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16 May 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1389

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PZPR'S KARKOSZKA SPEAKS AT MOSCOW AUTOMOBILE PLANT

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 77 pp 1, 3 LD

[Unattributed report: "Friendship Must Be Strengthened"]

[Excerpts] The Warsaw Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Committee delegation headed by A. Karkoszka, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee which is visiting Moscow, yesterday laid wreaths at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior.

Then the delegation, together with V. V. Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU gorkom, visited Moscow's Likhachev automobile plant.

Comrade A. Karkoszka, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee, who was warmly greeted by those present, mounted the rostrum.

For over 30 years of people's power, [Karkoszka said], our party, implementing the principle of the unity of national and international aims, has assumed responsibility for the solution of complex problems of the country's socio-economic development and has been successfully resolving them. Our alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is a great help to us. We regard the consolidation of the alliance and friendship, and the expansion of cooperation with the land of the Soviets as our main duty to the working class and Polish people. Comrade Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stressed during his friendly visit to the USSR in November 1976: "We note with deep satisfaction that, thanks to the consistent and inspiring policy of the PZPR and the CPSU, which is a vivid expression of socialist internationalism, and thanks to the all-round state activity and activeness of millions and millions of Poles and Soviet people, cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union has developed particularly fruitfully in recent years. Today we have the right to be proud of the new, higher level of our relations. This is reflected in all spheres of life."

The class and national alliance with the land of the Soviets is the basis of our country's growing authority in Europe and throughout the world. By linking the fate of the people and state permanently with socialism, and choosing this only correct path of development, our country has taken a worthy place in the community of socialist states. The socialist countries are the vanguard of the present day, the bulwark of progress and peace.

Thanks to the efforts of the Polish working class and all the people, the course of the sixth and seventh PZPR congresses, which outlined a strategy for the country's dynamic socioeconomic development, is being successfully implemented. It is precisely on this foundation, on the basis of the successes already achieved, and using the opportunities which are taking shape, that we will implement the program for building a developed socialist society. The current 10-year period is a period of unusually rapid development for our motherland. This dynamic development is creating the basis for further progress in the field of meeting the population's material, social and cultural requirements, and a guarantee of a dignified life for every Polish family. It serves as a firm basis for the consolidation of the might of our state, and the growth of Poland's significance in the world.

An important role in the implementation of the socioeconomic development program, the speaker stressed, is played by Poland's capital--Warsaw. Like Moscow, Warsaw is the heart of the country's sociopolitical life and a major industrial and scientific research center. Warsaw's industry, which is connected with leading centers of scientific and technical thought, and training of specialized cadres, is playing an increasingly decisive part in the process of modernization of the national economy. As the center of national culture, Warsaw can take pride in the numerous valuable achievements of creative workers, and in the good results in the popularization of culture among a broad strata of the population.

The people of Warsaw love their city and are selflessly implementing the wonderful and bold plan for the capital's development adopted by our party's Politburo and the government Presidium. The effectiveness of these efforts is obvious to all.

Our city is being transformed unusually quickly into a monolithic, functional and beautiful urban complex. The rate of housing construction has noticeably speeded up. This has become possible thanks to the housing construction combine built with the aid of the Soviet Union. Industrial enterprises are being expanded and modernized. The capital's production potential is developing dynamically.

Warsaw's appearance today is a vivid expression of the creative potential of our society which makes good use of the conditions offered by socialism for socioeconomic development.

Our countries, like all the socialist states, are consistently implementing the provisions of the final act of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe. But we are worried by the provocative attacks from western bourgeois propaganda--attacks which have intensified recently, and which are aimed against the interests of peace throughout the world, against the atmosphere of detente and the successful development of relations between countries with different sociopolitical systems.

The main idea of the USSR foreign policy is the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. The realism, clarity and determination inherent in the peace program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and developed at the 25th congress are graphic confirmation of this.

This Leninist principle was reflected in the position taken by the leaders of the CPSU and Soviet state and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally at the recent talks with U.S. representatives. This position, distinguished by determination to defend the legitimate interests and rights of the socialist countries, and expressing good will and the desire for just and mutually advantageous decisions, enjoys universal recognition in Poland.

