeland is shaped under the influence of a number of objective conditions and subjective factors, such as the socialist social environment and way of life in our country and the army environment and army way of life as their component, the ideological process in the country and the BNA and various subjective factors on the state, local and army scale. The most important among the subjective factors in the BNA is the role of the commander.

In this respect, the commander must above all assess properly the need, role and significance of spiritual readiness and, in the course of his command activities, direct his attention to the successful solution of this problem as well. All commanders must properly realize that without the necessary spiritual readiness his subordinates will not be totally ready for successfully carrying out combat assignments. This may result in a number of major weaknesses and even failures, particularly at the start of the war. This is determined by the increased role of the spiritual factor and of suddenness in contemporary conditions.

Every commander must also have a minimum knowledge of the nature, content and structure of the spiritual readiness, particularly the basic stages and trends in its organization.

The basic trends in the activities of commanders, political workers and party and Komsomol organizations in developing spiritual readiness among the

personnel for active combat action at the very beginning of the war are, in our view, the following: world outlook development; upgrading political consciousness; moral development; shaping proper elements of spiritual readiness; development of discipline; development of aesthetic elements of spiritual readiness; shaping mental readiness; upgrading combat skills; physical training; struggle against hostile ideas, views and beliefs and against negative habits, manifestations and phenomena. Naturally, it is possible for some of these trends to be divided further and others to be added. Each one of them involves the solution of a number of basic and specific problems. The commander must determine accurately his own place and role in their solution and mobilize and guide his deputies, the staff and the officers and sergeants by guiding them and relying in this respect on the party and Komsomol organizations.

On the basis of the nature of the spiritual readiness, let us discuss some of the most important problems which must be resolved under the leadership of commanders of all ranks.

The main general task is the further conceptual development of the military personnel. The development of an accurate system of principles, views and convictions which determine the trend in the activities and the class-party attitude toward reality by the troops is also the foundation for their ideological convictions, political consciousness and lasting spiritual readiness. This task requires the systematic explanation of the advantages of real socialism, the correctness of the socioeconomic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the prospects in taking this path, and the strengthening of the class-party, patriotic and international upbringing and the struggle against imperialist ideological subversion.

A particularly important task closely related to this is to influence steadily the proper shaping, maintaining and developing of socially significant needs, interests and motivations in the personnel, working also to surmount possible deviations from them. This will contribute to the creation of high readiness in the troops to fulfill their duties even under most difficult combat conditions.

An inseparable part of the conceptual development of the military servicemen is to develop a Marxist-Leninist view on problems of war, peace and armed forces under contemporary conditions. A proper understanding of the nature, essence, reasons and consequences of modern wars, particularly of just wars forced upon us in defense of socialism, enhances the readiness of the personnel firmly to rebuff any aggression.

The behavior of the soldier, particularly in the first combat operations, greatly depends on the extent to which his concept of forthcoming combat operations coincides with the actual conditions. That is why one of the tasks of commanders is to develop in the troops in the course of combat and political training a proper idea of the nature of an eventual war and the specific conditions and nature of combat operations and the requirements which they will set to the troops and military collectives. This concept is related to familiarity with modern weapons and their striking factors and the

reliable protection measures, and developing a confidence in our just cause and our strength and victory, as well as an objective concept of the probable enemy and hatred of this enemy and a feeling of superiority over all aggressors and confidence in victory.

The building of moral readiness involves resolving exceptionally important problems. This means, above all, the development of communist moral features and qualities in the troops in the course of their daily activities and behavior. At the same time, the military aspects of the problem must be resolved as well. One of them is for the personnel to have a clear idea of what is moral and immoral in war and to be profoundly aware of the fact that the military defense of the socialist homeland is a high moral duty of every one of our citizens. That is why one of the tasks is for every soldier to be raised in a spirit of high personal responsibility for the fate of the homeland and socialism and to be ready within himself to rout any aggressor. This is paralleled by the task of developing in the personnel readiness for exploit and for self-sacrifice, daring, courageous and decisive combat actions and high combat activeness. The spiritual qualities of the soldier may become a real force in combat only when combined with high combat skills. The heroic behavior of the soldier and his self-control and self-possession are impossible without it. Lasting and profound military technical knowledge, well-shaped and lasting skills and habits are important prerequisites for high spiritual readiness as well. The commander must take this factor into consideration.

High spiritual readiness is also related to the physical training of the personnel. "We know that even the courageous soldier develops a feeling of slackness, fatigue and apathy after long stress of physical and moral efforts in exhausting combat. Severe combat trials can be withstood only by a physically strong and highly trained soldier, sergeant and officer."³ That is why commanders must combine the solution of these two problems.

The mental readiness of the personnel to engage in modern combat operations is of exceptional importance. In this connection the commanders must resolve a number of complex problems and tasks. One of them is to develop readiness to overcome difficulties under combat circumstances. This is essentially achieved by conducting exercises under complex conditions as close to actual combat as possible, with sensibly increased difficulties and stress of physical and emotional forces.

Another very important problem is developing the readiness of the troops to prevent and surmount negative mental conditions in combat. Danger, excessive stress which exceeds human endurance, privations, enemy activities and fire, the difficulty of problems to be resolved and the need for extreme stress of all efforts may cause different mental conditions which hinder the activities of the troops and prevent the reaching of objectives. Readiness to counter confusion, fear and panic caused by rumors on the eve of and during initial combat operations becomes particularly important. For this reason, starting with peacetime, officers as well must acquire the necessary knowledge, ability and skill to control the spiritual condition of their subordinates in combat.

Developing discipline in the troops becomes particularly important in the series of tasks facing commanders in shaping spiritual readiness. Discipline involves legal elements. High-level discipline and a responsible attitude toward assignments and the stipulations of regulations, orders and various instructions enhance the inner readiness of the troops to carry them out accurately and under most difficult conditions and even at the risk of their life.

The disciplinary practices of the commander are of great importance in this connection. Such practices may be erroneous even when the right to punish and reward, as stipulated by the regulations, is properly observed without, however, adopting an individual approach to the individual soldier. This does not cover the entire problem of disciplinary practice but is merely the completion of a sequence of disciplinary actions related to the detailed explanation of the circumstances and reasons for a given action, an accurate assessment of the previous behavior of the culprit, drawing the attention of the other military personnel to the action of one of their members with a view to influencing him, a time to consider, a place and means of disciplinary influence, educational work, etc. It is only when such basic steps are taken that a disciplinary measure may be consistent with the action and its perpetrator and to ensure the active participation of the public in educational work. Otherwise, the personnel in the unit may find themselves in the role of witnessing the commander's disciplinary action without being particularly interested in it. A disciplinary action may also not be convincing not only in terms of this "public" but the affected servicemen as well. In the absence of such an approach the delinquent may consider himself the "hero" of the day, while the rewarded person may consider himself to be a lottery winner.⁴ It is erroneous and dangerous to ignore the positive or negative actions or else to engage in sporadic reaction. A commander who shows such weakness in his disciplinary practice develops an indifference toward positive actions and an increased trend toward negative ones. In such cases developing spiritual readiness becomes largely unsuccessful.

The influence of bourgeois ideology should not be ignored in the struggle against negative phenomena. With the help of various means and methods of ideological influence, in some cases imperialism is able to exert a certain amount of influence on the minds and feelings of less stable individuals.

In order to ensure the more successful solution of these and other other problems in developing the spiritual readiness of his subordinates to engage in armed struggle, it would be expedient for the commander to concentrate his efforts in the following main directions: a) upgrading the educational influence of the army environment; b) enhancing the quality and effectiveness of ideological education work in the unit; c) perfecting his own qualities, thus not only setting the example but exerting a stronger influence on his subordinates.

The main thing here is to improve the army social environment and way of life and, on this basis, to intensify their positive educational impact. The role of the commander as a subjective factor is particularly important in this respect.

The training process is a very important component of the army social environment. Ensuring the organic unity of training, education and the development of ideology in the training process depends to the highest extent on those who plan, organize, control and carry out training and exercises, i.e., mainly the commanders.

The military collective is another important component of the army social environment. Under contemporary conditions interaction, close ties and dependence, unity, coordination, reciprocal support, mutual aid and interchangeability have become mandatory elements of combat activities. On the other hand, shaping and maintaining a spiritual readiness depends most closely on the educational role of the military collective. The more advanced the development of the collective is the greater becomes the degree of this influence and its proper direction.

Material conditions of life and training are another component of the army social environment. The uniform use of various facilities and the same allocation of time and other objective conditions develop specific thoughts, feelings, moods and convictions which could have a positive or negative influence on the spiritual readiness of the troops.

The army way of life, which develops essentially under the influence of the other components of the means and socialist way of life in the country, is the most dynamic part of the army social environment. In a specific unit, however, it also greatly depends on the commander or, more accurately, on his activities to ensure its improvement and his own personal way of life. A good socialist army way of life is a source of optimism and high spiritual readiness of the soldiers to carry out peacetime and combat assignments.

As part of the army ideological process, ideological education has a direct influence on shaping, maintaining and upgrading the spiritual readiness of the personnel for combat actions, with the help of conceptual, political, moral and military development. On the other hand, as part of the spiritual component of the army social environment, it also influences the enhancement of the positive educational impact on the other components of this environment. That is why in his concern for the spiritual readiness of the personnel, the commander must pay great attention to the condition of ideological education and to upgrading its efficiency. In this respect his activities are essentially the following: systematic and profound study and evaluation of its quality and efficiency and drawing corresponding conclusions; planning and carrying out the necessary specific steps; issuing instructions to subordinate commanders and political workers; controlling and assisting the training and implementation of ideological education measures; personally conducting educational work with the personnel. The commander plays a particularly important role in relating educational work to the life and tasks of the unit.

The personality features of the commander and his deputies and relations between them are of great importance in shaping, maintaining and upgrading the spiritual readiness of the personnel. For example, the view which subordinates develop about their commander is important. Some of his positive

features may not be properly assessed. The opposite is also possible. Depending on the coincidence of the actual features and their evaluation various features may develop of incompatibility between the official and unofficial structure of a given collective. In some cases a collective may acquire high spiritual readiness whereas in others it may lack the necessary unity and cohesion which lowers its spiritual readiness for combat.

All of this hardly covers all problems relative to the activities of the commander in shaping, maintaining and upgrading the spiritual readiness of his subordinate troops to engage in combat operations. This is a complex and exceptionally important problem which requires further interpretations, both on the theoretical and practical levels, in order to ensure its most effective resolutions.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Psikhologiya i Pedagogika na Vissheto Voenno Uchilishte" [Psychology and Pedagogy of the Higher Military Academy]. VI [Military Publishing House], Sofia, 1980, p 128.
2. See L. Zlatkov, "Aktualni Problemi na Psikhicheskata Podgotovka na Voinite" [Topical Problems of the Mental Training of Troops]. VI, Sofia, 1978, p 14.
3. Volkogonov et al., "Chelovek v Sovremennoy Voyne" [Man in Modern Warfare]. VI, Moscow, 1981, p 211.
4. See B. Kamburov, "Dukhovnite Sili na Voyskite v Suvremennata Vuoruzhena Borba" [The Spiritual Strength of the Troops in the Contemporary Armed Struggle]. VI, Sofia, 1983, pp 110-111.

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MILITARY CONCEPTS HELD BY GREEK, TURKISH HIGH COMMANDS

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 pp 121-125

[Article by Col Aleksandur Stefanov: "Greek and Turkish Concepts of Combat Operations by Subunits"]

[Text] The command of the Greek and Turkish Armed Forces Accepts Entirely the U.S. and NATO concepts of waging modern all-army combat and the use of subunits in it. Their combat regulations and military aides reflect the basic stipulations of the concept of the U.S. Armed Forces, taking into consideration differences in the organizational structure and some characteristics which may affect combat in the Balkans.

Offensive combat is considered as basic, for it alone can ensure victory. Success is based on suddenness and speed of action, the concentration of forces and facilities in a decisive direction, gaining and retaining the initiative, precise organization of interaction among subunits of the various branches, taking steps for combat support of subunits with material and technical facilities, etc.

Depending on the nature of the situation, the attack may be mounted against organized positions, which is considered most typical or against an enemy who has hastily converted to defense, from direct contact with the enemy or from march column.

An attack against organized positions will take place most frequently in direct contact with the enemy and essentially without the use of nuclear weapons. Prior to mounting the offensive forces and ordnance must be regrouped.

An attack against an enemy who has hastily converted to defense is characterized by a short preparation for battle and a lack of adequate data on the enemy's concentration and fire system.

An attack from direct contact begins from the initial line held by the defending subunits. This method is recommended wherever the topography does not allow the mass use of tanks or other combat hardware.

An attack from a march column is carried out by occupying troops concentration areas in which the subunits spend a short period of time (for combat preparations) or by starting from the rear.

In the course of advancing toward the enemy front lines the following are earmarked: a control line; a safe distance line--3-5 kilometers from the front; a withdrawal line not to exceed 1500 meters; an initial line of up to 800 meters; and an attack line of 100 to 150 meters from the front line of the enemy's defenses.

The battle order of infantry, motorized infantry and tank subunits is structured with a view to establishing superiority in forces and armaments over the enemy and the efficient use of the result of nuclear strikes with conventional weapons and safe, flexible and continuing control.

The structure of the reserve (the second echelon) depends on its assignment and the specific circumstances. A strong reserve (second echelon) is recommended if the target is to capture sites deep within the defense lines in the absence of adequate information of the enemy and the impossibility of determining the course of the offensive before the combat assignment has been carried out.

The regulations of the Greek and Turkish armed forces consider as basic forms of offensive maneuver the breach and envelopment; a variety of the breach is the frontal offensive and of envelopment the double envelopment and the flanking.

The breach is required when weak spots are found in the defense and the time to organize and carry out a flanking movement is insufficient.

The envelopment is an offensive maneuver along the flanks of the main enemy group, aimed at capturing a target in the depth of the enemy's defense and blocking the retreat, thus creating the conditions for the destruction (capture) of the enemy. Envelopment is used when the flanks of the enemy's defense are open or else have been created as a result of nuclear strikes.

Depending on their role and place in the battle order of the superior subunit and the nature of the assignment, the infantry (motorized infantry) and tank subunits may be deployed in the first or second echelon (the reserve) and advance along the main or the auxiliary direction.

Battalion and company tactical groups may be set up to ensure the most efficient utilization of infantry (motorized infantry) battalions and companies engaged in battle. Depending on the ratio between infantry and tanks, the tactical group may be infantry-tank or balanced, i.e., include the same number of tank and infantry subunits.

Infantry-tank groups may be created in infantry (motorized infantry) battalions and companies operating in sectors with strong antitank defenses, areas with difficult access for tanks and in street combat. In such cases, basically the infantry (motorized infantry) advances on foot ahead of the tanks which give it fire support.

The creation of balanced tactical groups is recommended when the circumstances do not clearly indicate the subunits (tank and infantry) within the group which should be assigned priority. Such a group may carry out assignments inherent either in infantry or tank subunits.

Offensive by an Infantry (Motorized Infantry) Squad

The infantry (motorized infantry) squad is the smallest tactical subunit. Usually it fights as part of a platoon. In some cases it may be used as company reserve. It may be reinforced with rocket antitank weapons and flame-throwers.

The squad may be divided into a maneuvering and firing group, which are mandatorily used complete, without any further division or shifting firepower from one group to another.

The task of the maneuvering group is to approach the enemy and to destroy him or force him to surrender. The firing group must support the maneuvering group with fire at open and newly appearing enemy fire. The troops in the squad may belong to either group by decision of the squad commander.

In acting together with tanks, the infantry or the faster motorized infantry squad may advance ahead or behind the tanks. In either case the distance between them must not exceed 300 meters.

The Platoon Attack

The platoon is considered the smallest tactical subunit which could be assigned during combat to other subunits. Usually it fights as part of the company. However, it may be used as a battalion reserve or act separately. If necessary, the infantry (motorized infantry) or tank platoon may be transported by air.

Within the company, the platoon is usually assigned the capturing of a site, a strong point, a trench sector, etc.

In the attack by an infantry platoon with tanks it is usually deployed in a line with the three squads. The distance between the infantry and the tanks must not exceed 300 meters.

In the offensive mounted by a motorized infantry platoon together with tanks, it is recommended for the tanks to advance ahead of the APC.

When a separate target is attacked, the infantry (motorized infantry) platoon is usually divided into two groups: maneuvering and firing. If necessary, the maneuvering group may be subdivided into two or three subgroups. The tank platoon as well is organized into two groups. In such cases, while the first group attacks the target frontally, the second makes a turning movement and attacks the target from the flank or the rear.

After seizing the target, the platoon continue its advance until the assignment has been carried out.

Company Attack

The company is the basic tactical subunit of the battalion. Usually it engages in combat as part of the battalion and could be in the first or

second echelon (the reserve). In some cases the company may be assigned to other subunits and units (infantry or motorized infantry company of attack battalions; tank regiment of infantry battalion or motorized infantry battalion, etc.); properly reinforced, it can operate autonomously for a limited period of time.

The infantry (motorized infantry) company may be reinforced with one or two tank platoons or a howitzer platoon and supported by one or two batteries.

If the infantry company is attacking with tanks, the tanks advance within or ahead of its battle order and the company may attack the target together with the tanks or else the tanks may support the attack from a standing position.

The motorized infantry company which attacks with APC usually advances in directions which will ensure its unhindered progress and fights in close interaction with the tanks which usually operate ahead of the MPC. The advance of MPC without tanks is allowed only if the enemy has been reliably suppressed and his resistance has been crushed or else if an obstacle which tanks cannot cross exists in the direction followed by the motorized infantry regiment.

If the advance of a tank platoon has been stopped, it continues to fire from its position while the company commander redirects the other platoons to assist it with fire and flanking movements.

The company continues its offensive in the indicated direction after capturing the assigned target.

Battalion Attack

The battalion usually advances as part of the regiment (the brigade). It may be in the first or the second echelon and advance along the main or the auxiliary direction. In some cases the battalion may be kept as a reserve of the division (brigade) commander or carry out a separate combat assignment.

The tank battalion in infantry divisions carries out separate assignments in close interaction with the infantry regiments (battalions). Tank companies which are assigned to infantry subunits as reinforcement provide direct support.

The infantry (motorized infantry) battalion may be reinforced with one or two tank companies, and one or two batteries of mortars, a platoon of engineers, etc.

The battalion tactical group, based on the infantry (motorized infantry) battalion is the most suitable for attacking a well-organized enemy defense.

If no clear exists of the nature of the combat structure consistent with the requirements of the situation, it is most expedient to organize on the basis of the infantry battalion (motorized infantry battalion) a balanced tactical group (equal number of tank and infantry subunits).

The battle order of the battalion depends on the task and the topography and may be set up as a column, a line (in one or two echelons), angled forward (backward) or to the right retreating to the right (the left). During the battle, regardless of the method of action, the tanks engage above all the enemy tanks while the infantry engages in the destruction of antitank facilities and assists the tanks in crossing mine fields and hedgerows and protects them from enemy close combat groups.

According to the regulations of the Greek and Turkish armed forces, defense is one of the basic but not decisive types of combat operations. The subunits convert to defense temporarily, with a view to blocking the advance of superior enemy forces and creating favorable conditions for converting to offensive operations. The purpose of defense is to hold important areas (lines), gain time and inflict maximal losses to the enemy. This is achieved through the skillful use of available forces and means, including nuclear, and decisive counterattacks. The main task of defensive battle is the routing of the advancing enemy.

Defense may be organized at the beginning and in the course of the war, in contact or without contact with the enemy. It is classified into two basic types: defense of an area (position defense) and mobile (mobile defense).

Area defense (position defense) is organized and conducted with a view to holding a certain area at all costs, with proper installations and the prevention of a breach and retreat.

Mobile defense is organized and conducted with a view to drawing the advancing enemy into the so-called firebag in which it will be suppressed (destroyed) with fire facilities. It is characterized by partial engineering equipment of the area and a relatively low strength of forces in the first echelon.

If no direct contact is maintained with the enemy and if the time is sufficient, a security area is created from which positions are prepared and subunits operate. The overall protection is provided by the division, consisting of a battalion, 6-10 kilometers away from the front line. The battle protection is provided by first echelon regiments with a reinforce platoon, 1-3 kilometers from the front line; the direct protection is provided by the first echelon companies distant up to 500 meters from the front line.

The Infantry (Motorized Infantry) Squad in Defense

The infantry (motorized infantry) squad is deployed in the platoon defense area. It organizes one basic and one or two reserve positions.

The basic position is the foundation of the organization and conduct of squad defense. Its engineering equipment may consist of individual or double foxholes. The distance is no more than 10 meters between individual and 10 meters between double foxholes.

Communicating trenches connecting positions may be dug for concealed maneuvering. They are usually adapted for firing and repelling enemy attacks from other directions.

The APC of the motorized infantry squad is concealed in a dugout.