Our country is taking an active part in measures promoting peace and detente. We resolutely support the Soviet disarmament proposals which accord with the aspirations of millions of people throughout the world.

CSO: 1800

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' COMMENTS ON THE GABRIEL CASE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 77 p 3

[Article by Stanislav Oborsky: "A Mother's Voice--On V. Gabrielova-Zludkynova's Letter to the U.S. President"]

[Text] We published yesterday in RUDE PRAVO an open letter by Mrs Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova addressed to the president of the United States, James Carter. It is written soberly, nevertheless, one can feel in it a mother's wounded heart which will never be--because it cannot be--reconciled with the kidnapping of her own children and with their intentional alienation from their country. For 5 years Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova has fought for her Vlasta and her Bedrich: at first by private petitions, later with the aid of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington she availed herself of every opportunity given to her by the U.S. justice, in order to claim her right--the fundamental, the most sacred of human rights, mother's right to her children. The honorable judges in the country that is boastful of the greatest and firmest civil assurances, however, have denied her that right. And they denied it with unconcealed cynicism. Why? Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova, a citizen of the socialist Czechoslovakia, refused to give up her native land, the native land of her children: for that reason she was punished by U.S. courts with the cruelest penalty. Now a spark of hope has appeared for Mrs Gabrielova-Zludkynova: U.S. President J. Carter has often spoken and still speaks of protecting human rights. Therefore, she wrote him an open letter. It is a letter of a mother who hopes that the words of the highest elected U.S. official would not be at variance with his deeds.

Our public is familiar with this case from recent years; it became notorious as "the Gabriel children case." All over our country the lawless action of the U.S. courts elicited profound indignation. Nevertheless, let us recall the basic facts....

## Double Kidnapping

At the turn of 1967-1968 the marriage of Vlasta and Bedrich Gabriel was dissolved and the court in Decin awarded the custody of 5-year-old Vlasta and 4-year-old Bedrich to their mother.

In June 1968 Bedrich Gabriel driving a car while excessively intoxicated caused a serious traffic accident. In the course of the investigation of the incident he became convinced that he would not avoid court prosecution and thus, he used the typical maneuver of many criminal elements--he "chose freedom": he made up his mind to escape to the FRG and claim to be a victim of persecution by the communist regime. He was aware of the fact that such individuals could find a warm welcome "on the other side of the hills." Perhaps he suspected that the warm welcome might be of a short duration only: at that time even prominent Czechoslovak "reformers" were escaping "over the hills." And so he decided to go West with something unusual: taking advantage of the chaos at that time, he kidnapped little Vlasta and Bedrich with whom he crossed the checkpoint in Folmava in his Cortina on 30 August 1968. He went to visit his German relatives....

Later, however, he fabricated a regular [James] Bond-like horror story of having snatched his children from the communist hell: he sped to the border hunched low over his steering wheel while the border guards were firing at him wildly with their tommy guns and the children were prostrate on the floor of the car so as to avoid getting hit by the bullets penetrating the chassis.... It was a cheap tale of horror because a properly filled out and stamped border pass issued in the name of Bedrich Gabriel and his two children departing for a visit to his German relatives in the FRG proves that he crossed the border undisturbed, and also engineer Jan Jary of Munich who bought the car from Gabriel testifies that it was without a scratch. Yet, even such an extremely far-fetched horror tale found a spot in the pages of reactionary papers; imperialist propaganda used it to portray Czechoslovakia as a country of terror and violence.

Just the same, Gabriel was meeting with considerable competition--so he flew with his children to his remarried mother Anna Roggendorf in Yucaipa, California. However, he died there in 18 months and grandmother Roggendorf simply turned the children over to the district children's welfare department which, in turn, gave the children to Mr and Mrs Smith for upbringing.

Vlasta Gabrielova tried to learn about her children's fate for a long time. When she finally found out where they were and that B. Gabriel was dead she requested the aid of the Czechoslovak Red Cross in returning them to her. The Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington joined the negotiations. At last, early in 1971, a court hearing concerning the children's return began. Early in November the appropriate court decided to give the children to their mother. The Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington purchased airplane tickets for them, and an authorized employee of the Czechoslovak Airlines who was supposed to accompany the children to their native country was waiting at the airport.