If the enemy attacks with tanks and infantry the squad tries to eliminate the infantry. Its task is to stop the enemy, repel his attack and provide effective assistance to neighboring squads.

The Platoon in Defense

Usually, in defense the platoon acts as part of the company and could be in the first or second echelon (in reserve). It prepares a defense perimeter and assumes a strong point within it. The tank platoon prepares a strong point only. The distance between strong points of platoons within a company may not exceed 200 meters.

The task of the platoon in defense is, while interacting with neighboring, attached and support forces, to stop the enemy at the front end of the defense line and to prevent his wedging within the platoon defense perimeter.

The second echelon platoon (the reserve) of the company is assigned to provide fire support to the first echelon platoons and to prevent the enemy from penetrating in depth in the company defense perimeter, to secure the company's flanks in the rear and, should the enemy succeed in wedging itself, to destroy him and to restore the initial position.

The Company in Defense

The company may be used in the first or second echelon of the battalion. The tank company within a infantry division may be attached to some infantry units and subunits. In this case it is used as a reserve of the commander to whom it was attached.

The company organizes a defense perimeter under conditions of contact or no contact with the enemy.

The company's strong point consists of the strong points of the platoons and is organized for perimeter defense.

The battle order of the company, when it is in the first echelon of the battalion, consists of one or two echelons.

The company in the battalion's first echelon is assigned to interact with its neighbors and support forces in stopping the enemy's attack at the front end of the defense perimeter. Should the enemy succeed in wedging small groups in the company defense perimeter its task is to eliminate him with a counter-attack and to restore the initial position.

In defense the company may be reinforced with a tank platoon which will allow the organization of a company tactical group. The tanks are deployed in the

company defense perimeter in such a way as to provide fire support to the first company echelon and participate in its counterattack.

In the absence of direct contact with the enemy, the first echelon companies send out a combat outpost.

Should the enemy succeed in wedging itself in the company defense perimeter, the company commander, using all forces and facilities, must stop the widening of the breach.

Should the threat of surrounding develop, the company assumes a perimeter defense, assuming the positions organized in advance.

If the company operates in the securing perimeter, its assignment is to prevent the enemy approach and to prevent him from joining the battle on an organized basis at the front defense line.

The Battalion in Defense

Usually the battalion acts within the regiment (the armored brigade) and may be in the first or second echelon (in reserve). The tank battalion of the infantry division is usually left in reserve of the commanding officer. In some cases it may perform separate assignments in defending a given perimeter under the direct orders of the division (brigade) commander).

In defensive combat the battalion may be reinforced with up to one artillery battery, a company of engineers, an infantry battalion (motorized infantry battalion) with up to company strength tanks, etc.

The battle order of the battalion consists of one or two echelons. If the battalion acts within a formation engaged in mobile defense, the defense perimeter will be broader.

The battalion defense perimeter consists of combat protection trenches, installation of basic and reserve positions of subunits and ordnance; nonexplosive obstacles; improved routes; preparation of command points; installation of shelters; installation of fictitious positions and facilities, etc.

The mortar platoon is used to provide fire support to the first echelon companies.

The antitank subunits and facilities prepare the positions along areas which may be threatened by tanks.

The tanks assigned to infantry battalions (motorized infantry battalions) are usually kept as commanding officers' reserve. Occasionally they may also act in an entrenched position at the front and of the defense perimeter.

If the enemy approaches the front end of the defense perimeter the battalion commander must use all forces and means to repel the attack.

Should the enemy succeed in wedging himself in the defense perimeter, the commander must take steps to restore the integrity of the defense. Should the enemy succeed in separating the battalion from the main regimental forces, the battalion commander must set up a perimeter defense.

In the view of Greek and Turkish military specialists, a contemporary battle will involve the participation of all armed branches. It will be highly dynamic and flexible. The purpose will be to achieve superiority over the enemy with frequent and sudden circumstantial changes. That is why their regulations emphasize the great importance of the flexible actions by the officer corps.

Stemming from the assumption that the war will be waged initially with conventional weapons, with a constant threat of the use of mass destruction weapons, great attention is being paid to taking all the necessary steps characteristic of nuclear warfare.

5003

CSO: 2200/20

MILITARY BRIEFS ON NATO MEMBERS

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 p 126

[Military information from abroad, from ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE, No 6, 1984]

[Text] United States. The first 10 MX intercontinental ballistic missiles will be delivered to the Warren Air Force Base. Each of them could carry as many as 10 nuclear warheads.

Problems of combat training are being developed by a PC30 M/RS battery, recently set up within the American infantry, at the training grounds in Grafenwohr (FRG). Organizationally, it is part of the Eighth Mechanized Division deployed in West Germany.

The likelihood of striking targets in more than 1,500 launchings of the Maverick air-ground guided missile, equipped with a self-targeting television system, was 85 percent; 80 percent of the launchings were direct hits. Talks are under way for supplying such missiles to Indonesia, Spain, New Zealand, Venezuela, Thailand and Malaysia.

FRG

An order has been issued to install 400 latest-generation radios on the Leopard-2 tanks, worth 14 million West German marks. The first shipment is expected this year.

Greece

By the end of February and beginning of March 1984 an exercise was conducted by the Greek navy code-named Kategis-84/1; its purpose was to work on the utilization of different forces in naval combat. It involved the participation of more than 40 ships, launches and auxiliary navy vessels, Albatross aircraft of the base patrol aviation and coastal antisubmarine helicopters.

Turkey

December 1983 appointments [transliterated]:

Chief of Staff of Land Forces: Corps General Yusuf Ozer;

Navy Commander, Army Admiral Emin G'oksan;

Commander of the Southern Navy Zone: Corps Admiral Uyshuk Biren;

Commander of the First Tactical Aviation Command: Corps General Ismet Chaglar; of the Second: Corps General Khikvem Kasim;

Army Corps commanders: Second: Corps General Mustafa Odaman; Third: Corps General Dogan Gyuresh; Fourth: Corps General Sabri Irmibeshoglu; Fifth: Corps General Adnan Dogu; Sixth: Corps General Mekhmet Onder; Seventh: Corps General Kaya Yazgan; Eighth: Corps General Mustafa Katurdzhioglu; Ninth: Corps General Irfan Yay; Eleventh: Corps General Edzhmel Kutay; Fifteenth: Corps General Nazim Pozam.

NATO

Appointed:

Commander of the Joint Land NATO Forces in the southeastern part of the Southern European theater of military operations: Turkish Army General Ragub Ulugay. Born 1921 in Isparta, member of the armed forces since 1943. Recently commander of the Ninth Army Corps, member of the Supreme Military Council and chief adviser of the minister of defense;

Commander of the Sixth OTAK: Turkish Corps General Rufku Utku.

The military industry companies British Aerospace Corporation (Great Britain) and Bodenzeewerk Herettechnik (FRG) have created a joint company (BBG) for the development production of the air force guided ASRAAM short-range air-to-air missile. The plan calls for arming NATO aircraft with such guided missiles.

5003

CSO: 2200/20

PRICE INCREASES EXPLAINED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] The purpose of retail price increases of beer and non-alcoholic beverages is to lower the demand for these products, whose supply to the market was strained because of pressures on capacity due to high demand. The measures adopted in the field of social policy have both a compensatory character and the purpose to improve the income situation of certain groups in our population.

Let us add that even after minor increases in retail prices a number of non-alcoholic beverages will depend on subsidies from the state budget because even the new price will be insufficient to cover production costs. As stated by Michal Sabolcik, minister-chairman of the Federal Price Office, in his interview with RUDE PRAVO on Saturday, the state budget earmarks Kcs 52 billion annually to maintain the retail prices of our basic necessities of life at a desirable level. To understand the problem better it is necessary to state that a purchase of food valued at Kcs 100 requires an average subsidy of Kcs 23 from the state budget. However, price must not lose its economic significance; it cannot be so low as to lead to waste or consumption above our production capacity.

The law of value operates in our socialist economy, even if not fully. We try through well-planned prices to react to certain consequences of this law in line with the economic and social policy of the party formulated by party congress programs.

This policy is based on the principle that the means of production and all natural resources belong to the people. Consequently, the benefits gained from these means ought to serve all. The policy also creates permanent and consistent prerequisites for the growth of personal and social consumption. Let us remind ourselves that the amount of per capita social consumption in our country is over Kcs 10,000 annually. It includes a broad variety of free possibilities and services. It has become such a part of our existence that most people do not even realize that in the past one had to pay dearly for these possibilities and services in our country. These benefits include, for example, the means needed to cover expenses related to old age security, hospitalization, large families, pre-school education, expenses connected with education and culture, etc.

The cost of all this runs into billions of korunas annually, and the only way to meet this cost is to have effective production and national economic activity. Social consumption has become a matter of course. However, the creation of means to pay for these benefits is not self-evident or a result of some automatically functioning mechanism.

Experts believe that by the year 2010 we will have more retired people than productive workers in our country. After all, the expenditures related to our social policy are already growing faster year from year. What do we do then to be able to meet these costs?

This is no secret, but is explained in detail in the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the 5-year plan, and the annual implementing plans. They all state clearly the need to increase the effectiveness of our national economy, improve thrift, increase the share of products with outstanding technical-economic parameters and quality, improve the savings on fuels and energy and raw materials and other materials, better utilize our basic resources, time, etc.

These plans and intentions are being realized. However, let us admit honestly that they could have been implemented in a more efficient way and that production could have been higher and more in line with the growing demands. Stated simply, the ideas of our people about what they would like to have and how to live grow much faster than the means society needs for their realization.

The abilities of our people contain much more than is shown by the economic results we have achieved. The potential of our production base offers more possibilities than are evident so far. Also, working time is not always and everywhere used rationally and responsibly. The labor performed and the remuneration received are not always proportionate. All this unfavorably affects the creation of social resources.

Certain people approach our efforts for the most economic utilization of food, raw materials, energy, resources and time too lightheartedly. Often we see outright waste of not only inexpensive but also expensive food. Sad evidence of this fact is the contents of trash cans. After all, production which fails fully to utilize all raw materials and energy, materials and machinery, people's ability and time can also be classified as waste. Waste also basically involves our tolerance of low-quality products, large number of rejects, and other losses. All this puts a high premium on our society.

The full utilization of machinery and time, materials and energy, knowledge and experience, and the effectiveness of socialist competition would give our society enough means for its development and improve the standard of living and social security. We cannot live above our means. This is not only a thesis; this is a hard fact affecting the standard of living of each individual member of our society.

A proverb says that appetite comes with eating. It would be a mistake to understand this only from the viewpoint of personal consumption, even if this is the most attractive idea. Appetite must grow in the first place in our effort to master the most difficult tasks, to look for new and more challenging tasks, to try to achieve more than in the past. Our society has an advantage in the fact that it works for itself and no longer for a small number of exploiters of human labor. The created sources serve our society fully and our socialist system sees to it that they are distributed in the most equitable way.

And if some people have doubts and believe that life is better in other countries, then it is necessary to ask whether in those countries people work more and better, whether such countries have a balanced and equitable social policy, whether the people there have jobs, whether they are taken care of in case of sickness and old age, whether every individual has a right to acquire an education and lead a rich cultural and spiritual life, whether all these things are not dreams for the majority of the people. It is not enough to see the glitter; it is also necessary to ask what its price is.

1277

CSO: 2400/37

FRG EDITOR ASSESSES POLITICS, LEADERSHIP, INDUSTRY

Impressions, Achievements Noted

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 27 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Dr Theo Sommer, chief editor of DIE ZEIT: "1984 is Turning Into Our Best Year"]

[Text] The border checkpoint looks just as it did 20 years ago: dreary and cold. Chevaux-de-frise skirt the entryway on Heinrich-Heine-Street; metal containers force the drivers into a laborious zigzag course; a cluster of stop signs blocks the way. The roof of the clearance building is covered with dirt. The inspection hut looks as though it was put together by a combat engineer battalion after hours. The wickets are high and narrow; dark blinds on the windows prevent people from looking in. A few sad geraniums, gray wire-mesh fences, hand-painted signs: Pedestrian Entry, Implementation of the Statutory Minimum Exchange--even today, the crossing from Germany to Germany is no aesthetic delight.

Now as before, the traveler is checked three times. But the inspectors in their light summer tunics are friendlier and the clearance procedure is faster. The trip from East to West--in 1964 still a rarity--has long since become a routine. My visa is ready; it allows me to drive about freely in the GDR for 1 week. In those days, the visiting permit applied to no more than eight designated places. I am exempted from the minimum-exchange regulation; the press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rightly assumed that my expenditures would exceed by far the obligatory exchange amount. And since I am escorted by Marlies Menge, the ZEIT correspondent accredited in East Berlin, the officials even refrained from inspecting the vehicle.

The last border patrolman returns the papers and wishes us a "good trip." The turnpike goes up. We are on the other side.

The Posters Are Gone

The first impression: The posters and propaganda banners that formerly greeted the traveler entering the country are gone. We see just one tiny

sign: "35 Years GDR--35 Years of Peace." Out "in the republic," the same observation: No Marx quotations any more, no Lenin slogans. In Dresden, the city hall facade shows the slogan: "Long Live Our Socialist Fatherland--the GDR." Similarly, in the automobile expressways one occasionally sees signs pointing to the state anniversary to be celebrated in October. In the other Germany, the figure 35 denotes the time span lapsed since the foundation of the GDR; it does not stand for the 35-hour week (in the GDR people still work an average of 32 hours and some visitors from the West who displayed the trade union decal "35" on their car's rear window were recently forced to take it off on crossing the border). Otherwise one hardly sees any banners, except that in the provinces one or another enterprise or allotment garden association has not yet noticed that today such things are no longer obligatory. The GDR may still need the wall, but it need no longer hide its reality behind a wall of posters.

The second impression: Traffic is as noisy, polluting and dense as in our country. Twenty years ago, the streets over there seemed empty to us; we whiled away the time counting the motor vehicles we saw within 1 hour. Today this game would be too taxing. The GDR is part of the automobile age. Every fourth family now owns a car--and they wash, wax and polish their cars more zealously than do people in the West, because there still is an 8- to 12-year wait for delivery of a Trabant, Wartburg, Schiguli, Skoda or Dacia. Parking lots have sprung up everywhere--beside the Central Committee building, in Dresden's new city center, at the Riesa Robotron Plant where the "Trabis" [Trabant automobile] outnumber the bicycles, mopeds and motorbikes.

The third initial impression: The workers' and farmers' state has become more colorful. The way people--and young people in particular--dress is more joyful, even audacious. On a hot summer day the girls and boys who in front of the Palast Hotel [Palace Hotel] (incidentally, the only world-class hotel between Wittenberg and Vladivostok) dangle their feet in the fountain basin are indistinguishable from their contemporaries in the West. They wear blue jeans--and only genuine Levis will do. White cotton pants and bright summer dresses are the great hit. Unconfined by undergarments, socialist bosoms merrily jiggle under capitalist T-shirts. Relatives in the West are at the bottom of this, but the state's import policy is another supportive factor. Western fashion is no longer taboo--neither in regard to dress nor in regard to hairdos. Egon Krentz--until recently head of the state youth league FDJ [Free German Youth], since late May one of the 20 Politburo members and generally regarded as Honecker's successor presumptive--says with a laugh: "To us it is not important whether the hair is short or long; of importance is what is inside the head. Nor is it important whether or not there is a rivet on the pants; what's important is that the person inside the pants is no washout."

A number of other things strike the Western visitor comparing the reality of today with the memories of yesterday.

The GDR is no longer gloomy at nightfall: neon lamps glitter everywhere.

The telephone directories have gained in volume. The directory of the capital (1.1 million inhabitants) now comprises 752 pages (West Berlin: 1,312 pages for 2.2 million); the Dresden directory (500,000 inhabitants) has 245 pages; the Weimar directory--in 1964 no more than 11 pages--has swelled to 23 pages.

Twenty years ago, communist papers were the only ones available. During my present stay, there were two occasions at the Palast Hotel where I was able to get the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, the SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG and the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, but not the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. For hard currency, even GDR citizens can obtain these publications. This reflects the SED regime's new calmness. In a country where Western television is ever present, it would be foolish to hide Western papers under the counter.

And then there are the cities. They have been putting on growth rings for a long time. Since 1971, 2 million apartments have been built--most of which are architecturally dull: compared with the simple-minded modernism of the new districts, the wedding-cake style of the old Stalinallee [Stalin Boulevard] is almost homey. But honestly: Did the NEUE HEIMAT [social housing concern] really do a better job when housing had to be provided for millions of people as quickly as possible?

One thing is obvious, though. Even on new buildings, the plaster soon peels off and the paint fades, turning into gray. Supposedly, this is because the GDR has to buy practically all pigments from Western countries. So the state economizes, thus contributing to a certain pervasive dreariness: even where the GDR is new it tends to look somewhat faded and worn; especially in those places where the present has not yet caught up with the past: in the small towns whose centers still look like open-air museums of past ages, and, above all, in the villages whose bleakness has not been mitigated by ever so many beauty contests. Much remains to be done in this regard.

Much has been done, however. It is quite obvious that what the SED leadership calls "development of the advanced socialist system" has not remained an empty slogan. The GDR has made a gigantic leap forward. On its territory, there has taken place the second German Miracle.

There is something else that is more important, however: The development that has taken place in the people's way of thinking--especially in the way of thinking of those who belong to the so-called "Party and State Aktiv" [aktiv: active membership]. These are the people who bear executive responsibility, the Nomenklatura [in the USSR, the roster of leading positions], as it were.

Twenty years ago, they confronted us, displaying boastful aggressiveness. In conversation, they constantly tried to score. Their argumentation was based on ideology; this was the best way of concealing the practical deficiencies of the system. Out of weakness, they pretended to be strong; they were always on the defensive and they continually put down the Federal Republic, because this was the only way of boosting their own cause, their own state. Their language was the officialese of the Party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

The present leaders are quite different. They display calm self-assurance, aplomb and easy sociability. "I have read quite a few of your writings and I am pleased to meet you"--whether Politburo member or first district secretary, their manners are impeccable and they are masters of small talk. They are eloquent and they speak good, clean German--not the dry Party lingo of the editorials published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. At times, the ideological lining shows, but they are not ostentatious about it. They argue without getting excited. Their replies are well thought out rather than stereotypical. Sometimes they reflect on a particular point and reveal a trace of doubt--"yes, one could take a different view." At times, they frankly admit they are at a loss for an answer. They no longer have to fall back on big words to obscure the deficiencies of their system. They know that there are deficiencies, but they would rather emphasize the obvious strengths. They are proud of what has been achieved. Their new self-assurance is rooted in their accomplishments.

"All in all," says Professor Herbert Haerber, the SED Politburo's expert on the Federal Republic, "our situation in the GDR is not bad. Our 35th year--and this is no propaganda slogan--is going to be our most successful year."

The GDR is proud of its economic achievement. To be sure, the country has been hit hard by the worldwide economic crisis. It was forced temporarily to curb imports so as to be able sooner to reduce its Western debts. It has totally restructured its energy production: Since 1980, consumption of fuel and raw materials has been reduced by 19 percent; this year, the country will terminate utilization of oil as fuel (presently 25 percent of total oil consumption). The GDR has resolutely tackled the problem of raw material waste or "production consumption," as the bureaucracy euphemistically puts it; supposedly, in 1980 an 8-percent savings was effected. There has been no lasting drop in growth, however. Unemployment does not exist in the GDR--on the contrary, there is a considerable labor shortage. Social services have not been curtailed. And for the latter half of the 1980's the plans provide for a national income gain of 4 to 5 percent and a production increase of 5 to 6 percent.

Unprecedented Change

Professor Otto Reinhold, director of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences, resides in a former bank near Hausvogteiplatz [Hausvogtei Square]. "When we moved in here, we found the vault was full of treasury bonds. Unfortunately, it was the wrong treasury: Tsarist Russia." At the institute, the SED's junior functionaries undergo 4 years of cadre training and every 2 years, the leading officials--Party cadres, journalists, university presidents, creative artists--return here for 4 weeks to take refresher courses on ideology and to share work experience.

"The economic problems are the ones that concern us the most," says Professor Reinhold, a Sudeten German by birth. He can reel off facts concerning the reorganization of the GDR economy--the 157 combines in industry and in the transportation and construction sectors and the 69 combines of the district administrations. Combines are socialist concerns, which in a certain area

carry full responsibility for research, production and sales including foreign trade. Reinhold prefers, however, to talk about economic progress, one of the key factors contributing to the regime's stability.

"The extensive economic and social changes initiated in the early 1980's are unprecedented in the history of the GDR. We have thus created the conditions enabling us to continue our social policy in spite of the aggravation of the international situation."

The key concept in the GDR is: "Unity of economic and social policy." The people should benefit from economic progress. Exactly what does this mean? Otto Reinhold emphatically explains:

"We succeeded in maintaining and raising the living standard the working people attained in the 1970's. Not a single one of the social programs has been curtailed; many of them have been expanded. This applies above all to housing construction. In 1970, we built 70,000 housing units; 1984 marks the first time we will build more than 200,000."

In the Federal Republic, approximately 341,000 apartments were built in 1983. The GDR--whose population is less than one-third of that of the FRG--certainly need not be afraid of comparison. Two million housing units since 1971--an achievement benefiting 6 million GDR citizens, i.e. over one-third of the population. Honecker's aim in life is by 1990 to solve the housing problem. An SED editor-in-chief plausibly assured me: "Every missile deployed today is a setback to our housing construction program."

Professor Reinhold continues with his catalog of blessings: "Now as before, rents constitute less than 4 percent of income. We have significantly improved the situation of apprentices and students. In mid-May, the baby year for mothers with three and more children has been extended to 18 months. Real income has been growing continuously, and one thing in particular has grown: our ability quickly and flexibly to react to new conditions."

The new, moderate style of interpersonal relations between the two kinds of Germans is characterized by the fact that all this is presented without any spiteful allusions to the social service cuts stipulated in the Federal Republic after the political turnabout in Bonn; at most, one encounters a lack of understanding in regard to our doing so little to eliminate unemployment. Similarly, the formerly obligatory argument concerning the comparability of West German and East German social policy no longer comes up. The visitor knows that in reality much of what looks so impressive on paper lags far behind the blueprint--this goes for the quality of medical care, for example, or the supply of medical drugs. The interlocutors know that the visitor knows this and so there is no point in getting worked up about it. And after all, even a Westerner finds much that is impressive.

In the SED leadership's view, this includes the achievements of its cultural policy. At the Ministry of Culture, State Secretary Loeffler, the organizer of the Luther Year festivities, proudly takes stock: "May I give you a few figures? You'll realize then that we tackle the tasks before us with great calm, self-assurance and style."

Kurt Loeffler is an economist by training. "Before the people can concern themselves with culture," he says, "they have to produce goods. But culture is one of the key prerequisites for the fulfillment of the technical and economic tasks." Loeffler, too, is courteous and speaks a refined German without any frills. He knows how to make statistics sound interesting.

"In the last few years, we have done a lot of rebuilding: the Leipzig Gewandhaus [concert hall], the Deutsche Schauspielhaus [German Theater], the Friedrichstadtpalast [city auditorium]. Reconstruction of the Deutscher Dom [German Cathedral] will begin soon, and work on the Franzoesischer Dom [French Cathedral] is in progress. Early next year, the Dresden Semper Opera will be opened. In a few years, we will start rebuilding the Museum Island; we hope to finish this project by the turn of the century. And for the first time, Wartburg Castle has been fully restored."

It is hot on this day in East Berlin. We have taken off our coats. Both of us sense that the only reason why we put on a tie was to please the partner--such encounters are not yet a matter of course, after all. Showing inter-German harmony, we open the collar button and loosen the tie.

"If proof were needed, dear colleague, that a country such as ours is doing its utmost to keep from getting destroyed again, we would point to this massive, extensive building effort. And mind you: We are not building nuclear shelters, but apartments and places for cultural events. Nowhere will you find anything to suggest we are preparing for war. We are preparing for peace."

The state secretary tells us that during the 1966/70 five-year plan, investments in the cultural sector totaled approximately M 0.5 billion. For the period from 1981 to 1985, they were increased to more than 1 billion. "Since 1975, the budgetary allocations for culture and the arts--excluding investments--have increased by 33 percent. This goes into subsidies for the theater, the opera, orchestras, museums, libraries, folklore, and youth facilities. The cultural sector employs 80,000 people."

From a list, Loeffler reads a number of statistical data.

--In 1983, approximately 35,000 tons of paper were provided for the production of books and pamphlets--an increase of 25 percent over 1970. That year, printed works included: 5,234 titles, including 2,892 first editions--a total of 122 million volumes; in 1983, 6,388 titles, including 3,440 first editions, were published--a total of 142 million volumes. Party pamphlets--0.8 percent of all titles--account for only 10 percent of the total. Per capita production amounted to 8.5 books in 1983 (1970: 7.1). This is still not sufficient to meet demand, especially in regard to children's books.

--In 1970, the libraries comprised 27.3 million volumes; in 1983, holdings amounted to 52 million volumes. Library use is free.

--The museums were visited by approximately 19 million people in 1970, and in 1983, by over 33 million.

--The number of theatrical stages increased from 101 in 1970 to 195 in 1983. Performances rose from 25,000 to 28,000, with the number of theatergoers remaining constant. (Says Loeffler: "This reflects the attraction of television, of the many new apartments and of the fact that traditional productions meet with little response on the part of the young people.")

--During the period from 1970 to 1983, the number of concertgoers increased from 2.1 to 3.4 million, and the houses of culture, from 900 to 1,109.

The restless intelligentsia and the GDR literati in Western exile are not mentioned by Loeffler. Nor are they mentioned by Hermann Kant, the president of the Writers' Association. He is more concerned with praising the younger authors.

Emigration Petitions--Why Not?

And the fact that so many GDR citizens want to move to the West, that they are prepared to accept disadvantages, even harassment, in order to submit emigration petitions--does this not shake the self-assurance the GDR has developed as a result of its success, its political and cultural achievements and the newly gained international respectability?

This may be the case, but they do not let on. They deny the magnitude of the problem. In reply to my question, if there actually are 100,000 petitioners, an insider replied: "This figure is too high by more than half." They find solace in the thought that the Federal Republic likewise loses approximately 60,000 people a year to emigration. "Every country has people who want to make their fortune somewhere else." And Hans Modrow, first secretary of the SED's Dresden District Administration, even considered the emigration effort of many GDR citizens to be primarily a compliment: "They place great confidence in Socialism, even though they want to leave: confidence in their education and confidence in being competent and successful in the West even in the face of mass unemployment."

This logic may be considered absurd. It does contain a trace of realism, however, as is indicated by the statement of Deputy Minister of Culture Loeffler: "Naturally, there are quite a few illusions here in regard to the Federal Republic." He utters the words "Federal Republic" without any hesitation; the abbreviation BRD [FRG], formerly a cutting weapon in any conversation, is used only rarely. "Someone watching Victoria Principal's television commercial pushing a certain moisturizing cream may think: Dallas I can watch any time, but I don't have the cream yet. One should not overrate the effect of television commercials, however. In our country, the people have developed a way of thinking and a life style of their own."

It cannot be denied: Behind the wall, the chevaux-de-frise and the stop signs, there has grown something that is different from us. Herbert Wehner once said the two German states considered each other neither homeland nor

foreign country. Perhaps one should use now a different concept to describe what the GDR and the Federal Republic are to each other--a concept coined by Freud to define the quality of alienation of something that still is part of the person concerned: "Foreign parts at home."

Leadership's Opinions Voiced

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 3 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Dr. Theo Sommer, chief editor DIE ZEIT: "With History on Their Backs"]

[Text] Like so many other things in that country, the center of power in the GDR is distinguished by Prussian austerity. The Central Committee and the leadership organ proper, the 20-member Politburo, hold office in a plain gray building that once housed the Third Reich's ministry of finance. The first sentry salutes the visitor at the main entrance. The second sentry stands at attention on the mezzanine. Then the elevator takes us to the 3rd floor: the executive floor of the republic.

"This is where comrade Honecker's office is located," the protocol official tells us, showing a trace of Saxon dialect. "Most of the time he is here rather than next door, in the State Council building." Honecker's room number is 2010. Labyrinthine hallways branch off to both the right and the left: beige wall-to-wall carpeting; in some places imitation-parquet linoleum; plain doors of light wood. In a corner room, some easy chairs arranged in groups. "Behind that, the Politburo holds its meetings," my escort says.

I visited 2 of the 20 Politburo members, 2 of those FDJ team members between the ages of about 45 and 55 who are gradually moving into the leading positions in East Germany: Professor Herbert Haeber, born in 1930, expert on the Federal Republic, and Egon Krentz, born in 1937, possibly Honecker's successor designate. They sit behind large, tidy desks (on Krentz' desk there were two small piles of documents and an issue of PRAVDA).

The other new Politburo members probably present a similar picture: Werner Jarowinsky, born in 1927; Guenter Kleiber, born in 1931; Guenter Schabrowski, born in 1929. It also applies to Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden District Administration, born in 1928; to Deputy Minister of Culture Loeffler, born in 1932; to Professor Manfred Banaschak, editor-in-chief of the theoretical journal EINHEIT, born in 1929; and to Ernst-Otto Schwabe, editor-in-chief of the foreign policy journal HORIZONT, born in 1929.

White Shirts, Conservative Ties

The GDR's leading officials wear white shirts, conservative ties and well-fitting, dark-colored suits, but otherwise they are quite modest. Any display of extravagancies is taboo. At most, there may be a positive painting by a contemporary artist on the wall, or a flattering print of Honecker may have replaced the customary ancient photograph of the State Council chairman. Otherwise, no personal touches.

There is one thing the men of the successor generation have in common: Almost all of them are products of the FDJ's cadre training program--and thus part of the team of Honecker, who headed the youth league from 1946 to 1955. Even Krentz, until recently head of the FDJ, says proudly: "Whether you take industry or science, the army or the Party--this is truly an FDJ generation. The majority of the leading cadres now assuming responsibility come from the FDJ."

"What is the reason for this?"

"The FDJ with its 2.3 million members was a good training system," Krentz replies. "We learned to think politically. We learned to convince differently minded people. We were quickly given responsibility. We championed the basic rights of young people: the right to codetermination and the right to work, education and recreation."

District Secretary Modrow of Dresden, who likewise has done "youth work," agrees: "One must be able to organize, analyze, make decisions and talk. One also learns to be courageous. Young people expect the youth secretary to stand up for them and to understand them. If someone kicks over the traces, it is better to rein him in, as against his not stirring at all."

Some of the new men personally experienced war--Modrow, for example, who served 4 months in the German territorial army and subsequently, as a lumberjack in Soviet captivity, "paid back 1 year for each month," before he was selected for the Antifa [Anti-Fascism] School. Others have vague childhood memories of the German Reich and the war. Most of them know nothing but the GDR, however. Hermann Kant, the writer, characterized them as follows: "They are very different people. Their mama told them they live in the GDR. And that there is such a thing as Capitalism they were taught by their school-teachers. I try never to forget that Erich Honecker was locked up for years in a hole of a jail cell where off and on he felt the wall vibrate--when the guillotine blade came down."

Very different people--what does this mean in regard to their attitude toward the Federal Republic, in regard to their self-image, their position on the question of German unity? Are they not as conscious of the nation's division as is Honecker, the native of Saarland? Vis-a-vis Bonn, are they going to pursue a different policy?

"Differences between the positions taken by Erich Honecker and Egon Krentz on the German question?" Krentz tersely says: "I would say: No."

In Dresden, the 55-year-old Modrow shows by means of a simple argument that an SED leader need not be born in Saarland to constantly remain conscious of the division: "I am a member of a divided family. I am the only family member in this country. The others all live in Schleswig-Holstein." If the memory of the common history is not sufficient, then the thought of the divided families will keep alive the sense of German solidarity.

Besides, history itself is no longer crudely repressed. "Deutschland [Germany] now is nothing but the name of a Leipzig hotel," Albert Norden, Ulbricht's head propagandist, said 20 years ago. "Norden was mistaken there," people drily say now; "the house has long gone by the name of Hotel am Ring." And even though Egon Krentz conversationally refers to the old Liebknecht thesis to the effect that Germany has always been divided into two nations, the nation of the rich and the nation of the poor, he nevertheless emphasizes that after World War II the Communists consistently tried to preserve Germany as an integral whole.

In fact the SED state's first constitution still contained the clause: "Germany is an indivisible republic." Not until the mid-1960's did separatism become state dogma. Ulbricht spoke of the Germany of the Krupps and the Germany of the Krauses. In its second constitution, the GDR was fashioned into the "socialist state of the German nation," while the national question became a class problem.

This is where matters presently stand. But now the GDR position is presented less rigidly. In a recent letter to Helmut Kohl, Honecker even referred to the German people. "You can't imagine," a functionary confidentially told me, "how much discussion this has provoked."

At the Ministry of Culture in East Berlin, I asked State Secretary Loeffler: "What associations does the word fatherland carry for you?"

"Once there was the thesis: The proletarian has no fatherland--because he was excluded from power. Subsequently, there was the thesis: The proletarian's fatherland is the Soviet Union--this was a class-based decision. Today 'fatherland' is in a certain sense synonymous with 'homeland'--not only with the land one is born in, but with the place one is prepared to take up in history."

"And this place is Germany or the GDR?"

"When we say fatherland, we mean the GDR."

"In your mind, does that leave room for the Federal Republic?"

"We do not raise any legal claims to the other Germany. Nor do we say any longer: We are the only legitimate heir of German humanism. Naturally, the bourgeoisie has the right to invoke the national tradition."

The SED leaders are now doing the same. They no longer regard the year 1949 as the GDR's zero hour, nor do they consider it exclusively a continuation of the proletarian revolution elsewhere. "Socialism is rooted in all centuries and generations," says the organizer of the Luther Year.

Why did this realization come so late? District Secretary Modrow offers a thoughtful explanation: "A state developing its identity obviously needs time to mature, to grow into its own history. Today we are more mature. After all, we have discovered not only Prussia, contrary to what is being

said in the Federal Republic. The Saxons are working on their own history, which will be published in three volumes. Late this year, a history of Dresden as royal capital will be published. The television network is preparing a Saxon trilogy. In addition, work is being done on a history of Mecklenburg."

During our conversation, Modrow grew quite intense when we touched on the fact that most of the key members of his generation studied in Moscow at the Party Academy or the Komsomol Institute: "Since you are asking whether or not we are Germans, I want to emphasize that a course of studies in Moscow does not make a Russian out of a German and that all of us are marked by history."

From the common history of the German people, are the young SED leaders drawing any conclusions regarding the future? Are they still considering reunification? The answer is unequivocal: No. Some typical statements:

State Secretary Loeffler: "It would be undialectical to believe the division is something accidental. The two German states have made history, and this is not a question of temporary existence. It is a question of the consolidation of the two states on different social foundations. One cannot reunify something that is drifting apart. Any change in the existing situation would mean breakup of the world."

Ernst Krabatsch, head of the Basic Policy Department at the Ministry of External Affairs: "I don't think that in the year 2000 Germany will be reunified. Crucial events have taken place. In world politics, the basic pattern appears to be fixed. There has come about a peace-promoting balance of power."

Editor-in-Chief Schwabe (HORIZONT): "You must finally let go of the idea of being able to pocket us. After all, no one wants reunification--neither your nor our allies."

Politburo member Krentz: "Exactly what is to be reunified? Socialism in the GDR is there to stay. There is no doubt about that and all attempts at interference are bound to be fruitless. The reunification issue would appear in a different light if Socialism were to knock at the Federal Republic's door someday. I am imbued with great historical optimism in this regard. But now or in the near future? No."

Politburo member Haerber: "If someone dreams about what he could do in the course of a long historical process--well, Erich Honecker once said: 'We too can dream.' But this is beside the point. The point is: Exactly what policy are we going to pursue?"

After 8 days of talks in East Berlin, I have no doubt: The GDR leaders want the best possible relations with Bonn. To be sure, before the deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles in the Federal Republic, they warned against a new "ice age." Once the inevitable had taken place, however, they adopted a milder tone. The preferred term now is "damage limitation." In a downright imploring manner, they point out to the Bonn administration that at the interface between East and West the two German states have a special

obligation, namely both to maintain and generate calm. Two of my interlocutors approvingly quoted the term "Klimaverantwortung" [climatic responsibility], which was coined by Federal President von Weizsaecker. "Coalition of reason," "joint responsibility," "security partnership"--all these concepts are more than agitation slogans to them.

They Know What War Means

They know that on the two German states' territory there are more soldiers and more weapons--above all nuclear weapons--than anywhere else in the world. They know as well as we do what a war in Central Europe would mean: Extinction of the German people in both states. "We are not basing our disarmament policy on any propagandist tomfoolery," a major general told me. "We must maintain peace--and not only a peace that establishes the military equilibrium at an ever higher level." And a writer--quite loyal to the regime--stated: "It is precisely because Washington is so pig-headed and Moscow so grim that the two German states must talk to each other."

In addition, there are economic arguments. The GDR profits by its secret EC membership; by Bonn's transfer payments (M 775 million annually); by the credit we grant it (swing 690 million; two bank credits, 1983 and 1984, totaling just under M 2 billion); by the inter-German trade (total volume in 1983: M 15.2 billion). This helps the GDR to implement many rationalization projects. Moreover, the GDR benefits from various cooperation arrangements, which enable it better to meet its obligations to its partners in the Eastern Bloc.

Professor Reinhold of the Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences emphatically points out: "Our entire policy is oriented toward further expanding the economic relations with the Federal Republic." And he adds: "We are not striving for self-sufficiency, nor are we planning to retreat into our shell. We feel it is realistic to try to improve relations with the Federal Republic."

Do opinions on this possibly differ? Is the Politburo divided into "softies" and "toughies," "doves" and "falcons"?

Editor-in-Chief Schwabe vehemently disputes this: "All this is nonsense." Professor Haerber denies it: "Stop this silly categorization." Krentz, his Politburo colleague, says pointedly: "If the situation calls for it, we are all either doves or falcons."

And that the Soviets are curbing Honecker's policy toward the West? This question was of immediate interest even before PRAVDA fired its broadside. In their comments on this subject, my interlocutors exercised caution. "The GDR derives one-third of its national income from foreign trade," explained Professor Reinhold, "and trade with the Soviet Union accounts for 38 percent of the foreign trade total. The USSR is our most important trade partner and we are the most important partner of the Soviet Union. For both economic and political reasons, this is not going to change. At times, however, the difference in the levels of development entails different points of

view." A journalist added: "The GDR attaches greater importance to the economic relations with the West than does the Soviet Union. The Soviet economy is so enormous--it can more easily cope with a setback."

And politically? "We are part of an alliance and so is the Federal Republic," lectured the Politburo member Prof Haeber. "We are not so deluded as to think we can pry or lure the Federal Republic out of its alliance. And we on our part are likewise loyal alliance partners. Regarding the difficult problem of missile deployment, we met the obligations imposed by the alliance. Naturally, there is coordination. It is normal to inform oneself and to consult. But this does not mean that the GDR does not determine its own policy. In your country, there are two conflicting misconceptions, namely that we merely follow orders, and conversely, that we want to find our feet, as it were. Both of these views are erroneous."

"A Piece of the Tsar's Pigtail"

No, the GDR leaders will not permit any criticism of their "fraternal alliance" with the Soviet Union. A little gibing appears to be all right, however. "Sometimes they seem to be carrying a piece of the tsar's pigtail," I heard a highly placed functionary say. And the lower-ranking functionaries gloatingly amuse themselves by telling each other the latest jokes about the Kremlin's old guard. A sample: Agenda of the next Central Committee session. Point 1: The Presidium is carried in. Point 2: Singing of the song "We Are the Young Guard." Or: What is the difference between a crocodile and the Politburo? Answer: The crocodile has 4 legs and 48 teeth, while the Politburo has 48 legs and 4 teeth. Or: Why does Chernenko always need three microphones? Answer: One microphone is for holding onto; the second one blows oxygen at him, and the third one is for prompting him.

Such jokes should not be interpreted as rebelliousness. At most, they may indicate a certain pride such as was expressed in the statement made by a general: "The GDR's existence is based on other reasons besides Russian preference."

Four years ago, Jimmy Carter prevented the West German Olympic team from going to Moscow. Will the Kremlin leaders now force Honecker to cancel the visit to the FRG scheduled for late September?

All of my questions concerning the Honecker visit brought forth just one stereotyped reply: "We do not engage in speculation." The GDR leaders are not stating any preconditions. Nor are they playing up the list of demands formulated by Honecker in Gera in the fall of 1980: recognition of GDR citizenship by Bonn; conversion of the permanent missions into embassies; shifting of the state border to the middle of the Elbe River; closing of the Salzgitter Registration Center.

"There are quite a few things that have to be settled yet," Herbert Haeber pointed out mildly. "The Basic Constitutional Law does not say there has to be a Salzgitter center. Nor does it say that one can come to terms about every single centimeter of overland border, but not about 90 kilometers of

river border. Anyhow, this is really a matter of political attitudes. For we are not asking for any changes in the Basic Constitutional Law. We are not talking about recognition of GDR citizenship; this is none of Bonn's business. Nor are we asking the Federal Government for any statement. We are asking Bonn to respect the fact that our state has citizens and that these citizens have a national status of their own."

According to Haerber, the main problem is recognition of the fact that the GDR and the Federal Republic are two independent, sovereign states. "On this basis, one can settle many other things: scientific-technical cooperation, cultural relations, environmental protection. The GDR is ready for reasonable arrangements."