She was, however, waiting in vain. The attorney who was to receive the children and take them to the airport also waited for nothing. Vlasta and Bedrich Gabriel had vanished.

Or more precisely--they had been kidnapped for the second time. Nobody knew where they were.

#### Right to Injustice

In every civilized country kidnappers of children are regarded as the basest of criminals and also punished with the highest penalties. This is also the case in the United States.

In the Gabriel children case, however, something incomprehensible, something contrary to the laws happened. Although it soon became known that Vlasta and Bedrich had been kidnapped and hidden by Mr and Mrs Smith in cahoots with A. Roggendorf and, moreover, that those persons had shown contempt of the court and failed to comply with its decision, the Supreme Court of the State of California for the district of San Bernardino not only did not prosecute them, it even permitted them to appeal the original court decision.

The action was obviously initiated by the reactionary forces which wanted to exploit the little children and the whole case of their return to their native land for a political attack against the socialist Czechoslovakia. After all, this was confirmed by the communication media as well. Vlasta Gabrielova, now Zludkynova, was remarried and that served as an impetus for vicious attacks upon her honor--and this in a state which can boast with women holding records in the number of their marriages. Vlasta Zludkynova was described as a daughter of a prominent communist official and, of course, as an usurper, although she does not belong to any political party and is a practicing Catholic and although her father worked as an electrician in a sub-station in Decin; television stations interviewed the children at length and commentators spoke emotionally how they loved living in the United States....

And, moreover, Vlasta and Bedrich were being intensively alienated from their native language so that they would be unable to communicate with their mother.

That was a reason, namely, the San Bernardino judge Don Turner ordered Vlasta Zludkynova to be present at the appeal hearings before the juvenile court scheduled for the middle of February 1972. The judge's decision had a peculiar twist: Don Turner issued it at a time when the anti-Czechoslovak hysteria was fused into one fundamental demand: If Vlasta Zludkynova wished to get her children back, she would have to opt for freedom and remain in the United States! The mother was supposed to betray her country, the native land of her children, to desert her baby daughter Petruska born in her new marriage, her husband, parents, friends--in order to get what belonged to her by the most sacred of rights and what would remain a little part of herself forever--her children...! This was a terribly inhuman, barbaric demand. Yet, many dailies printed it in inch-high letters.

Vlasta Zludkynova did arrive in San Bernardino.

And her most excruciating way of the cross was only beginning.

Little Vlasta and Bedrich welcomed their mommy enthusiastically; they wanted to be with her all the time and it never bothered them that they were unable to speak with her. For that reason Mrs Zludkynova stayed with the Roggendorfs where the children were living during the long days of court hearings. Although the more liberal members of the San Bernardino society noticed the cordial relations between the mother and her children, the reaction, on the other hand, was infuriated, so much more so because Vlasta Zludkynova declared unambiguously that after the decision of the court which was sure to return the children to her she did not intend to stay in the United States for another minute and would return home. There were nights when enraged gangs screamed threats under her window. A vulgar campaign was launched against her by some communication media. Also, she had to go into hiding with her children, fearing violence. Finally, the Roggendorfs simply threw her out of their house and Vlasta Zludkynova was forced to place herself under the protection of the Czechoslovak consular official who was acting as her interpreter before the court.

The worst was yet to come for her on 15 March 1972. The final hearing was held in the court of San Bernardino. In his long summation, full of kindness as well as irony and cynicism, the honorable Don Turner declared that he lacked any proof of Mrs Zludkynova's inability to bring up her children properly--nevertheless, he surprisingly decided that Vlasta and Bedrich would have to stay in the United States in the Smith family's care...!

Later, in July 1974, the Supreme Court of the State of California finally considered Vlasta Zludkynova's appeal against Don Turner's decision and revoked that decision; however--it gave Don Turner himself the final word which cannot be appealed.

The American right to injustice had won.

Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova returned home alone, the mother whose children had been stolen in the name of what the U.S. justice swears by, in the name of God, humanity and justice.

No Begging

Those are just some of the basic facts concerning the "Gabriel children case." Naturally, they cannot express by far what this mother in her courageous but futile fight for her own children had to go through, this mother who would not betray her native country, the native country of her children, even in her struggle with an alien world which brutally demonstrated to her its disdain for the most beautiful, the deepest, purest and eternal feeling--mother's love.