"What should Kohl and Honecker talk about?"

"I consider it quite normal that countries discuss problems concerning disarmament and arms control and also chemical weapons and nuclear-free zones. We must see to it that the two German states do not add to international tension--even though we know that neither state can disengage. Each state in its respective alliance should work toward improvement of the overall situation."

The initial doubts as to whether the Kohl administration would continue the Ostpolitik pursued by its predecessor have vanished. The GDR leaders laud the way Bonn's Permanent Mission solved the refugee problem: "The Federal Government has shown a sense of proportion. State Secretary Jenninger proved to be up to the task."

Does the GDR think that by making the 11 concessions in connection with the second big West German loan it has met Bonn's expectations? The top officials do not talk about this, least of all about Western speculations concerning a lowering of the emigration age for travelers to the West, at least for women. More or less, an adviser to the general secretary told me: "Honecker considers it disgraceful to divide the GDR population into age groups. The stipulation concerning trips of pensioners was passed by Ulbricht in 1964. Honecker would not have passed it; he would have preferred a general clause."

Two weeks ago, I asked whether the Honecker visit was still open to doubt. "Not as far as we are concerned," Herbert Haerber replied. "We feel that the visit should take place. And we hope no one will come along again and make up something." Egon Krentz voiced similar sentiments: "We are playing straight." Krentz added, however, that it was not yet possible to say whether or not the visit would come off. When I replied I very much wanted it to happen, he said with a broad laugh: "So do I."

It is possible, however, that someone in the Kremlin will "make up something" that would make Honecker cancel the visit to his West German homeland after all. The final decision must then be made on the 3rd floor of the gray Central Committee building on East Berlin's Marx-Engels-Square--on the executive floor of the other German state.

Electronics Technology Role Reviewed

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 10 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by Dr Theo Sommer, chief editor of DIE ZEIT: "On the Road to Electronic Socialism?"]

[Text] The little town of Riesa is 55 kilometers from Dresden. The road goes through the Elbe Basin, via the ancient military road linking Poland and Bohemia with the West. A region distinguished by a singular cultural heritage. Vineyards, old quarries, Meissen and Albrecht Castle: Gothic period. Taverns frequented by river boatmen ("Golden Anchor," "Sailor's Rest"); taverns serving "Meissener Domherr," a very drinkable wine. Then the Lommatzsch Hills with their villages of half-timbered houses surrounded by rolling grain fields and endless beet plantations. Here and there, traces of the Baroque: the east and the south are joined here in Saxon sensuality. Here and there, a new industrial plant: the Dresden District--1.8 million inhabitants, approximately 10 percent of the GDR population--comprises 17 percent of East Germany's electronics industry.

To the left of the road leading into Riesa, there is an old inn distinguished by solid walls and old lintels. In faded Antiqua letters, a name is displayed above the entrance: "F. W. Krause, 1846." In the dance hall of this time-honored establishment, which meanwhile has been transformed into the town's House of Culture, the GDR in 1969 started the production of computers: 100 employees built adapters and antediluvian germanium transistors. "Those were easygoing times," Deputy Works Manager Zaulich says. A radio mechanic at that time, he participated from the very first day. Besides holding down his job, he took correspondence courses and worked his way up. In telling this, he displays a modicum of satisfaction. He shows real pride, however, escorting the visitor through the workshop hall and describing the development of the plant.

Meanwhile, a modern production facility has been developed here, out in the open. The number of employees has swelled from 100 in 1969 to 2,500. "We lured the steelworkers' wives out of the kitchen and trained them." A permanent staff has been formed. Every year, the plant admits between 60 and 80 apprentices to its training program in electronics. The assembly line in the dance hall has developed into the model plant of the Robotron Combine--an enterprise that beyond the Elbe River is the closest equivalent of what Siemens represents in our country in the field of data processing: 70,000 employees; annual turnover 5.5 billion. Of this total, the Riesa plant accounts for 370 million. Output has been increasing by 10 percent annually.

The workshop hall looks like any other hall of this type. Perhaps the structure is lighter and simpler than a comparable hall would be in our country; it reveals a trace of carelessness, even outside the shop area proper. The assembly lines, however, are no different from those of Siemens or Sony. "We are a subcontracting enterprise," Works Manager Zaulich says. "We supply the electronic assembly units for television sets and typewriters and also the integrated circuits for microcomputers and medium-sized and large EDP units."

The temperature in the hall is kept at a constant 22° and the atmospheric humidity is controlled. The entire complex resembles a laboratory rather than an industrial plant. The employees--many of whom are young women--wear white coats and the work atmosphere is one of peaceful concentration.

In the manager's office, the conference table is set for the obligatory snack. There are sandwiches, juices, mineral water, cognac and Moulin Rouge (cassis with vodka). Since we have had a hearty breakfast, we decline with thanks. "No raiding of the union till," our escort comments with a smile.

"I noticed that some of the machines are from the West. Are you dependent on the West?"

"Yes and no." The answer to my question is given without any hesitation. "On the one hand, there are restrictions on account of the Cocom list [not further identified]. On the other hand: Chips with a capacity of 100,000 transistors have become mass products. Chips with a capacity of 1 billion transistors are infinitely more expensive, but if I absolutely want to build a high-capacity computer, I can do it."

Embargos Are Nonsense

Subsequently, at the Robotron head office in Dresden, I once more ask the same question. The reply given by the acting general manager, Professor Gerhard Merkel, is identical with that by the Riesa works manager:

"From a technical point of view, any embargo is nonsense. Technically, it can handicap the target country for some time. In the long term, however, the embargo merely serves to provoke independent effort. A telling example in this regard was the situation involving belts for special, highly automated machines. These belts we eventually produced ourselves. And the same thing happened when the attempt was made to prevent us from getting the latest modules in microelectronics. In that case, we launched a large-scale project to the north of Dresden, which has meanwhile developed into the largest enterprise in that city. To sum up: The embargo measures are a temporary hindrance, but they also push us into progress."

Professor Merkel points out yet another consequence of the West's embargo policy: "The GDR by itself is too small to tackle certain research projects. Economic sanctions thus drive us into ever closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, which as an economic superpower has the resources to solve any problem."

"Then why are there all these attempts to smuggle Western electronics into the Eastern Bloc--as happened 6 months ago in the case of the VAX 11-782 computer that was shipped through South Africa, the Federal Republic and Sweden?"

"Well, you know, practically anyone can build a computer today. I don't want to say anything negative, but computers of this capacity are produced now even by the Romanians...."

Is the GDR lagging behind the West in the field of microelectronics--as much as 7 years, as is claimed sometimes? According to Professor Merkel, any generalizations are meaningless, since what matters is the individual product or product category; he stated that naturally there were technical differences such as existed also between other countries, but that the oft-repeated claim to the effect that in regard to "coverage" of computer technology the GDR was lagging far behind the FRG required detailed analysis.

It is said that in the Federal Republic approximately 20,000 high-capacity computers are in operation, as against 700 in the GDR. Merkel does not concern himself with these figures. He advances a different argument: "In our country, computer utilization is twice as intensive as in the Federal Republic--20 hours a day, 7 days a week. And for planning, calculation and advertising, your enterprises have to spend much more. In our country, 'benefiting from the advantages offered by Socialism,' as we call it, we have many standardized arrangements, and this greatly simplifies administrative matters. In Dresden, users can avail themselves of 12 EDP units."

Regarding entry into the electronics age, which has been resolutely demanded and promoted in the GDR since the late 1970's, the Robotron Combine plays a leading role. The combine--the country's largest--absorbed a great many time-honored firms: Triumph in Erfurt, Mercedes in Zella-Mehlis, Seidel & Naumann in Dresden. In addition, however, the combine has taken in new enterprises. At the same time, there have been changes in the product assortment: besides typewriters and bookkeeping machines, the combine now produces office computers, microcomputers and process control machines. Within CEMA, Robotron supplies primarily computers in the medium-size range. It exports 60 percent of its output, with the socialist countries accounting for 95 percent of total exports. "Formerly, we exported hundreds of thousands of bookkeeping machines to the Soviet Union," says Gerhard Merkel, "and these machines must be replaced. Undoubtedly you too would be interested in this, but it is our baby." He adds: "In the USSR, too, performance is what counts--and in the last 2 to 3 years, taste and design have become increasingly important. If we don't keep changing and improving our products, we are done for."

And the future? "We will keep competing on the international level," Professor Merkel says in reply to my question. "After all we have been at it for some time. We sold the LCD (Liquid Crystal Display) idea to the Japanese in 1971. As far as the fifth computer generation is concerned, we are right there. For a long time, we have been studying picture processing involving special processors for situational analysis such as are required by cruise missiles. For the last 8 or 10 years, we have been concentrating on electronic blood analyses. We are doing timber stock studies using aerial photographs. Our multispectral camera was used by the cosmonauts in space. Presently we are working on an electronic process for checking aircraft tires--on behalf of a French company. We are also studying phonetic input and phonetic output. And so forth."

A Tradition of Tinkering

"To what extent are you engaged in military research?"

"It is an infinitely small part of our work. How much it is going to expand depends on man's good sense. It depends on the outcome of world politics. If there is no other way, we will have to get more involved."

Twenty years ago, Manfred von Ardenne told three ZEIT staff members in Dresden about his vision of an electronic Socialism where computers would overcome the system's main deficiency, the faultiness of human planning: "Once electronic machines perform this function, we won't have any more difficulties."

Presently one no longer hears such big talk over there. There still are difficulties in regard to hardware, and software is in short supply; moreover, the enterprises are still slow in availing themselves of the new possibilities offered by technology. No one is more aware of the problems than the Robotron people. There is no doubt, however, that the GDR, too, is entering the electronics age.

Supported by the Technical University, Professor Merkel is sponsoring a Dresden home computer club. "The fans are absolutely free there. They write their own programs. We do not make any rules. We just want to get ideas there."

"Do you think the home computer wave will engulf the GDR as well--or do you consider it just a waste?"

"We discussed this question at the Academy of Sciences. Does the computer further the development of children? When does it further the children? Our educators proceed from the assumption that the pupils must first form an idea of the thinking process; in this phase, even a pocket calculator would be premature. Next year, however, we will start introducing the pocket calculator at a certain grade. As regards the home computer, opinions still differ. Some experimental test series extend up to 1986. It is not yet clear whether or not BASIC should be the key programming language. Besides: Is the home computer the most important thing? This is also a matter of quality, after all. We consider the computer a doorway to information science rather than a hobby."

The GDR has embarked on the road to the information age. How fast it is going to advance depends above all on Robotron. It is not by accident that the electronic concern's headquarters is in Dresden: in the SED republic's sun belt, where there is a tradition of tinkering. The Dresden Museum exhibits a stuffed bear 1 meter tall that plays the drum to sound the reveille. This automatic clock of the 17th century is a precursor of that new generation of robots that now is supposed to change the makeup of the country between Priwall and Plauen, Gotha and Cottbus.

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DETENTE CRUCIAL DESPITE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

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[Article by Max Schmidt, director, Institute for International Politics and Economics: "Conditions and Possibilities for a Continuation of the Policy of Peaceful Coexistence in Europe"]

[Text] Heightened threat to peace by imperialist hegemonial policies. Strengthened forces of peace. Possibility for a coalition of reason. Urgency of military detente.

The international situation not only in Europe but worldwide has become significantly worse because of the confrontation policy of imperialism, especially of the United States. The process of European security and cooperation is seriously burdened. Much that has been achieved is in jeopardy, reverses have occurred, dangerous paths for the destruction of the detente policy have been followed by the imperialist side.

But peaceful coexistence and its basic principles as well as essential parts of their practical consequences could not be banished from the life of the peoples of Europe. Many elements of the detente policy have taken deep roots. And the confrontation policy encounters strong counteracting forces who advocate stopping erosion of detente, who are offering resistance to overarmament and nuclear war policy and want to lead Europe again out of the tunnel of confrontation, want to go on from the achieved results of detente and--keeping in mind past experience and taking into account the changed situation--want to contribute to its rebirth.

At present, prevention of war, maintenance and strengthening of peace are a categorical imperative of international relations. Less than ever is it possible to achieve a solution of political, economic, and social problems by military conflict. In view of the capacities for destruction stockpiled worldwide, following such a course would lead to catastrophe. With the growing threat to the bases of existence of mankind by a war conducted with weapons of mass destruction and the absolute irrationality of thinking in terms of military victory connected therewith, even preparation for such a war has a destabilizing effect on international security. As a result of the complicated international system of relations, even smaller centers of tension affect the security interests of other states and other groups of states and thus may escalate into global conflicts.

Changed Assumptions

The imperative necessity for peaceful settlement of international relations consequently makes new demands on the political action of all states in the search for compromise solutions to controversial questions. Summing up the period of European development (of course in its worldwide ramifications) since the mid-seventies, in view of this objective necessity some basic findings stand out, which at the same time are lessons for today.

First and foremost, there manifests itself the great historical achievement of socialism, the society of which Marx predicted that "its international principle will be peace"¹: Its existence, its policy, its strength and its common sense constitute the main share of the fact that peace could be preserved in Europe even under the complicated conditions that were created by the increasing confrontation and provocation--in military, political, economic, and ideological respect--by the adventurist and aggressive circles of the United States and NATO.

Secondly, it becomes apparent that the ruling forces of imperialism, despite all efforts, did not succeed in achieving their goal and in again reversing the basic direction of development of the international balance of power in their favor, in forcing socialism to its knees and in destroying the approximate military parity between the states of both social systems.

Thirdly, it has been proven that true and stable security on our continent is possible only if it is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social order. Especially in Europe, thus the continent on which states of both antagonistic systems face one another in closest proximity, it emerged first and most clearly that neither side can achieve security at the expense of insecurity of the opposite side. The Europeans had to make the experience that the policy of the Cold War, of the threat with military aggressions, of economic sanctions, and of open confrontation not only could not weaken the positions of the socialist states but did not bring any advantages to their originators. Safeguarding peace, cooperation, and reduction of tensions can be achieved only if the starting point is common or parallel interests of all participants, there is mutual respect for them and--what is very important--they are purposefully sought and developed.

Fourthly, it is to be noted: Recognition of the idea that security against war constitutes the most elementary security interest provided much momentum to the process of detente. Thus it happened that in the seventies peace started to be more than merely the absence of war within the vicious circles of war--peace--and war again. For the first time, the peoples of Europe found that peace and security based on a constant constructive dialogue and the development of a mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems is possible. Thus it was also proved that the general political conditions constitute quite significant beneficial or impeding factors for the development of all-European cooperation in economic, cultural, and humanitarian fields.

Fifthly, it became evident that more armament, confrontation instead of cooperation, the absence of steps toward military detente did not create more

but in final analysis less security for all. The system of international security is thus destabilized, the risks of a war catastrophe increase.

Sixthly, it has become evident very clearly where to find the driving forces and supporters of efforts for continuation of political detente, complementing these efforts by steps of military detente, but also of strivings toward confrontational shaping of the relations of the European states. History itself has emphatically noted who has adhered to the path taken to restore the health of the atmosphere in Europe and the world--the socialist peoples and states and many peace-loving, realistic forces in the West ready for understanding--and who has abandoned this course--the forces opposed to detente which now determine policy in the United States and in some other NATO states.

Seventhly, finally detente in Europe has demonstrated its vitality and attraction--in the face of all stubborn attempts of its enemies in the imperialist camp to bury it--and has left indelible traces in politics and economics and in the consciousness of the people. In view of the growing aggressiveness of imperialism--especially in its extreme expression, the U.S. expression--the strongest movement of the peoples formed since World War II has lined up for the defense and revival of detente.

Thus the past 10 years have revealed opportunities and beginnings as well as obstacles and difficulties of the transition to democratic, peaceful and cooperative state relations in Europe as the essence of peaceful coexistence and detente under the aspect of international relations.

Two Opposite Lines

Since the end of World War II, two trends have always been evident in approaching European security: on the one hand, the line directed at peaceful cooperation of the socialist states, of the working class in the capitalist countries, and realistically thinking circles of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, the course of aggressive forces of imperialism directed towards preventing and dismantling international relations on the basis of equality, striving toward "security" by capitulation or overpowering of socialism.

As a result of the policy of the U.S. Administration and that of militant NATO circles, the questions of achievement and prospects of European security have become massively critical, the struggle concerning the relations between the states of the two social orders on the continent are at a crucial point.

The countries of the socialist community of states want to pursue the antagonism of the systems and their different ideologies not by force, pressure or even militarily, but by peaceful means; the unavoidable coexistence of socialism and capitalism should and must be determined by the peaceful coexistence of states of different systems in the interest of the survival of mankind. They are striving for development of the positive beginnings for peaceful coexistence of the peoples of Europe. The socialist states do not have the intention, either open or hidden, to impose the ideas of scientific socialism on other peoples and states, certainly not by military means.

The statement of the Warsaw Pact states in their Prague declaration of January 1983 should be especially pointed out here: "Mindful of their responsibility for peace and international security, the socialist countries in their policy strictly separate ideological questions from problems of intergovernmental relations; they are developing their relations with the capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence."²

However, the ruling faction in the United States in its obsession with arranging the world according to its hegemonial interests goes so far as to include in its calculations the destruction of mankind. It has raised to state doctrine its political-ideological principle to eradicate socialism as a social system, which it seeks to achieve by all available means--including military ones. In doing so, the United States replaces state relations based on equality by supremacy even towards its allies in Western Europe and disregards their security interests. This demonstrates the principal difference existing between the concept and policy of peaceful coexistence and the confrontation strategy on the other hand.

The question arises: Europe on whose territory states of the two socially opposite systems face each other armed to the teeth on a very narrow area, where it was demonstrated first and most clearly that neither side can be victorious, is this Europe able to continue playing, regaining, developing its pioneer role in the field of international detente or does it have to lose it and become the repository of horrible dangers for the further development of mankind?

The socialist states are of the opinion that the present situation is more complicated as a result of the imperialist confrontation policy, but that the precarious situation is not irreversible. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, stated in December 1983 that Europe is passing through one of the most severe tests of the postwar period. The most aggressive circles of NATO, especially of the United States and the FRG, succeeded in pushing the world into a new round of the arms race. "At the same time it is all the more important to recognize that there is not only the necessity but also the possibility to restrain them in their intentions."³

Possibility for a Coalition of Reason

There are objective and subjective conditions for cooperation of all forces interested in peace, detente, and understanding within and outside the governments in East and West, which were suggested by E. Honecker for safeguarding and strengthening of peace as a response to the increasing gravity of the international situation caused by the U.S. striving for superiority. What is involved is a coalition of reason working towards a condition of peace in Europe, in which cooperation among the states for the welfare of the peoples serves as standard and not confrontation policy.

With all the variety of opinions and motivations of such a coalition of reason, which would range from communists to pacifists, from representatives of the countries of the socialist states to parliamentarians and government

representatives of Western states and could also comprise the majority of the business world, significant insights and understandings develop which--of course with differences in degrees--express many common or coinciding positions.

There is especially the opinion that averting the danger of war, steps toward arms limitation and toward disarmament must override all other considerations, i.e. must constitute the outstanding problem of all security. What is involved here is not only the question of reasonable relations, of saving armament expenditures, but also the question of survival or nonsurvival of mankind, especially in Europe with its massing of weapons and armed forces.

With the increase of qualitative armament, especially of the increase in the destructive power of nuclear weapons, the opinion spread furthermore that more armament does not create more security--namely on either side--but increases insecurity and the danger of war. A nuclear war knows neither victor nor vanquished. This is the reality that places thinking and action in the categories of being able to conduct it, to limit it and to win it in the realm of the most dangerous irrationalism. The understanding is growing that in view of the weapons of mass destruction, war can no longer be a rational means of politics, because no policy will exist any longer thereafter.

Under these conditions there can only be security as a joint security as is being emphasized for example by many Social Democratic politicians as the same security as belongs to the principles of peaceful coexistence. That is to say, security is no longer attainable against the competitor but only with him. It can also be called a peace partnership, or--as done by various circles in Western Europe--as a security partnership. Peaceful coexistence is the only possible principle for developing the state relations in Europe. This fact is being recognized in soberly thinking, responsible political leadership circles of Western Europe. To start from this principle objectively is in the direct vital interest of all peoples and states as never before, because every attempt to settle the historical dispute between socialism and capitalism by a military clash would lead to the destruction of mankind. Thus peaceful coexistence evolves into a common foundation of a future coalition of reason even though that fact is not subjectively recognized by all.

There is also increasing awareness that science and technology have created the potential for the destruction of mankind but that averting this catastrophe can only come from man himself. The critical development of the danger of war is not the result of scientific-technical processes but the result of the conscious choice of a confrontational path by reactionary and neoconservative imperialist circles whose efforts must be contained and overcome in the interest of mankind.

And finally the truth is spreading that many economic and social problems within and between the two socioeconomic systems, but especially in the developing countries, significantly intensified by confrontation and arms race, are hindered in their solution, while they can be reduced and brought closer to mastering them under conditions of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. This applies to an especially high degree to such worldwide problems of mankind as the elimination of underdevelopment, safeguarding world nutrition, supply of

resources, solution of the ecological problems, etc. The joint declaration of the so-called independent Palme Commission for Disarmament Questions and of the North-South Commission headed by Willy Brandt in early 1984 can serve as evidence for these facts.

Developed Peace Forces

The socialist community of states is the principal force of the comprehensive front of those advocating peace and cooperation on the continent. "In this critical phase of international development, the peoples link the hope and the certainty that the imperialist confrontation and overarmament policy can be stopped with the power and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and of the socialist community as the principal factor of security and stability in the world," GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer emphasized in January 1984.⁴ Socialism is and remains a peaceful order; it threatens no one and does not pursue any hegemonistic aims. War and aggression are alien to socialism; its supreme principle is maintenance and safeguarding of peace. Being aware of the responsibility for human life, for the welfare of the present and future generations, the states of the socialist community do not know any more important task in an international respect than protecting and defending peace by using all political, economic, and military potentials. Peace is a basic value of socialism.

Owing to the political rule of the working class allied with the other workers, owing to the ownership of society in the means of production and the socialist ideology, there exist no forces, no class or stratum in socialist society that could profit or benefit from war in any way. The aims of socialist social policy can be achieved only in peace and by a policy of peace.

The potentials of socialism to positively influence the situation in the world, including also in Europe, have increased in the wake of further progress in socialist development. Its power of attraction as stronghold of peace has also grown because it has proved--as organized state power of the working class, the force that had been predicted by Marx that it "is able to command peace where those who want to be their masters are screaming for war"⁵--that regardless of all imperialist attacks, which have been duly repulsed by it, unerringly adheres to its course of peace.

The international peace movement must be assessed as a quantitatively as well as qualitatively novel force which must be placed at the top of the positive factors which affect the pattern of relations of European security in unprecedented dimensions. Broad masses have joined together here in resistance against the threat to peace and in the struggle for detente, security, and cooperation in a relatively stable manner despite all political, social, and ideological differences. The peace movement has become a considerable and influential factor of political life in the West European countries, especially in the FRG, in Great Britain, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Scandinavia. It has developed into the strongest movement against the imperialist war policy in history, into an obstacle that cannot be ignored for the long-term implementation of the U.S. confrontation course, especially in the struggle against the NATO missile decision.

With all difficulties, differences, and also reverses, the peace movement has created lasting results that will make a significant difference for the revival of the process of European security and cooperation. The lasting results include:

--The awareness of broad masses of the people has been sensitized and politicized for the questions of safeguarding peace. The peace question today determines the thinking and action of the people in an entirely different quality and dimension than it did just a few years ago.

--The "security policy consensus" based on the NATO strategy has broken down not only among large parts of the population and the governments, but also among the established parties. The U.S. and NATO nuclear strategy is being questioned or rejected by quite a few people, ideas on an alternative security policy are being debated with growing seriousness and find a broad following.

--Many parties, organizations, and associations of various political and denominational as well as professional directions, beyond rejecting stationing of missiles and doctrines of warfare, are turning towards ideas and actions of an active policy of safeguarding peace. The evolution of the SPD in the FRG in the attitude toward the NATO missile decision, alternative concepts of church organizations, labor unions, scientific associations, the proposals of the "Palme Commission" on arms limitation and detente are succinct manifestations of this trend.

--The distrust of broad circles in the extreme variant of aggressive confrontation policy represented by the U.S. Administration has increased in the wake of the lack of restraint and the adventurousness of the U.S. action.

--Connections between overarmament, confrontation, and economic and social crisis phenomena are more clearly recognized, the involvement of the labor unions in the peace movement is growing.

The conditions which can and must at present be the starting point in the struggle for security on our continent also include the fact that despite a generally stronger orientation of nearly all NATO states toward a confrontation variant of the relations with socialism, the disputes within the bourgeoisie concerning the shaping of the relation to the other social system have deepened, processes of differentiation take place that create possibilities for contacts for the forces of detente. In many Western states, part of the ruling circles is not willing to follow unconditionally the concept of the most aggressive representatives of their class in the United States. The confrontation course, especially Reagan's kind, has triggered worries there, and in some cases also counteraction.

Some realistic assessments and trends can be observed. Especially the neutral and some smaller capitalist states of Western Europe make active contributions to peaceful coexistence here. But also among a series of NATO states of our continent, the striving becomes evident to reduce risks and disadvantages of the confrontation course.

In Western Europe, where the United States now seeks to especially emphasize its leadership role, a process of reflection and new contemplation has started because of the extremely egotistical U.S. action. Western Europe, an SPD politician stated, has "no interest in the dangerous attempt of regaining U.S. world supremacy."⁶ Other documents and writings speak of West Europe's "self-assertion," of the redefinition of its security interests and its security policy.⁷ This rethinking concerns not only extraparliamentary circles, but also spreads to parties and government representatives.

In the United States itself criticism of the foreign policy course of the Administration is growing, including in the Senate and in the House of Representatives and in certain parts of the monopoly bourgeoisie. This is reflected in the demands for genuine steps toward better relations with the socialist states, for a stop of the armament excess, for rejection of the plans for militarization of space, for negotiations on actual arms limitations, as well as also in severe criticism of the interventionist policy of the U.S. Administration in Central America and in the Near East.

If the conditions are summed up under which the struggle for peaceful co-existence must now be carried on, it is evident, on the one hand, that this struggle has become more difficult and more complicated because of the confrontation policy of imperialist circles. But it has never been simple, as Lenin already noted: "Whoever believed that it would be easy to attain peace, that only a few words would have to be uttered about peace so that the bourgeoisie would present it to us on a platter, must be a very naive person."⁸ But, on the other hand, the factors having a positive effect also achieve a new quality.

More than ever it would be a mistake to speculate that the pendulum of phases of the confrontation would quickly swing again toward more realism in the international arena, that it is so-to-speak a "normal wave motion" that can be observed time and again. First of all, such a change even in the past was not a result of some kind of an automatic mechanism but always an expression of the balance of power and of the specific efforts and strategies of the participating imperialist forces, and, secondly, every new escalation of the situation today brings closer the danger of a military catastrophe. Thus what is needed is an active constant struggle to impede the effectiveness of those factors which lead to confrontation and to strengthen those that pave the way for peaceful co-existence. It requires great efforts by all forces of peace to return Europe once again to the policy of detente. The past years have also proved that favorable factors, driving forces, and reserves exist which, in final analysis, will be stronger than those that want to drag Europe back into the trenches of the Cold War.

Conditions for the Return to Detente

For the struggle for revival and continuation of the policy of peaceful co-existence in Europe it is especially important to be perfectly clear concerning the deep rift in the international situation connected with the start of the stationing of new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe at the end of 1983. There is this deep rift even though quite a few politicians

and journalists in the United States and some West European countries try to play down the change in the situation.

If the attempt is made to systematize, then the escalation of the situation can be characterized by the following criteria:

1. The start of the stationing signifies the conversion of the U.S. and NATO superiority concept into practice.
2. Stationing of new U.S. nuclear missiles sets a new round of the arms race into motion.
3. With the stationing the arms control and arms limitation negotiations were torpedoed.
4. The danger of war grows considerably with the stationing.
5. Stationing entails a serious worsening also of the political situation, an increase in political tensions.⁹

Thus indeed an escalation of the situation must be expected. Nevertheless the socialist states unerringly adhere to their policy of European security directed toward peace, detente, and cooperation. Two things are necessary to implement this policy: the resolute rejection of imperialist threats and attacks and guaranteeing protection, military security of the socialist states on the one hand and unerring continuation of an active policy of peaceful co-existence on the other hand.

Lenin had already unmistakably indicated: "We have stated time and again that we want peace, that we need peace.... But we are unwilling to let ourselves be strangled in the name of peace."¹⁰ Frustration of the imperialist policy of military superiority and for one-sided advantages, defense against blackmail, attempts at destabilization and interference in internal affairs serve the guaranteeing of the security of the socialist states and are at the same time a prerequisite for a real safeguarding of peace on our continent. As long as imperialism gives priority to military strength, everything must be done to maintain the approximate military balance.

For the socialist states this is a constant factor of world politics. In the sense of their basic concern, they were therefore forced to react with military countermeasures to the start of the change of the military balance caused by the stationing of new U.S. intermediate-range strategic missiles. These countermeasures are strictly kept within the limits of the balance.

Of course, this development was not desired by the socialist countries. A reduction of the stationed potentials to the 1976 level was achievable by means of the USSR proposals. Countermeasures remained unavoidable since the United States did not want to do that. They demonstrate to the aggressive forces of imperialism that neither side is able to achieve military superiority with the present state of the economic and scientific-technical development as well as on account of the achieved level of development of the armed forces.

Hand in hand with the rejection of imperialist attacks on European security, the socialist states are undertaking a peace offensive adapted to the new conditions. They are doing so especially in view of the attempts by imperialist circles to aggravate the tensions and to stifle detente. What is especially involved is the return to the detente policy as a whole, maintaining and raising the effectiveness, continuation and expansion of the things achieved in the detente process or the things that still remain from the latter and what is involved is to overcome the lagging behind of military detente. All European states are summoned to participate in these aims.

The GDR and the FRG have an increased responsibility for European security and consequently their relations are of special importance, particularly in this connection. As states at the dividing line of NATO and Warsaw Pact and not least in view of their historical obligation to see to it that no war ever again starts from German soil, they have to make contributions of their own to promote peace and detente and not--as the FRG government has done with its approval for the stationing of new U.S. first-strike missiles on its territory--seriously burden the atmosphere and the relations on the continent. People and state of the GDR since the latter's founding 35 years ago regard the maintenance of peace as the paramount question of our time and are now doing everything to have a calming effect on the international situation and, starting from the existing infrastructure of detente, to promote an improvement of the situation and continuation of the process of European security and cooperation. The varied dialogues between GDR representatives, especially of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and such representatives from other European countries, including NATO states, during recent months are to be interpreted entirely in this context. These meetings make it clear that our republic is all the more determined to go out of its way to contribute to the safeguarding of peace.

Extraordinarily great obstacles whose removal is indispensable have been put in the way by imperialism, especially by the United States, to the intensive and manifold efforts of the socialist countries to return the international development again to the path of detente. They concern the entire spectrum of armament, every conceivable type of weapon and all military services.

The first item to be mentioned here is the stationing of U.S. intermediate-range weapons in Europe, which, as is known, constitutes the heaviest blow against the process which was started with the CSCE conference in Helsinki. The threat to the socialist states stemming from these weapons cannot be tolerated.

The main problem in this connection remains the stopping of the U.S. and NATO missile stationing and to make possible also the cancellation of the military countermeasures of the Warsaw Pact states by measures to reduce the deployed systems. Thus the doors would be opened for new negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons systems.

In the present situation it is exceedingly important to prevent a further entry of other fields of the arms race, too. This concerns especially prevention of the militarization of space, the complete ban on chemical weapons and preventing a new round of conventional armament.

In this connection, preventing militarization of space is of special importance: At present, the United States is starting a new, dangerous round of an unrestrained qualitative arms race as the scene of which it has chosen the universe and which would have considerably destabilizing effects on the strategic balance and international security. In this connection, President Reagan signed National Security Directive No. 119 on 6 January 1984, which authorizes an extensive research and development program consuming billions in the field of space armament. These plans fit in perfectly with the striving of the Reagan Administration to base political strength on military superiority and signify--as did the Pershing II missile stationing in Western Europe--the transition from planning to practical actions for the purpose of achieving military superiority. Thus they are part of the comprehensive U.S. nuclear warfare concepts.

The specific meaning of the envisaged "Star War" also in the opinion of many bourgeois experts, does not lie--as is being hazily advocated--in increasing the U.S. defensibility but in the hope of achieving invulnerability of the U.S. territory against a Soviet nuclear weapons counterstrike in case of imperialist aggression. Thus the USSR is to be "guaranteed the inability to defeat the United States,"¹¹ as two advocates of the U.S. plans wrote. But such a hope "to get away with it" in case of war, to incur an acceptable risk inevitably increases the incentive for a first strike whose "attractiveness" has anyhow increased with new technologies from a military aspect in the United States, as the military strategist Z. Brzezinski expressed himself.¹²

The Soviet Union had advocated very early, i.e. since the end of the fifties, a ban on the militarization of space. After the announcement of the U.S. plans by President Reagan in March 1983, it again came out with manifold concrete proposals. In August 1983 it even decided on a unilateral moratorium for the stationing of antisatellite weapons in space. And in view of the urgency to prevent a menacing step with unforeseeable consequences for the security of the peoples, the USSR government on 29 June 1984 appealed once again to the U.S. side to start negotiations in September on a ban by treaty of space armament. Even though the United States may be jockeying, such talks and agreements are indispensable and have a high priority among the questions of guaranteeing peace and international stability.

Urgently necessary for an active policy of peaceful coexistence is maintaining, continuing, and intensifying the political dialogue of all those who are interested in understanding and peaceful coexistence. This is part of activating the infrastructure of the detente policy.

It can be said now: Just as with peaceful coexistence as a whole, there is also no defensible alternative to the constructive political dialogue in the interest of peace and security.

In an interview with the Italian daily IL MESSAGGERO, Erich Honecker said: "In the East-West dialogue we see a valuable opportunity to contribute to the solution of the most burning questions facing humanity today. Safeguarding world peace has the highest priority. We are guided by that and in this sense we are interested in every conceivable progress."¹³

Political contacts at various levels, especially also on the highest level, can contribute to reducing distrust, can counteract the confrontation policy and make the relations between the states politically again predictable and more stable and can promote readiness to take into account the legitimate security interests of the other side. The talks and negotiations of Erich Honecker, the chairman of the GDR State Council, with the prime ministers of Sweden, Greece and Italy are clear proof of the usefulness of such political dialogues between the European states. But what is involved are not talks per se (or even concealing of antidetente practices) but only a dialogue that is directed in fact and not merely in words toward a reduction of tension and a lessening of the danger of war.

Such a dialogue must lead us back to the principles of the detente policy, respecting the internal order, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference. It must be based on the acknowledgement of the existence of different social systems while renouncing denouncement campaigns and crusade concepts against socialism as well as on renunciation of efforts to change the political and territorial results of World War II and of the postwar development in Europe.

The CSCE process plays an important role in this connection. The mechanisms, negotiation bodies, and contacts resulting from the negotiations on the Helsinki Final Act and from its implementation in the practice of the European state relations, I am sorry to say, have not yet by far fully exhausted all possibilities because of the obstructionist policy of confrontational forces, but they have nevertheless attained relative stability. This promotes detente and can be used to lessen the dangers resulting from the escalation of confrontation. The Madrid meeting within the framework of the CSCE mechanism that ended in the fall of 1983 demonstrated that with all differences and problems, with all the present international tension it is possible to reach mutually acceptable agreements and compromises. As a result of a hard struggle, the significance and vitality of the code of state relations in Europe embodied in the Helsinki Final Act were strengthened and a further positive far-reaching step was approved with the decision to convene the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament.

Manifold Possibilities of Military Detente

Under present conditions, thoughts, ideas, and proposals, part of which had been discussed earlier, for the active shaping of relations of peaceful co-existence, especially also as a new beginning for military detente, received new significance, new relative importance:

--This includes preparation and acceptance of an agreement on the complete and general ban of all nuclear weapons tests. The negotiations on this subject have been unilaterally interrupted by the United States. Their resumption would be a positive conversion of new words of the U.S. President of January 1984 into constructive deeds. The value of such an agreement for stopping new nuclear weapons developments is obvious.

--With more political persistence for the way out of the nuclear deterrence strategy, the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons binding under

international law should be discussed by all nuclear weapons powers. For example, if only the United States were to follow the example of the USSR, this would mean that the two strongest nuclear weapons powers would renounce use of nuclear weapons against one another. There would be neither a first nor any further nuclear weapons strike. The favorable influence of such an agreement on the international climate cannot be assessed highly enough.

--This problem generally raises the question of the policy of the powers possessing nuclear weapons in our time. For Europe, implementation of the Soviet proposal, which coincides with ideas of former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to reach agreement on certain norms of behavior among the powers possessing nuclear weapons, would have great importance. The following ideas have been expressed on this subject:

--to consider prevention of a nuclear weapons war as main aim of foreign policy; not to permit situations to arise that can lead to a nuclear conflict; in case such a danger should arise, initiate immediate consultations to prevent a nuclear conflagration;

--To refrain from propoganda of a nuclear weapons war in any variant--be it worldwide or limited;

--To pledge non-first use of nuclear weapons;

--Not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against countries not possessing nuclear weapons, on whose territory there are no such weapons; to respect the status of nuclear-weapons-free zones already created and to promote establishment of new ones in various regions of the world;

--Not to permit proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form; not to turn over these weapons or control over them to anyone; not to station these weapons on the territory on which there are no such weapons at present; not to expand the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including the universe;

--Step by step--on the basis of the principle of equal security--to work toward the reduction of nuclear arms up to their complete liquidation with regard to all kinds.¹⁴

--An extremely important measure for confidence-building and for reduction of the danger of war would be implementation of the proposal to conclude a treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Pact organization and other interested states on nonuse of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations. NATO can no longer raise the objection against it that it would leave the Western states at the mercy of the conventional weapons of the Warsaw Pact organization, for, apart from the fact that the so-called conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact states is nothing but a carefully cultivated legend of the West to justify its own nuclear and conventional overarmament, such a treaty would encompass renunciation of first use of all weapons.

Also rejection of such a treaty by referring to the renunciation-of-force declaration in the UN charter or to the Helsinki Final Act is only an excuse.

First of all, because of the increasing gravity of the international situation, because of the imperialist overarmament and because of the further accumulation of weapons systems, there is every reason to define the ban on renunciation of force more precisely and to reinforce it especially now. And secondly there is a difference if there are only multilateral declarations of intention or if they have been ratified by the parliaments and have achieved explicit force of law.

The proposal also finds an increasing number of advocates among politicians and parties of West European countries because making renunciation of force concrete meets their own ideas to avoid further militarization and to strive for common security. The object of the treaty could be mutual renunciation of the use of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. Its main point would be the mutual pledge not to use against one another either nuclear weapons or conventional weapons and thus not to be the first to use military force at all. The pledge would cover the territories of all participating states of the treaty, their military and civilian personnel, ships, aircraft, spacecraft as well as other objects belonging to them and include the security of the international sea, air, and cosmic lines of communication. It would include the pledge that the countries belonging to the two alliances do not employ any force against third countries, be it those that have bilateral alliance relationships or pact-free or neutral states. This would also answer the frequently asked question concerning the relationship to third countries.

The treaty proposal was introduced by the socialist states in the debate of the Stockholm conference. Now some representatives there argue that dealing with such a treaty does not correspond to the mandate of the conference. In this connection the following is to be emphasized: The participating states of the Warsaw Pact in their appeal to the NATO member states published on 8 May 1984 proposed the start of multilateral consultations to confer on content and elements and on various views on a treaty concerning the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and the maintenance of peace. They are prepared to continue the exchange of views at a special forum but also at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

But apart from the fact that--with genuine desire--another negotiating platform for such a treaty could be found, there is absolute agreement of the possible content of the treaty with the criteria of the conference mandate: It is to seek ways to strengthen confidence and security "to provide effect and expression to the duty of the states to abstain from the threat or use of force in their mutual relations."¹⁵

It is to lead to the adoption of a series of mutually complementing confidence and security building measures that are directed toward reducing the danger of a military conflict. How does a renunciation by treaty of the use of military force against one another not correspond to this mission? About 95 percent of the nuclear and roughly 50 percent of the conventional potentials of the world would be included in this manner. This is probably more than declaratory: The military relevance in the sense of the mandate of the Stockholm conference is obvious in view of the affected potentials.

The demanded obligatory nature of the agreed-upon measures results from the necessary ratification of such a treaty and the resulting more precise definition and specification of the renunciation of force as directly valid law with quite specific adaptation to the behavior toward the ban on force. Such a treaty should include rules for control and review of adherence.

In view of all of the above, some rejections sound more like excuses, like evasion of a pledge to be made than as a serious examination of the situation.

--A further step to come closer to the goal of limiting, reducing, and finally banning the most dangerous weapons systems in Europe from the continent may also be nuclear weapons-free zones or corridors in various parts of Europe. A series of European states--including also the GDR, but likewise some Balkan states such as Bulgaria and Greece as well as North European governments, including especially Sweden and Finland--have come out in favor of that. Europe's entire security can only profit from such subregional agreements, which would have exemplary effect, would stem the danger of war and strengthen the confidence of the participating states among themselves.