Five years passed since the scandalous trial at the court in San Bernardino. Three years passed since the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of California which in a Solomon-like fashion washed its hands of a case of glaring injustice. A mother, however, does not measure time if it concerns her children's return. She will wait forever. And she will do anything just to be able to welcome them on the threshold of her house. After all, she gave them her blood, a part of her body, she felt the excruciating agony and immense joy as they emerged in this world, she pampered them in their helplessness to their first steps and first word, all of her belonged to them, to them only....

I am not surprised that Mrs Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova wrote such a letter to the U.S. president, James Carter. Even though years have gone by and even though she experienced the searing bitterness of the life in the United States, a mother has the right to grasp at the slightest hope if it concerns her children's fate. And James Carter has uttered so many fancy words about the restoration of morality and protection of human rights in his speeches before the presidential elections last year and again this year from the White House.

In her letter Mrs Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova demands that he turn his words into deeds. We emphasize: she does not beg, she demands.

She has every right to demand that. All the facts from the long years of the negotiations for the return of the Gabriel children to Czechoslovakia have confirmed that little Vlasta and Bedrich and their mother have been victims of a planned, very crude anti-Czechoslovak campaign in the United States. For instance, experts on Czechoslovak social and political affairs whom judge Don Turner admitted as witnesses, although it was entirely irrelevant with regard to the legal ground for the court action, were post-February [1948] refugees, rather suspicious individuals who, of course, did not have the slightest knowledge of Czechoslovakia at present; however, they would not stop spouting hostility against the country where they were born and which they had betrayed. Their slander and hysterical illiteracy served Don Turner well who then prevented the Gabriel children from going back to their mother and to their real homeland. This fact in itself proves the objectives of the court in San Bernardino.

He granted whatever the American reaction demanded.

And since it demanded an anti-Czechoslovak slanderous campaign, the so-called honorable judge did not hesitate to insult and humiliate the mother and threw, mercilessly, even her two little children into the flames of malice.

In the American, and capitalist way of life everywhere, such injustice is nothing unusual: if legitimate demands of U.S. blacks need to be suppressed, the FBI can always find some "ten conspirators," accuse them of the most dreadful plots against "freedom"--and the court is always ready and willing to sentence them; if, in the FRG, they want to talk about the terror in Czechoslovakia, even the murderer of the pilot, Captain Micica or the

criminal Becvar are good enough for them to paint "the communist hell" in living colors; if he fearlessly sticks out his chest and makes anti-Soviet and anti-socialist gestures, the doors of the White House open even to such a human zero as Bukovsky, as long as he is a notorious dissident....

And there are so many more examples!

Whenever capitalism attacks socialism, it always treads on human rights and justice and supplants justice with injustice. That is already in the nature of its law, because capitalism has nothing more left.

That may serve as a warning to Mrs Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova. Yet, a mother will always fight for her children to her last breath. However, that does not seem to be the only reason why Vlasta wrote her open letter to James Carter.

This woman has grown and come of age in our socialist society. Here she completed the advanced industrial school of construction and became a designer; here she fulfilled her desires and dreams; here she gave birth to her children; here she experienced her joys and sorrows--here, in this country, in our midst, she became a human being who learned to know--and is aware of--the real values in life.

This is, I believe, the main reason why Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova wrote her letter to U.S. president, James Carter. A person who knows the real taste of freedom from her daily life, a person who can enjoy every day her rights and therefore, who knows their enormous value, a person who knows that in this country she is the mistress of her fate and therefore, a person who could not be broken even in the United States--a decisive, steadfast, courageous person who does not give up without a fight.

Perhaps the words of Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova's letter will reach the ear of the U.S. president. I would not want to be in his shoes at that moment. A mother whose children were stolen in the United States speaks to him. And that mother demands her sacred right....

9004  
CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL'S FUTURE PLANS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 5, 2 Feb 77 pp 3, 4

[TVORBA interview with the Slovak National Council Chairman Viliam Salgovic prepared by Marcela Zabojsnikova: "The Slovak National Council and Its Future Program"]

[Question] In the new electoral term, which we have entered after the elections to representative organs, the Slovak National Council will proceed from the basic tasks for the further development of socialism as outlined by the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Comrade Chairman, what, specifically, are the chief tasks?