--A simple but effective possibility to break through the vicious circle of the arms race would be a "freeze" at the present level of the weapons arsenals and military budgets on both sides of the dividing line of the systems in Europe. No side would be harmed by it, the existing approximate military balance would not be violated. Security and detente would profit: A favorable atmosphere and a starting point for negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament would be created, for every further turn of the armament screw, as is known, makes it more difficult to achieve agreement in these fields; it increases tensions and distrust.

--Of considerable relevance would be positive results in the field of confidence and security building measures, as they are being debated by the signers of the CSCE. Progress in this field could constitute links between political and military detente, could provide new impetus to detente, could strengthen the dialogue between East and West, reduce the danger of a military surprise attack. To have really effective and lasting success, confidence-building measures must be integrated, must include treaty and political steps just as well as a further precise definition of measures in the narrower military field. And at least in the long run they must be accompanied by progress in arms limitation and reduction. Moreover, they can play a positive role only if they are closely linked with adherence and stimulation of the entire code of peaceful coexistence.

New initiatives for Europe's security require new and all-around efforts, require a coalition of reason and of reasonable people. Revival and expansion of areas of common interests in the name of survival and of the civilizatory and social progress of mankind. Europe must not become a Euroshima but should be the stronghold and starting point of detente, security and cooperation. The road leading there is not easy, but it can be accomplished.

FOOTNOTES

1. Marx/Engels, "Works", Vol 17, Berlin 1962, p 7.
2. "Political Declaration of the Participating States of the Warsaw Pact," Prague, Jan 83, Berlin 1983, p 21 f.
3. Seventh SED Central Committee Plenum. E. Honecker, "In a Time Filled With Struggle, We Are Successfully Continuing the Tested Course of the Tenth Party Congress for Peace and Socialism," Berlin 1983, p 6.
4. O. Fischer, "Now, in Spite of All, Resolute in the Struggle for Lasting Peace," in: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 5 Jan 84.
5. Marx/Engels, "Works," Vol 16, Berlin 1962, p 357.
6. D. Stobbe, in: "DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT" [The New Society], Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 2/1984, p 108.
7. Reference is made to the statement of the SPD Bundestag Group and the resolutions of the SPD Party Congress in May 1984.
8. V.I. Lenin, "Werke" [Works], Vol. 26, Berlin, 1961, p 341.
9. See: "Die Globalitaet und Agressivitaet des imperialistischen Konfrontations kurses" [The Global Nature and Aggressiveness of the Imperialist Confrontation Course], in: IPW-BERICHTTE, 6/1984, p 1f.
10. V.I. Lenin, "Werke, Ergaenzungsband 1917-1923" [Works, Supplementary Volume], Berlin, 1971, p 165.
11. K. Payne/ C. Gray, "Nuclear Policy and the Defensive Transition," in: FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, Spring 1984, p 828.
12. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, New York, 10 Jul 84.
13. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 Jul 84.
14. K.U. Chernenko, "Den Frieden Hueten, fuer das Wohl des Volkes sorgen" [To Preserve Peace, To Provide for the Welfare of the People], Moscow, 1984, p 24f.
15. Concluding document of the CSCE Follow-Up Meeting in Madrid of 6 Sep 83, in: EUROPA-ARCHIV, Bonn, 20/1983, p D541.

12356

CSO: 2300/15

NO ROOM FOR ONE-SIDED SOCIAL CRITICISM ON STAGE

East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT in German No 9, Sep 84 pp 5-8

[Interview with Prof W. Heinz, president, Association of Theater Specialists: "Meeting Current Standards"; date and place not specified]

[Text/ [Question] What thoughts go through your mind in view of the preparations for the 35th anniversary of our republic?

[Answer/ The founding of our state fulfilled what many of us had envisioned and for which many--just to mention Hans Otto as one example--have bravely fought: a Germany of peace, a life without exploitation and oppression, for the first time a German state that the working people could call their own. A state, by the way, with a highly developed industry and agriculture, an efficient educational system, interested in art, internationally respected and recognized not only as productive economic partner but also as a staunch fighter for disarmament, detente, peaceful coexistence and against a new war and nuclear genocide.

In this state no one can profit from a war and this state makes no territorial demands on others, it has broken with the delusions of German imperialism, it guarantees equality to all citizens, the solidarity of their relations, social security, personal integrity and respect for human dignity. While in capitalist countries social regression is incalculable, with us all efforts for the good cause pay off. The material standard of living has constantly grown during these 35 years, the sources of human creativity were opened up, the educational privilege was abolished, the treasures of culture are readily accessible to all the people.

[Question/ How do you assess the share of the theater in this balance sheet of success?

[Answer/ As far as that is concerned, we must not belittle ourselves. I stood on a stage of this state as an actor for the first time on 18 July 1950, half a year later I had my first production in the Deutsche Theater premiere, Ostrowski's "Thunderstorm," and starting from that time I, myself, have been able to participate in the development. The contribution that theater art was able to make to anti-fascist-democratic re-education, to the reassessment of historical events from a dialectical-materialistic angle, to the opening of the

people to the ideas of socialism can hardly be overestimated. Tours to many countries, but especially the praise of our productions in the Paris "Theater of the Nations," just as many successes of our sportsmen, have contributed to making the GDR known all over the world, at a time when its recognition as a state was still refused. Even specific wooing-away and boycott measures from the then "outpost city" of West Berlin were unable to do us serious harm, for talent, artistic strength and imagination of the directors and performers were released, promoted, developed by prudent leadership, which also led to the founding of such important theatrical undertakings as the Komische Oper, the Berlin Ensemble, and the specialized children's and youth theaters. By the way, "Theater der Zeit" itself has done a few things since the beginning of the year to refresh the memory of important events of the latest theater history. Viewed historically, the merits of the theater undoubtedly cannot be overlooked.

/Question/ And how do you assess the status of the GDR theater at the present time?

/Answer/ I believe the impact of its performance in its breadth and its best is undisputed and carries weight in the theater of the world. Evidence of this fact are the still continued tour successes of our ensembles in many countries of the world; evidence of this fact is also that many of our directors, stage designers, and soloists are time and again called upon to practice their professions outside our borders. The fact should also be noted here that the organization of important international theater congresses was awarded to our country (in 1982 the FIRT was held in Leipzig; in 1983, the ITI in Berlin; in 1984, the UNIMA in Dresden). This reputation is based on the program and artistic and stylistic wealth of our theater, which provides stimulation and orientation to many people in the theater in capitalist industrial states as well as in Third World countries and is of course based on our sincere effort to contribute to understanding among the peoples, to the strengthening of friendship among the socialist countries and to the safeguarding of peace on earth.

/Question/ Some details can undoubtedly be added?

/Answer/ For example, I discover an increase in production related to the revolutionary processes of our time. This applies to works of the past that were reinterpreted under a modern approach or were completely rediscovered, such as contemporary plays. Six hundred demonstrations and programs as a contribution to the struggle for peace also speak for themselves. More space than in the past, it appears to me, is being taken up by efforts to stimulate the creativity of our dramatists, composers, and librettists and to stage them with great imagination and in a partisan manner. The national contemporary drama moves more into the center of the programs, also receives attention in other countries. This is a development to which our management policy measures--achievement comparisons, workshop days, competitions for new children's plays, dramas, puppet shows, etc.--have made an effective contribution.

Finally I would like to mention that more varied artistic fare now seeks to meet the growing differentiation of audience interests, new play houses were developed, small and large forms of theater and different theater devices and

effects were tried out. Last year, the number of visitors to shows increased by 150,000. This increase is a success of responsible, enthusiastic work by many theaters.

Of course, not everything has happened in all theaters in the same way. Anyhow: despite all successes we have no cause for self-satisfaction, for it requires great efforts to do justice in the future to the thus established standards. Our entire cultural life has become richer and more varied, the media have developed into significant factors with influence on the leisure time behavior of the citizens, so that the theater requires many ideas and the strength of all to maintain its position to some extent. It undoubtedly holds true for us, too, that what has been achieved thus far is not yet what can be achieved.

[Question] On the occasion of the 35th anniversary, the theater specialists of our country want to make their specific contribution to the great show of achievement of socialism on German soil with the rich opportunities of the socialist-realist theater art. Big and small theaters all over the country have thought a great deal about how to make the anniversary into a highlight on the common path of development with their audience. With productions of works of the humanist heritage, of GDR drama, plays of the socialist countries and of progressive authors from capitalist countries, they seek to impart lasting art experiences. They prepare festival weeks, political revues, and literary-musical programs, theater days of the enterprises and labor unions, brigade festivals, audience talks, days of the open door, theater balls, youth meetings, functions of the friends circles and youth clubs. Isn't that a committed attitude?

[Answer] Yes, 35 years have also definitely changed the awareness of the theater specialists. The preponderant majority regards the GDR as its homeland and socialism as its artistic home. The Marxist-Leninist science has struck firm roots in theatrical work, internationalism is firmly anchored in the consciousness. The professionals in theater, in line with their responsibility for socialism, want to participate actively and as supporters in the present developmental problems of our society.

The most important successes in recent years have been in broadening the subject matters, topics, and forms; important works of our fraternal socialist countries have been included in the programs; we have created training facilities for directors, puppeteers, choreographers; a new generation of young talented, restless actors, vocalists, and dancers has grown up and presses for responsibility. However, based on such successes, the question also arises among many of us whether theater life as a whole is up to meeting the new tasks and the greater opportunities. The number and quality, for example, of new works is not completely satisfactory, especially as far as the world historical processes of our era and the shaping of the workers personalities in their social actions and their historical importance are concerned. And in many collectives, especially among the younger staff members, there are lively, frequently impatient, discussions among the younger colleagues on the status, rate, and direction of work.

Experience shows that a series of developmental problems are to be dealt with, problems on the analysis, clarification, and gradual solution of which the

association will concentrate in preparation for its fifth congress--in close contact with its partners on state level and in the labor union. In this connection, everybody has to deal with the tasks in his field. Therefore I am not going to comment on pending questions of theater structure, theater profile, etc. It is the concern of the association of theater specialists to apply themselves primarily to the ideological and artistic questions.

[Question] In your opinion, which questions should have priority?

[Answer] In the first place, we must ask again the question concerning the function of theater art in the class struggles of our time, concerning the responsibility in the shaping of our society, in the strengthening of socialist patriotism and historical awareness. I think we should be guided by Honecker's words: "Our literature and art are to help discover and implement the progressive aspect. At the same time there is room in the debate in literature and art on everything that hampers us." Accordingly, the criticism function is a component of our mode of action, but the achievements made by real socialism must not be jeopardized by a one-sided critical view of our reality and by a rigorously subjectivist treatment of moral questions.

In second place, I would mention the relationship of our work to the working people. In addition to many examples of productive creative partnership between people of the theater and the audience who discover in the dialogue with one another new things in the reality as well as new forms of communication, there are also elitist positions among us that are insufficiently oriented to the needs of the working people. I think most of us really want to act for the working people, but in some cases they do not know their potential public well enough, its life, its work, its thinking and feeling. Occasionally there is also arrogance. By referring to rigidity and routine in the old-style brigade relationships, some of us say that practical ties to the work collectives are completely senseless.

An honest self-examination in all collectives appears to be appropriate: to what extent does our knowledge of life correspond to the rapidly changing reality? At what social groups, to what social processes is our interest directed? Where do we get our "material" for assessments and decisions? I am well aware: "Needs" are a variable dimension, one should not blindly give in to them, they must also be more highly developed." But first we must get to know them and study them. On the other hand, of course I know that artistically convincing productions of demanding works that are important from a cultural policy aspect are accepted only hesitantly by parts of the public and also only insufficiently used by social partners of the theater.

[Question] Undoubtedly it is not easy to achieve this clarity in our collectives, so-to-speak "all at once," and certainly not only by lectures and seminars of the association. Probably what is rather involved is the living unity of theoretical efforts with the wealth of practical life relationships, the constant interaction between the experiences in daily work and theoretical generalization. The question must perhaps also be raised whether the planning of the work processes in the theater is directed too one-sidedly at the production of performances and the reproduction of the performers of the ensembles is being neglected in the process?

[Answer] I agree with you. The entire area of reproduction--education and advanced education, raising the emotional culture and receptivity to experiences, the varied possibilities of practical life relationships--really belongs into the annual plans of the theater as an accountable item. Theoretical work must again achieve greater importance. If one is content with everyday empiricism, if important categories and terms are applied in a subjectivist or superficial manner, faulty conclusions can easily be drawn in conceptional reflections and artistic decisions. This appears to me to be a constructive experience from the 35-year history of the GDR theater. And related to our association, we must ask the question whether the education we offer reacts precisely enough to the need to counteract signs of wear, how we can better utilize what is available, eradicate routine, how we can invest more imagination in this field of our work.

[Question] Recently questions of forming ensembles, of too great fluctuation of the directors, too much stability of the ensembles and questions of ideological motivation have been repeatedly raised. What is your opinion on that?

[Answer] As regards the position of the individual vocalist, dancer, actor in the ensemble, 35 years of socialist theater work has created a new situation. The individual has become more self-assured. Bourgeois relationships of dependence, economic fears, venality, belief in authority have been largely eliminated. But on the one hand our methods of management obviously have been insufficiently adapted to these changed conditions, on the other hand the majority of the individual members of the ensembles are only insufficiently aware of the new stage of maturity required of them by this situation. Thus we increasingly hear complaints, especially from young collaborators, about routine administration and reglementation; on the other hand phenomena of laziness, routine, self-satisfaction are not to be overlooked. Theater as collective work requires the wide scope for the individual and the integration into the whole, the individual characteristic and its optimization in the common features, the individual unmistakable voice and its neutralization in the ensemble. No authority of the old kind or no one at all "from above" will relieve us of the solution to these questions. We, ourselves, must take the final examination in the matter of socialist democracy.

We shall not abandon the ensemble principle since it has proved to be the foundation of our success, but the conditions for forming ensembles must constantly be reviewed and improved. In my opinion, the objectives of the individual theater must be defined more clearly, more concretely, and more understandably for the actors--not as theoretical--general theses but as practical-concrete work programs. And it must be made possible and supported that ensembles that profess these objectives can be formed more easily. True collectivity can develop only on the basis of political-aesthetic agreement. The true ensemble can only be a collective of like-minded.

[Question] The question of the interpretation of the classics which time and again becomes the subject of discussion also between theater and the public appears to me to be not only a question of the profession but continues to be also a subject of fundamental artistic-aesthetic differences of opinion.

[Answer] You are right, I agree with you. In the attitude toward the humanist heritage, in addition to many commendable achievements in reconstructing the works from a new aspect and with a relationship to current affairs taking into account the time of their origin, there are also efforts to arbitrarily make plays topical, to destroy their concrete historical and social framework and thus to limit their social effect. In my opinion, it is not a good thing merely to bet on similarity and recognition, to make use of plays for us at any price, to suppress the matters that separate, differentiate, bridge the eras. We must also not forget that interpretation of the classics has something to do with awareness of form.

Of course, with the arrival of young artistic cadres, new ideas and manuscripts are introduced in the theater with which they seek to make clearer their understanding of society. In this connection, they polemically attack traditions, too, and they complain of the lack of acceptable models whereby it occurs quite frequently that, especially in the drama, the great national theater traditions are only inadequately noted. Here we undoubtedly have to make up for neglect, of which especially us older ones cannot absolve ourselves.

[Question] Many current questions are frequently forced on the classics because they are not being dealt with, or only inadequately dealt with, in contemporary plays. You have briefly touched on questions of the GDR drama. Can we come back to that once again? A strong and effective contemporary drama in final analysis is a decisive factor as to whether or not the theater of a country records the social pulse beat of history.

[Answer] The need for partisan, stimulating, stirring and humorous forming of human fates in our society, of successes and conflicts, of existing and newly developing problems and contradictions is equally great for interpreters and audience. But drama does not provide our theater adequately with plays that make the theater exciting in this sense. Only few authors push forward to socially significant formulations of questions. Too frequently topics are only selectively touched upon, too frequently only statements are made concerning some uneasy situation; that is too little for an evening at the theater which needs the presentation of a big topic.

The tension between literature and society, between drama and theater will undoubtedly be with us for a long time. Nevertheless, I believe we must qualify social commissioning as an important instrument to promote the new, utilize it in shaping direct relations among authors, theater, and audience, the spiritual partnership in the process of creation, the open dispute in the process of the creation and dissemination of new works. Undoubtedly we must apply the criteria of socialist realism more definitely as a yardstick for assessing new artistic achievements. Of course we know that the birth of new works itself is a process full of conflict. Only those works will be valid beyond the moment which are in the midst of social happenings, which represent a small world in a larger one. In this connection the theaters cannot be absolved from co-responsibility. If we led a secluded life, apart from all politics, the art that would be created would only be one that has little validity and is not living art.

[Question] Trends toward withdrawal from social life are hardly prevalent among us. Especially people in the theater have repeatedly reacted to the

complicated world situation and raised their voice for peace. There are quite a few appeals and declarations and many artistic peace programs. But the most important thing is what takes place on the stage when the curtain for the daily show is raised. "Good work has a greater weight than ever on the scale of the international balance of power, which is decisive for peace," according to the very apt formulation of Kurt Hager.

[Answer] The voice of the artist is a strong and convincing voice, that is true. To provide man a picture of himself, or a more beautiful one for which he can strive, to force him to think about his future, about the future of the earth, to sharpen his responsibility for our life, for the fate of the world, therein lies our mission in my opinion. We can only fulfill it with effective plays--old and new--that move people and with rousing, imaginative and artistic productions. To create all conceivable conditions for that appears to me to be an intention worthy of the 35th anniversary.

12356

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REQUIREMENTS, DUTIES OF CANDIDATES FOR COURT SYSTEM OUTLINED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 37, 30 Jul 84 pp 475-478

["Order of the Minister of Justice of 25 June 1984 on Judge and Notary Candidates"]

[Text] On the basis of article 136, paragraph 1 of the law on the constitution of common courts (DZIENNIK USTAW 1964, No 6, item 40; 1967, No 13, item 55; 1969, No 13, item 98; No 50, item 316; 1975, No 16, item 91 and No 34, item 183; 1982, No 16, item 125, No 19, item 145; No 31, item 214, No 35, item 228) as well as articles 25 and 27, paragraph 2 of the law of 25 May 1951--the law on notary services (DZIENNIK USTAW 1963, No 19, item 106; 1964, No 41, item 278; 1965, No 52, item 318; 1967, No 1, items 1 and 2; 1974, No 50, item 317 and 1982, No 31, item 214), the following is decreed:

Chapter 1

Conclusion, Amendment and Cancellation of Contracts

§1.1 The number of candidate positions in individual provincial courts is determined by the minister of justice.

2. Applications for candidacy are accepted by the chairman of the provincial court before 15 May of each year.

§2.1 The chairman of provincial court schedules the qualifying examination for petitioners for candidacy; he informs the minister of justice and the petitioners of the examination at least 14 days in advance.

2. Petitioners for candidacy are examined by a commission nominated by the administrative board and headed by the chairman of the provincial court. The commission also evaluates whether the petitioners meet the requirements outlined in article 50, points a) and c) of the law on the constitution of common courts. A representative of the minister of justice, and, by invitation of the chairman of the provincial court, a senior fellow of a higher school, as well as a representative of a political and social organization, may take part in the examination.

3. The qualifying examination consists of reviewing information from the field of procedural law and other subjects needed to discharge the responsibilities of a judge.

§3.1 The chairman of the provincial court nominates candidates from among the petitioners who have passed the examination and have been positively evaluated by the examination commission, also taking into account the educational record of the candidates. Nomination takes place after the opinion of the administrative board has been solicited.

2. The chairman of the provincial court immediately informs the minister of justice about the nomination of a candidate.

§4.1 Concurrently with the nomination, the chairman of the provincial court assigns the candidate to a district court. Subsequent reassignment of the candidate to another court occurs by means of transfer or delegation.

2. The minister of justice is entitled to transfer or delegate the candidate to another district.

§5.1 The chairman of provincial court dismisses the candidate if the latter:

1) resigns his position;

2) without a valid reason, fails to report to work immediately upon the conclusion of his contract;

3) does not guarantee the proper discharge of the responsibilities of a candidate;

4) due to a disease or handicap has been pronounced by a medical commission for handicaps and employment to be permanently unfit to discharge the responsibilities of a candidate;

5) without a valid reason, has refused to undergo medical examination by the medical commissions for handicaps and employment.

2. The dismissal of a candidate in cases outlined in paragraph 1, points 3 through 5 takes effect following a 3-month notice, and in cases outlined in paragraph 1, points 1 and 2 on the day determined by the chairman of provincial court.

3. Having solicited the opinion of the administrative board, the chairman of provincial court may dismiss a candidate who has passed the judge's examination with a prior 3-month notice.

4. The chairman of the provincial court immediately informs the minister of justice about the dismissal of a candidate.

Chapter 2

Duties of the Candidate

§6. The candidate must:

1) faithfully serve People's Poland, observe the principles of the rule of the people's law, work conscientiously, carry out the orders of his superior

issued within the powers of the latter and guard on and off the job the dignity of court and of his position;

2) permanently improve his professional qualifications and especially acquaint himself with the work of a judge and the chancery;

3) protect state and service secrets, as determined in the law of 14 December 1982 on the protection of state and service secrets as well as keep secret the circumstances of cases of which he has knowledge outside of court proceedings due to his position.

§7.1 The extent of the candidate's tasks is determined by the judge who is training the candidate.

2. If considerations of work so require, the candidate is obliged to engage in activities beyond the regular hours of the court.

§8. If a candidate cannot discharge his responsibilities due to an illness or another valid reason, he must immediately inform the chairman of court of that fact, and, if requested by the latter, provide adequate proof and explanations.

§9.1. The candidate cannot engage in additional activities which would interfere with his responsibilities or be beneath his dignity.

2. The candidate cannot accept additional employment without the consent of the chairman of the provincial court.

Chapter 3

The Course of Candidacy

§10.1 The candidate takes his training at a district or provincial court, a state notary office or a prosecutor's office handling the cases in which these units are competent.

2. The chairman of the provincial court can also assign the candidate for training to other organizational units.

3. The chairman of the provincial court, in cooperation with the provincial prosecutor, assigns the candidate for training at the prosecutor's office for a period of 1 month.

§11.1 The chairman of provincial court appoints for one or several candidates a judge-supervisor from among the judges of the provincial court. A judge of the district court with outstanding qualifications can also be appointed judge-supervisor.

2. The judge-supervisor oversees the training of the candidate throughout the period of candidacy and cooperates in this regard with the persons training the candidate.

§12.1. The chairman of the court or the supervisor of another unit to which the candidate has been assigned or delegated appoints a person who trains the candidate (a judge, a prosecutor, a notary, a bailiff and so on).

2. The person training the candidate acquaints the latter with the activities of which his duties consist.

3. Immediately upon the completion of training under his supervision, the person training the candidate delivers to the judge-supervisor a written opinion on the course of training and the progress the candidate has made. Prior to the judge's examination, the judge-supervisor makes, on the basis of the opinion of persons training the candidate and his own observations, a final opinion of the candidate, which also contains a detailed character profile of the latter. This opinion is placed in the candidate's personal file.

§13.1. The chairman of the provincial court oversees the progress of the candidate's training.

2. The chairman of the provincial court can entrust an appointed judge of that court (provincial coordinator of training) with matters related to the training of candidates, in particular:

- 1) drawing the plans of training of candidates;
- 2) organizing seminars;
- 3) cooperation with judge-supervisors and persons training the candidates.

§14.1. A mandatory seminar course for candidates is scheduled at provincial courts. At least 1 day a week is scheduled for the seminar. The application of law in courts and other fields of knowledge needed to discharge the responsibilities of a judge (for example, ethics and the skill of judging) are on the curriculum of the seminar.

2. The chairman of the provincial court nominates the persons conducting the seminar after the recommendation of the administrative board has been solicited.

3. The minister of justice can entrust an individual provincial court with conducting the seminar for candidates from several districts of provincial courts.

§15. The candidate is entitled to a 1-month study leave in the period immediately preceding the judge's examination.

§16.1. Absence from work for a period longer than 30 days over 1 year does not count towards the term of candidacy, regardless of reason. This does not apply to vacations and study leaves.

2. In exceptional cases, the chairman of provincial court can count the absence of a candidate for a period longer than 30 days over 1 year towards the term of candidacy, provided the candidate has shown good progress in training.

§17. The minister of justice can count toward the term of a judge's candidacy a 1-year term of arbitration, notarial, counsellor or attorney's candidacy.

Chapter 4

Judge's Examination and Test

§18.1. The candidates take the examination before the examination board established by the minister of justice.

2. The examination board consists of the chairman, in the person of the minister of justice or a person designated by him, and of five to seven judges, including at least two specialists in civil law (labor law and social security, family law) and three in penal law. The provincial coordinator of training should be among the judges.

3. Judges-supervisors and persons invited by the chairman of the commission can be present at the examination.

§19. The examination board makes a decision by majority rule; in case of a tie, the chairman's vote decides.

§20.1. The judge's examination is held on a date scheduled by the chairman of the examination board.

2. The chairman of the board informs the members of the board and the candidates taking the examination about the composition of the board, and the date and place of examination at least 1 month in advance.

§21. The judge's examination is both written and oral. Written examination takes place in the presence and under the supervision of at least one member of the examination board, whereas the oral examination is before the entire examination board.

§22.1. The written examination consists of drawing up a judge's opinion with a commentary in a penal or civil case (from the field of labor or family law) on the basis of court files selected by the board.

2. Texts of laws, commentaries and collected rulings can be used at the written examination.

§23. The examination board evaluates the results of the written examination and decides on the basis of them whether to admit the candidate to the oral examination.

§24.1. The oral examination consists of reviewing the skills of the candidate in applying the law to cases tried by the courts, taking into account the principles of interpretation of the law and the rulings of the Supreme Court as well as the knowledge from other fields needed to discharge the functions of a judge.

2. Texts of regulations can be used at the oral examination by permission of the chairman of the examination board.

§25.1. The overall grade for the written and oral examinations is described by the marks "very good," "good," "satisfactory," and "unsatisfactory."

2. A record of the course and results of the judge's examination is drawn up and signed by all members of the examination board.

§26. The chairman and members of the examination board are compensated for carrying out the judge's examination in the amount of 80 zlotys per person taking examination.

§27.1. Court candidates pass once over the period of candidacy a test on the division of law (civil or penal) in which they are taking a seminar, immediately upon the completion of seminar classes in this division.

2. Pertinent regulations on judge's examinations apply to the test, provided that the test is held by the examination board nominated by the chairman of the provincial court at which seminar classes for the candidates are offered.

Chapter 5

Part-Time Court Candidacy

§28.1. The chairman of the provincial court may admit to court candidacy an employee of a state, cooperative or social organizational unit who meets the requirements outlined in article 50, points a) through d) of the law on the constitution of common courts and has passed the examination before the examination board nominated by the administrative board (part-time candidate). The admission is granted at the request of the enterprise employing the candidate.

2. The chairman of provincial court revokes the permission for candidacy, if the part-time candidate:

- 1) gives up the candidacy;
- 2) without a valid reason is absent for more than 3 days from practical classes or seminars;
- 3) does not guarantee the proper discharge of the duties of a candidate.

§29.1. The part-time candidate serves the candidacy term part-time, no less than 2 days a week, at least 1 day being scheduled for seminars.

2. Absence of the part-time candidate from practical training or seminars for more than 10 days over a year, regardless of reason, does not count towards the term of candidacy, except for the absence during vacations.

§30. The regulations of chapters 1 through 4, with the exception of §9, paragraph 2 and §15 and §16, apply to part-time candidates accordingly.

Chapter 6

Notary Candidacy

§31. The provisions of the preceding chapters apply accordingly to notary candidates along with the changes introduced in the following provisions.

§32.1. A notary candidate serves the term of candidacy in an assigned state notary office and for 3 months in a district court.

2. The chairman of provincial court can dispatch the notary candidate to other units to serve the term of candidacy.

§33.1. The chairman of provincial court appoints a sponsor for the notary candidate from among highly qualified notaries.

2. The notary-sponsor oversees the training of notary candidate for the entire term of candidacy, acquaints the candidate with the activities of which the duties of notary consist and cooperates in that field with other persons training the candidate.

§34.1. In the first year of candidacy, the notary candidate participates in study seminars for candidates in civil law and other subjects on the curriculum of the seminar and takes a test on civil law (labor law and social security, family law).

2. In the second year of candidacy, the notary candidate takes part in study seminars on notarial issues.

§35.1. Notary candidates take a notary examination before an examination board nominated by the minister of justice which consists of the representative of the minister of justice as chairman and two notaries.

2. The notary examination is scheduled by the chairman of the examination board on the recommendation of the chairman of the provincial court.

§36.1. The notary examination tests the skill of applying legal regulations pertinent to notarial practices and familiarity with other subjects on the curriculum of the seminar.

2. The notary candidate takes oral and written examinations. The written examination consists of drawing up a notarial act.

§37.1. If the result of the notarial examination is unsatisfactory, the next examination is scheduled after 3 months expire.

2. In case of failure to take the notarial examination without a valid reason or to pass the second examination, the notary candidate is dismissed.

Chapter 7

Final Regulations

§38. Invalidated are:

- 1) order of the minister of justice of 7 November 1960 on court candidates and assessors (DZIENNIK USTAW No 51, item 301 and 1968, No 15, item 92) as it applies to court candidates;
- 2) order of the minister of justice of 23 July 1956 on notary candidacy and examination (DZIENNIK USTAW No 33, item 156).

§39. The order takes effect on the day of publication.

Minister of Justice L. Domeracki

9761

CSO: 2600/76

TORUN PZPR BODY REVIEWS REFORM PROGRESS IN LOCAL INDUSTRY

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Sep 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by M. Szczuka and R. Buczek: "Economic Reform Requires Involvement"]

[Text] The PZPR Torun Provincial Committee plenary session which was held yesterday reviewed the results and drawbacks of the economic reform in Torun Province. Participating in the session led by Provincial Committee First Secretary Zenon Draminski were PZPR factory committee secretaries, representatives of self-management bodies, trade unions, and other social organizations from provincial factories. The Provincial Committee session was attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Among other guests were Provincial Governor Stanislaw Trokowski and PRON Provincial Council Chairman Slawomir Targowski.

A report initializing the discussion was presented on the behalf of the Provincial Committee Executive Board by Provincial Committee Secretary Andrzej Wietrzykowski. Apart from the plenary session, the committee debated in five problem groups.

"After 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ years of implementing the economic reform," said Andrzej Wietrzykowski in the report, "more and more questions are voiced among party members, in factories and institutions, in the whole society, about the effectiveness of the charges implemented in our economic system. Despite evident achievements, we also see resentment as the reform does not yield expected results fast enough and its effects can hardly be seen on store shelves. Although we have stressed many times that the reform cannot provide immediate solutions to all our problems, it must be noted that the resentment is also based upon real, objective grounds."

While reviewing the reform achievements, attention was drawn further in the report as well as in the discussions held at the plenary session and the group meetings to numerous drawbacks of the reform. Conclusions to be drawn were pointed out to factory and institution management bodies and factory party and social organizations. For instance, although in many enterprises work on payroll systems had allegedly begun in 1982, new payroll systems have so far been introduced in two (sic!) factories. At the same time, factory management bodies spent most of their time on soliciting various kinds of financial privileges, and in doing so were obviously supported by party and trade union organizations.

Where raw materials are abundant and machinery is not utilized due to labor shortages, so-called economic complexes can be set up, which may bring considerable results and profits for workers. Meanwhile, this initiative has only been taken into account in Merinoteks, and yielded an extra 140 tons of yarn.

Many enterprises adopted ostensible anti-inflationary and savings programs. Such actions result from the bad habits and inertia of factory management bodies and spread discontent with the reform in the society. It is also the case that those who express their disbelief in the reform's success contribute with their behavior at their workplaces to the reform's failure. As usual, those to blame are sought elsewhere.

No qualitative or quantitative improvement took place in the market production of the province in 1983. Its contribution to total production was too low. This year some favorable changes have taken place, but only in a handful of enterprises, such as, for example, Erg in Wabrzezno, FAM in Chelmo, Merinoteks in Torun, and Furniture Cooperative in Brodnica. However, negative tendencies in market production have been noted, among others, in Metrona, Stomil, Polesport, Furniture Factories in Grudziadz, Gelatine Factory in Brodnica, and Potato Processing Plant. Generally speaking, progress in market production has been unsatisfactory. Production capacities have not been utilized by market producers. In other enterprises no sideline production has been launched. Party cells, self-management bodies, and factory management bodies should focus their attention on this problem. Another problem to be taken up is the fact that most exports from Torun factories are unprofitable.

Although in the last 7 months the housing construction industry has completed 53.8 percent of the total of housing units to be built this year, which promises the fulfillment of this year's plan, no progress has been noted in individual housing construction. The major drawback of the construction industry is the shortage of materials. On the other hand, hardly any attempts are made to make up for it by manufacturing bricks, air bricks, roofing tiles, lime, wooden floors, etc., from locally available raw materials. Sparing use of materials and tidiness of construction sites also leaves much to be desired. Again, the reaction of party cells and self-management bodies to these drawbacks is unsatisfactory.

Material and raw material waste in industry, construction, and food processing is still enormous. At the same time, society is upset with the long-standing problem of recycling. The poor quality of many products cannot be accounted for by objective reasons. It arises at workplaces in malfunctioning production organization systems.

It was stressed that progress in the economy depends on each of us, on all working people. Worktime utilization is still low, although in the very same enterprises people work overtime. In some enterprises absenteeism is on the rise, in others an unfavorable relation holds between efficiency growth and an average pay.

According to the participants in the group meeting that dealt with industrial problems, in which 11 persons took the floor, the effects of the reform in production enterprises are above all production growth and efficiency increase,

which in Torun Province is greater than the country's average. Representatives of market producers (Comrade Czeslaw Szczotkarski from Elana and Comrade Jan Przybylak from Merinoteks, among others) drew attention to the fact that the clearing of accounts of enterprises in terms of the number of tons of production sold causes the manufacture of thin yarn not to pay, which is not always profitable for the market. Mention was made of low priorities for this group of producers, of relatively low investment allocations, of problems with purchasing modern machinery, of discontent and controversies raised by the ways in which pay raises are taxed for the PFAZ [State Vocational Activation Fund] and in which the social and housing funds are computed.

Strong support was expressed for the proposals of Comrade Edward Dwornikowski, National Bank of Poland branch director, which postulate a large-scale check for the purposefulness of subsidizing unprofitable branches of the national economy (transportation, mining industry, food distribution, and housing construction industry), changes in principles of granting privileges to enterprises--doing away with discretion-based granting and making it more systematic. The speaker criticized the tendency to "suppress factory investments," which occurs in spite of the fact that such investments turn out to be the most effective.

At the group meeting that dealt with construction problems, in which 14 persons took the floor, the discussion focused on the need for changes in management at all levels of the construction industry, better preparation of construction sites, and lack of concern of investment supervision with construction costs. At the group meeting that dealt with problems of communal economy, communications, and transportation, attention was drawn, inter alia, to the necessity of more thrifty and rational management of water supply. It was suggested that water meters should be installed in housing units. At the small industries group meeting, it was pointed out that there were some local capacities for processing farm produce, large quantities of which are wasted nowadays. At the trade and commerce group meeting, it was pointed out that the work organization systems of stores should be improved such as, for example, coordination of stores' working hours with local needs, that not only Spolem but also other grocery retailers should receive support, that stores should be open on work-free Saturdays, and quality control of products in retail.

Unfortunately, participants of the group meeting discussions rarely mentioned their own role--the role of factory party cells and management bodies--in the implementation of these postulates. Was "the top [leadership]" meant to be their sole addressee?

Comments on some of the issues in the discussion were made by Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski. "Around economic reform," he stressed, "some tensions are growing. Some of them have been discussed here, but the most crucial one is the aggregate of misunderstandings that accompany the reform. It must be made clear what we want to accomplish through the reform and what would be going on in the economy regardless of whether the reform began to be implemented or not. What we want to achieve is the maximal autonomy of the enterprise in a situation where only the central management of the economy is retained. And we succeed in doing so.

"What is also crucial is to what extent the reform favors and will favor initiatives helpful in reaching the goals of the autonomous enterprise. And we can say that the reform has aroused greater interest in the enterprise's production results than ever before. It is its second achievement, although obviously we are still far from having everybody interested in the enterprise's production results. These are the processes that have been initialized. They must be strengthened and public support must be sought for them."

"We are talking about bureaucratic threats to the reform," said K. Barcikowski, "but why does nobody speak about social dangers? The reform assumes, for example, a free price system, and yet at every meeting somebody demands that farm produce market prices, i.e., prices at the only free market today, should be controlled, that the rights of enterprises to impose their own prices should be constrained. Proposals have also been made to level the pay in a particular branch of industry or profession, to make it independent of one's contribution. Why don't you speak about this? It is very easy only to flatter people and to address all postulates to the so-called 'top.'"

"While over the question of whether the reform gives expected results, it must be borne in mind how the economy looked like in 1981, under martial law. It must be remembered that at that time there were shortages of coal and raw materials and that there were discussions over how many people should be laid off, etc. The reform should not be related to, for instance, price rises. This phenomenon is related to inflation, which is a consequence of relaxing the general economic discipline that occurred after 1980--we fight more and more effectively now.

"You are too hasty in formulating postulates. Is it really so easy to implement them? If so, then where are those who do not want to do it? Above all, you have to square up with yourselves with regard to these postulates, and then people will evaluate your work."

After closing the discussion, the Provincial Committee issued a resolution in which it pointed to achievements and drawbacks in the process of implementation of the economic reform in Torun Province and formulated recommendations for party organizations and factory management bodies.

Yesterday Kazimierz Barcikowski was also in the Torun Elana factory, where he met with the economic and political management of the factory and visited some departments.

12607

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SEJM COMMITTEE REPORT ON ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRESS IN 1983

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Oct 84 p 3

[Abridged version of speech by Deputy A. Melich]

[Text] The year 1983 was the second year of the implementation of the principles which, under the definition of "economic reform," we are introducing into our entire economic life, effecting profound changes in the system of administration and planning, and in the wake of that, also changes in the mechanism of running the economy. This has been a year of further stabilization in the economy and economic stimulation, although its conditions continued to be complicated and difficult.

Against this background, how does one evaluate the effect of the reform:

[Begin Melich speech] The report is of the opinion that "to establish a close cause-and-effect connection between the principles and the mechanism of reform and the formation of real economic processes is impossible." That opinion is only partly valid. For there exists the possibility of a more precise analysis of the influence of particular instruments and mechanisms of reform on the course of and results in real economic processes.

All the opinions and voices represented in the discussion of these problems unanimously and unequivocally assert that the year 1983 brought further progress in the accomplishment of the principles of economic reform. The reform, it is universally repeated, is yielding positive results, though simultaneously it is emphasized that many areas in which the advance is insignificant can be mentioned. Despite the previously submitted remarks, committees assert that there is a justifiable attribution of a significant part of the real economic achievement to the effect of the economic reform. Besides the higher than planned growth in national income as well as in production, the acquisition of a 2-billion dollar surplus in trade with capitalist countries should be stressed, though a significant role here is played by the limitations on imports. A certain improvement in the market situation is also already evident. In addition, one should note a 6.1-percent increase in collective work output.

One should also count as a positive aspect of the economic reform the fact that changes in economic thinking have been accomplished, that new habits are on the increase, and appreciation of economic accounting is growing. The style of managerial work is slowly changing because the independence of business work is expanding. The conviction is strengthening that one should try to economize resources in financing enterprises oneself, and though the choice of methods may breed doubts here (prices, change of stock), the reform will, however, force one increasingly to seek effective solutions.

The positive influence of the reform has also been evident in the growth of the autonomy of personnel.

On the other hand, one should also take into account the influence of the reform on negative manifestations present in the economy. Among others, the rise in prices and wages remains uncontrolled. Last year prices rose by 23.2 percent, though the plan foresaw a growth limited to 15-16 percent. Then financial profits of the population grew by 24.9 percent and surpassed the goal by 509 billion zlotys, i.e., by 13.5 percent in relation to the plan. At the same time, the supply of goods to the markets grew by 7 percent. These developments have a negative influence on economic stability and increase inflation.

The reform's influence on improving the effectiveness of farming is also weak. Enterprises are not sufficiently interested in lowered costs, technical improvements in employment, raising standards, applying the latest methods in farming, and in organizing the development of production. Hence, also results the weak readiness of enterprises to take advantage of technological and scientific progress. That is the weakest link in the reform.

Despite a highly dynamic foreign trade, its effectiveness is not satisfactory, if only in terms of the low level of quality of products for export.

Also particularly disquieting must be the ineffectiveness of the investment process. Outlays in investments exceeded 175 billion zlotys, that is, 18.2 percent. This does not apply to industrial enterprises, but to the area of public consumption, which is particularly neglected.

One should not close one's eyes to the signs of social demoralization, low discipline, lack of respect for social ownership and professional ethics, as well as a lack of appreciation for work. In truth, it is difficult to blame the economic reform for that, for signs of demoralization have been increasing for years, but the economic reform was not in a state to adopt efficient mechanisms to counteract the phenomenon.

So how is one to evaluate the influence of the reform? Is it fulfilling its tasks? That question must be divided into two parts: first, are the principles and assumptions of the economic reform proving correct, and second, are the methods, funds, and mechanisms used to accomplish this reform efficient enough?

To reply to the first question is difficult, for in our society there is no agreement about what the reform should bring and what its goals are. That is not the fault of the assumptions, although their working may sometimes give rise to doubts regarding interpretation, but the effect of the simplification and vulgarization of these issues.

Let us remember that various expectations as well as an atmosphere of immoderate emotions accompanied the birth of the reform. Many people imagine that the reform per se will somehow automatically solve all the problems in the economy, will fill the market and vouchsafe a rapid rise in wages, and when this does not occur, they hold it against the reform. Also fairly widespread is the idea that the economic reform can be used to introduce a market mechanism that should perform the function of a regulator and the driving force behind economic development, that economic planning can be replaced by the law of supply and demand. Comments of this type that are appearing elicit misgivings and doubts in a lot of people regarding the compatibility of the principles of the reform and the assumptions of socialist economics.

Under these conditions, committees see a sweeping need for an enduring explanation of the real goals and assumptions of the reform as well as a consolidation of the social climate that is so necessary for the accomplishment of the reform.

For the reform is not an indication of a return to a market economic and a weakening of central planning, but, on the contrary, is based on the basic principles of a socialist economy. Only the methods and forms of the realization of the assumptions of the central plan change. Orders and directives are gradually being replaced by intermediary methods, parametric methods which, when applied well and constantly verified, can realize the goals significantly more effectively than orders can. In freeing initiatives and getting people involved, the necessary conditions are created for overcoming accumulated discrepancies and barriers curbing the development of the economy. That should promote the raising of the effectiveness of farming, and that is ultimately the real issue.

Committees assert that the principles of reform were examined as to the validity of the directions that the solutions were to take. That, however, does not mean that when conditions change and experiments in their adaptation increase, one should not and need not change certain of their detailed principles. There can be no doubt, however, of the need for the continuation of the reform, for it is the only alternative that vouchsafes the possibility of modernizing farming, which is so necessary to set us on the path of growth.

Speaking of the negative aspects of reform, one can state that almost all of them are caused by inefficient methods and inappropriate choice of funds as well as of mechanisms of execution. Here, too, one should seek the causes of the feeble results of the reform in the area of realizing central plans, creating wages, prices and taxes, and in particular the low efficiency of our farming. An essential task of the reform thus has to be the constant refining of an increasingly efficient means of accomplishing its realization.

Committees see the need for concentrating work in the following directions for high standards of efficiency in the methods and means of reform activity:

1. The elaboration of efficient methods (of a parametric nature) of controlling the national economy both through the center and also through the branch and functional ministries. Knowledge and application of these methods is negligible, which causes a return to the use of old command methods.
2. Also disquieting is the incoherence of applied methods, a lack of efficient coordination of work as well as the inability to foresee its comprehensive consequences.
3. Another basic factor determining the effectiveness of the reform continues to be the weakness of the incentive system. It does not permit one to bring the principles of the reform to one's place of work and to interest workers in the results of the reform. Connecting motivation with irregularly acquired profit by taking advantage of the gaps in the system of counting costs and creating prices, or through manipulating stock, leads to inflation and a lack of stability.
4. There is also a lack of connection between wages and concrete effects. It is not sufficient to link them only with productivity. They also must influence the lowering of costs and a growth in the standards of production. So the resumption of an active wage policy is necessary, but one must pay--and perceptibly more at that--not for time spent at the place of work, but for concrete and measurable results. The law of February of this year on wage systems leads to possibilities here, but will not solve this problem because it does not embrace these problems comprehensively. It does not take into consideration the necessity of controlling wages nationwide, and particularly the relation of wages among various businesses.
5. Furthermore, the incoherent and inefficient system of creating prices needs to be corrected quickly. Its ineffectiveness is evidenced in the subsidies which must be granted to salvage enterprises operating at official prices. Subsidies will always exist, but the fact that recently they have exceeded a billion zlotys proves that the process of determining prices demands calm and profound consideration and a quick discovery of a method of fixing them correctly and making them work.
6. The low standard of production, the continued enormous waste of energy, funds, human skill and time is the cause of the unreasonable rise in costs. This is the fault of, among other things, inefficient mechanisms of reform. Without refining mechanisms that force an increase in effectiveness, an authentic need for innovation in the economy will not be engendered, either.
7. Finally, the low effectiveness of investment procedures. Significant excess in investment costs, as well as the low discipline manifesting itself at least in the lack of punctuality in repaying investments for profit, must prompt one to radical changes in this sphere too.

"In sum," concluded the minister, "One can state that there is no problem of departing or not departing from the reform; there is only the issue, and a burning one at that, of refining more and more effective methods of accomplishing it."

12584

CSO: 2600/60

BRIEFS

PZPR IDEOLOGY COMMISSION--A 2-day working session of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission has started in Poznan. The topic of deliberations is the ideological and political activity of Poznan party organizations. The experiences and accomplishments of the provincial organization as well as ideological problems based on the work and situation in various communities will be presented. Moreover, the participants of the session will become acquainted with the implementation of the resolutions of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and its related problems. The deliberations are being presided over by candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and rector of the Social Sciences Academy Marian Orzechowski. The following are also taking part in the session: the director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Bogdan Jachacz, and the director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, Wladyslaw Loranc. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

ECONOMIC EDUCATION GROUP MEETS--A meeting was held of the Commission for the Dissemination of Economic Knowledge, appointed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Representatives of sociopolitical organizations, the sciences, education, the economic administration and the mass media took part in the meeting, which was presided over by Deputy Premier and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission Manfred Gorywoda. The work plan of the commission and the results of the work done thus far by task forces and training programs were analyzed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

MILITARY 'NOT' GROUP MEETS--The Third National Conference of Military Circles of NOT [Chief Technical Organization] Scientific-Technical Associations was held in Gdynia. At the conference, which was presided over by the chief inspector of technology of the Polish Army, General of Arms Zbigniew Nowak, a resolution was passed which calls particular attention to the necessity of taking up activity aimed at maintaining a high standard of military technology. Deserving activists of military NOT circles received high state honors: the Military Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta was given to Col Bronislaw Habaj from the Military Institute of Armaments Technology, and the Cavalier's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta was received by Col Stanislaw Pyszniak from the Main Logistics Department of the Polish Army. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

MILITARY AGITPROP SEASON KICKOFF--The opening of another year of ideological training in central MON [Ministry of National Defense] institutes took place with the participation of instructors and students from various humanistic fields in the capital city's Ideological Indoctrination Center for the cadre in command of the Polish Army. The opening lecture, entitled "The Place and Role of Marxism in the Modern World," was given by Prof Col Jozef Borgosz. Also present was the chief of the GZP WP [Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army] and chief of Agitation and Propaganda Office, Prof Col Leslaw Wojtasik. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

PZPR AGITPROP KICKOFF MEETINGS--The Lenin Steelworks was chosen as the place for the inauguration of another year of party training in the Krakow Province. The inauguration was attended by Prof Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, and by a large group of instructors, lecturers and organizers of training work. In the discussion, the necessity of including all party members as well as youth and union activists and worker self-government activists in various forms of training was pointed out. On the 5th of this month, a new year of training in the party organization of Biala-Podlaska Province was ushered in by a scientific session organized with the cooperation of the Intercollegiate Institute of Political Science at Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary, took part in the opening. The role of the Polish Workers Party and of the PZPR in the struggle for the development of socialism in our country, issues pertaining to socialist democracy and those which directly concern various aspects of socioeconomic life in the Podlesie area were discussed in the presented papers. The inauguration of a new year of party instruction also took place in Konin. During the course of ceremonies, the tasks of the party's ideological activists for the coming months connected to, among other things, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

SZCZECIN PROVINCE AUDITED--On the 8th of this month, the Main Territorial Inspectorate [GIT], under the direction of Gen Brig Edward Drzazga, began a thorough audit of Szczecin Province. The audit will encompass the main areas of activity of the territorial organs of state administration and units of the socialized economy in the province. Particular attention will be paid to the implementation of economic tasks, the flow of consumer goods to the marketplace, the quality of services and preparation for winter of municipal and road services. The audit will continue until the 23rd of this month. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Oct 84 p 1] 9853

MORE AGITPROP KICKOFF MEETINGS--On the 10th of this month, a meeting was held of the leading lecturers, instructors and training organizers which kicked off a new year of ideological instruction work in the Tarnow provincial party organization. Stanislaw Opalko, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Tarnow, presided over the meeting. Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, talked about the main themes of the new year of party training during the meeting. The new year of party instruction in the Bydgoszcz PZPR provincial organization was kicked off with a meeting of lecturers and instructors in the Ship Installations Plants in Bydgoszcz. The proceedings of this meeting,

in which PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Albin Siwak participated, were transmitted by the plant radio broadcasting system. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

WORK ON PZPR PROGRAM--A conference was held in the PZPR Central Committee with regard to strengthening the role of the working class in the life of the nation and the state. Central Committee members and secretaries of party organizations from large work establishments as well as academic employees participated in the conference, which was organized within the framework of work on a draft plan of a long-range party program. Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Social-Professional Department of the Central Committee, presided over the deliberations. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

MILITARY COOPERATION WITH TEACHERS--On the 8th of this month, a meeting of the management of GZP WP [Main Political Directorate, Polish Army] and ZG ZNP [Main Board, Polish Teachers Union] was held, during which the deputy minister of national defense and chief of GZP WP, General of Arms Jozef Bryla, and ZG ZNP Chairman Kazimierz Pilat signed an "agreement of cooperation." [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

KALISZ DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING--On the 10th of this month, a meeting of the Provincial Defense Committee [WKO] was held in Kalisz. The meeting was devoted to assessing recruitment to professional military schools and to ideological-training work with predraft and conscript youth. It was confirmed that in Kalisz Province recruitment to professional military schools is proceeding smoothly. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 84 p 5] 9853

CSO: 2600/86

SPEECH BY WRITER COSIC BEFORE SERBIAN ACADEMY

Harrow NASA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 358, Oct 84 pp 2-3

[Speech made by Dobrica Cosic on 24 May 1984: "Speech at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences; On Democratic Opposition"]

[Text] I will try to merit your attention with a proposal which I will not be able to explain completely, but I am convinced that you will be able to justify it better than I can.

I accept the annual report wholeheartedly and with complete confidence in the leadership of the academy and I accept the working program, initiatives, and positions of the Executive Committee and the Presidium of the Academy.

At the same time, however, I do not feel at ease with the report which was presented to society and the enlightened public by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences because our work report and work plans are still appropriate --to use a military expression--for a "normal situation" in the course of development of our society, science, and culture as a whole up to now. However, I think that the situation is abnormal; it is historically new, critical, perhaps even ultimately disastrous, and it would be a good idea to reflect on the activities and the responsibilities of the academy both now and in the future with regard to the definition, if it is accurate.

By what criteria do I consider the present social and historical moment to be new, critical, fateful for the future of the nation and culture which we serve?

I will only mention a few elements of our existential situation: the new technological revolution which is radically changing the existing industrial and technological civilization; the most profound all-encompassing crisis of the Yugoslav system since its inception; the unused and critically undeveloped scientific potential of our country with all the unfavorable conditions of development; the real, by now perhaps even unavoidable danger that our country will slip into colonial technological dependence; the accelerating tempo of change in our world, in which time as a factor in development has an irretrievable, absolute significance; the lack of real social awareness of the existential situation, and thus also the lack of a strategic awareness and a collective vision of the future to serve as a creative and moral motivator.

Let me expand on this thesis a little by recalling the general facts and how they came into being.

It is well-known that essential changes in the nature, the quantity, and the speed of human activity have taken place in less than a century which have still not been sociologically and anthropologically understood. The meaning and nature of human labor has been changed and is changing in a qualitative manner. We are living in a civilization which has been overtaken by new technological revolutions whose processes and results are fundamentally changing the production and social formation of society, social and interpersonal relations, cultural creativity, the conditions and quality of human life. An era is coming in which it is not the basic production of articles and the industry of material, useful goods, but the production of knowledge, the industry of knowledge with the communication of information which will lead humanity into the "civilization of the intellect." My premonition is that it will be frightfully complex and uncertain, but it will be a world in which we will have to live, one in which developed societies have already entered and now live this new way of life; I don't believe that this is fortunate, but it is as unavoidable as death.

Furthermore, we are living in a civilization in which "knowledge is the main form of capital, the focus of expenditure, and the determining possession of the economy," its possession, or society's basic factor of development. Today it is quite certain that in the future there can be production in whose products great knowledge has been built and activities in which original creativity and new ideas are component parts. Today, information is replacing capital, physical material, and labor, and the science of information is reducing the essence of human activity to the technology of communication with a new language for which new organization of society, new education, new freedoms and justice, new human rights, new democracy are necessary. I also believe that a new socialism is necessary as an historical and humanistic alternative to the technocratic perspectives of the human community.

With the respect that my colleagues who have real knowledge and understanding of these problems pardon my amateurish interpretation of a difficult world and of the immediate future, I will express my concluding remark, and with a conviction: we are in a time of rapid and fundamental changes; everything is changing and changing in an irreversible manner at an increasingly fast pace; the gap between the developed and the undeveloped, the rich and the poor, the enlightened and the uncivilized, becomes increasingly more profound and widens at an ever-increasing pace; time lost today is time lost forever.

If all this comes to the truth, we might ask ourselves these question: Does our society-- do our contemporaries-- have an awareness of the time in which we are living and of what awaits us in the future, have we prepared our society strategically for tomorrow, have we thought about how and with what we will survive in the world community, what of ours we will open up and offer to the world, what we will take from the world? Do our contemporaries know that in 30 to 40 years all basic sources of energy on our soil will be exhausted, as

well as our ore reserves, that almost half of our agricultural land has already deteriorated, our forests cut down, our rivers polluted, and that consequently we are not only not a rich country as we have read in our textbooks and have heard in political speeches, but a poor and increasingly impoverished country, and soon, in the future, it will be possible to live on this Serbian and Yugoslav territory only on knowledge and work, diligence and honesty?

Indeed, our society does not have this existential awareness and no one is trying to create it for our society; our society has not seriously prepared itself and is not working for the future at the level of making socialistic hypotheses, of determining its needs and possibilities; in our society there is no effective system of general and enduring values which gives meaning to individual and collective existence. The present state of Yugoslav society, including that of Servian society, can mostly be described as being in an economic crisis, also at times as having a crisis of the social and political order, an ideological and moral crisis. And in spite of extraordinarily lucid and creative analyses of contemporary Yugoslav society which have been expounded in recent years by economists, sociologists, philosophers, lawyers, and others, we do not have a more precise, complete, and realistic analysis of our situation and our prospects for the future. We do not have the real truth about ourselves, and the truth is not beneficial. Its significance and meaning naturally exceed current policy and the prevailing ideological line. This is because we need to answer the historical question: How much of the existing organization of our society and the present state organization of Yugoslavia is able to provide for material and spiritual development, democratic, socialistic meaning and relationships, which respond to the needs and possibilities of the Yugoslav people and to the demands of the human individual at the level of modern civilization?

We have undoubtedly stepped out of a state of poverty and made significant material and cultural progress, but by basic world measures of status and development we have nevertheless remained near or at the bottom in Europe. Consequently, we are where we were half a century ago. And now we are not only in a state of stagnation, but in a descending line, intersected by a number of paradoxes. We have many educated people, and an unproductive and unenlightened society, a large number of engineers and technicians, and a low level of labor productivity; many government officials and a primitive and ineffective administration; many economists and a poor economy; many lawyers and a disorderly legal system; many laws, and little order-- or justice; many doctors and poor health standards, poor general hygiene, and poor hospitals; too many architects, and the homeliest cities and houses in Europe; many artists and little beauty in everything that we build, produce, show. We have many doctors of science and academics, and little science, few inventions, few creations. Our criteria and measures of value in all areas of creation and work have been politicized and have little pragmatic value. From where does this and so much of the variance between quality and quantity, between human potential and production and creativity, between declared goals and social reality come? I will not take this occasion to get into an analysis of the causes and factors of the existing situation, but I will express my belief that all of our science, all the creative thought of our society ought to be called upon to provide answers to these questions.

And I am convinced that as a nation and a culture we are sustaining some disturbing historical setbacks. We are using up time in history in an unintelligent manner, we are wallowing in consumptive nihilism, masochistic self-denial, we have sunk to the level of mistakes and self-deceits, we have been corrupted by favoring our worst natures, by moving into new settlements and by modest material and technical progress, we are satisfied with petty freedoms and with few rights we are powerless to resist internal acts of destruction and aggression, we are morally and spiritually unprepared for the large amounts of work and creative effort which are required by contemporary life and by the future.

Reflecting on the responsibilities and opportunities of the academy today, I ask myself: Are we doing our duty in the academy if, besides being involved with our professions, we are not more involved with general social and contemporary problems, if we do not demonstrate in a more powerful manner critical thought, intellectual skepticism, moral courage in the realization and statement of truth about the society and the world in which we live? Should the academy be more persistent and more vocal in being involved with general and contemporary social and national problems, such as the attempts to interfere in school reform, the production of long-range scientific research programs, the organizing of the scientific meetings entitled "Economic Development and the Economic System," "Long-Range Development, Goals, and Needs," and those on the demographic situation, biomass sources of energy, regional planning, and the protection of the human environment, the founding of the committee on the Third Millennium, the committee for studying Kosovo and Albanian-Serb and Yugoslav-Albanian relations, the initiative for the scientific study of genocide on our soil, and in addition, a few actions of general significance? Can the academy stand for and disseminate something greater, higher than both the political and cultural traditions of this body, and its conformist inertia?

The academy has stood before these and similar dilemmas for a long time. I would say that it has not made decisive and consistent decisions, it has not been aware of the difficulty and risk inherent in every act of intellectual radicalism in our situation. It has also not been aware of the futility of initiatives and undertakings which do not take action, not been aware that running along the deck of a ship does not make it go faster. Because many important warnings have been expressed to the intellectual community and to our academy, as well as socialistic and socially useful proposals and ideas, a not inconsequential number of scientists and intellectuals has long pointed to the erroneous direction of societal development, to bad economic policy, incorrect educational and scientific policy, inhuman and primitive urbanization, etc. But unfortunately, none of this has been received in an appropriately positive and responsive manner among the people and forums which make decisions about everything which is important. In our society, the concerns of intellectuals for the general good and progress of the country are still attacked as some sort of "partnership," are designated as elitism and abusive "messianism" and are interpreted as being a part of a struggle for power. In our society, powerful forces exist that frighten and corrupt the truth, shame spiritual and moral courage, disparage virtue and make honesty senseless, make reason unnecessary and knowledge and imagination superfluous,

slander good intentions, defile the pure, proclaim patriots to be nationalists and those who don't think the way they do to be enemies of socialism and traitors to the country. I know that we are living under circumstances in which it is not evil to do evil; evil is done when someone points it out as evil.

I know all of this; nevertheless, I stand for freedom, for expressing the truth about the difficult and critical present, for asking vital questions of our generation and of our people, for true, conscientious, public answers to these questions, for tolerant, creative dialogue among all people of science, art, and politics. And I propose that a meeting, or meetings, of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences be organized in the fall in which we could discuss the problems which I can summarize in three words: society, science, the future.

Respected colleagues, I am inclined to conviction, and I am afraid that if falsehoods continue to function as truth for us, if ignorance remains part of our human nature and moral indifference our national mentality, if freedom of truth is not expanded and mastered more persistently, if we regard progress only as a state in which things don't get worse, if we therefore continue to work, think, and live in a state of inertia and within the limits of some domestic traditions and the religion of politics, we will be defeated in an historical sense. If we do not start to talk about epochal questions bravely and truthfully today, tomorrow we will not have the right to do this and will only be able to listen. If we do not think responsibly and distinctly about the situation and the future of this country today, about its social order, culture, and civilization, tomorrow we will only be able to remember our past. And I believe that as a people, as a society, as a generation, we are undergoing difficult trials. They are, I think, the most complex of this century. By using old paths we arrive at old and familiar goals; in new times, going towards new goals, we should use new paths. They must be discovered and designated. I would say that what we need in order to make correct decisions and to take positive actions in great wisdom and knowledge, awareness and clear vision, perhaps more than at any other critical time in this century. And we have not been known for these strengths very often, to any great extent, in the past, especially at the crossroads of modern history. It is difficult not to see that the future is presenting us with fateful challenges. If we do not accept them immediately and will all our mental and moral power, I dare say that we will condemn ourselves to remain at the bottom of European civilization, to social entropy and a meager existence, to a slow, most difficult collapse which will threaten all nations with lost time to develop, and to destroyed identity. I think that the knowledge possessed by the academy should not remain only in fields of specialization, but should be integrated into a system of knowledge and common experience with a collective strategic vision, and offered to society in this manner. It should be offered in a persistent and argumentative manner. It is not my heartfelt conviction that by so doing we will change society, but I am convinced that by so doing we will do our duty.