[Answer] The 15th CPCZ Congress has outlined and approved a program of further building of a developed socialist society in the years to come, one which depends on the developmental level achieved in each sphere of social life. Especially demanding tasks have developed in conjunction with the implementation of the SSR's economic policy. The SSR's rate of economic development, for instance, will be greater than in the CSR in the Sixth Five-Year Plan as well. Slovakia's industrial character will be further enhanced and additional structural changes in its industry made; the industry will be conspicuously oriented toward developing potentially profit-bearing priority programs, which will bring about potential economic growth for all of the CSSR.

For the Slovak National Council and its organs it therefore means that it will have to create all preconditions to acquaint the working people with the aims and intentions approved by the congress. In accordance with the guideline of the 15th CPCZ Congress for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR in 1976-1980, the Slovak National Council will support all measures to assure social production's rapid, balanced development. In fulfilling the demanding program of the multi-sided development of our society, we will endeavor to apply science and research findings more consistently and with greater flexibility in economic practice; to increase the reproduction process' efficiency through more effective use of live and embodied labor; and to exploit more advantageously raw materials and other

materials, fuel, and energy. This requires to embark upon the course of high standards, and concepts, efficiency and good quality of work, which understandably applies to all of society, to all sectors of our political, economic and cultural life.

The construction of a developed socialist society under the conditions of rapid development and application of knowledge gained from the scientific-technical revolution confronts us with urgent demands pointing to further increase of our entire population's educational and cultural level. We have achieved good results in this area during the past period. It will be necessary to follow up these positive achievements in the future and create conditions for an even more effective operation of the entire pedagogical-educational system in order to bring the education of the working people, and especially the young, to a high political, specialized and professional level. In this way it will meet the demands of the present and especially the future development of our society.

[Question] The Slovak National Council plays an important role in this regard, especially in the field of legislation and in the strengthening of socialist legality. Comrade Chairman, what are your comments on this matter?

[Answer] As the chief organ of state power in the SSR the Slovak National Council contributes to the growth of the socialist state's internal strength and to the implementation of its class functions and consolidation of socialist social relations, of the citizens' trust and confidence in our social system, as well as the further intensification of socialist democracy. The deliberation on and adoption of laws play a special role. In its consideration of proposed laws, the Slovak National Council and its organs will continue to emphasize their content and application of the class principle, so that laws passed will reflect the political line taken by the CPCZ and will represent the legal expression of the will of the working class and all working people.

We also pay attention to protecting societywide interests, the socialist economy, and consolidation of socialist social relations; to legal regulations aimed at improving the management of the national economy, protecting the rights and legally guaranteed interests of the citizens. We pay attention, also to improving the quality of the state administration.

The Slovak National Council, its organs and deputies have the important task of controlling the application of laws, their efficiency in society; they also evaluate instances of the implementation of socialist legality. The Slovak National Council and its organs pay constant attention to legal education and propaganda, to cultivation of respect for law, to the education of citizens to be law-abiding and observant of the norms of the socialist and to the struggle against their violation.

[Question] How does the Slovak National Council implement the 15th congress' conclusion aiming at the further development of the control function of the highest-level representative organs?

[Answer] The requirement to further develop the control function of representative organs and especially to increase its effectiveness stems from, among other things, the demanding character of our purposes and intentions as approved by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ. During the sixth electoral term the Slovak National Council and its organs are concentrating on exercising control over fulfillment of tasks which are decisive and uppermost from the viewpoint of societywide needs. It is their implementation that the fulfillment of our socialist society's program of economic, social and cultural development in the years 1976-1980 depends on.

We shall, first of all, closely watch to see whether there is implementation of the Program Statement by the Government of the SSR and how effective are measures undertaken by the government to solve the tasks and problems in individual areas of social life. We are primarily interested in the tasks related to more flexible realization of those structural changes in industry which are intended to insure a higher degree of satisfaction of the national economy's needs and will considerably strengthen its export potential. In addition, we shall direct our attention to controlling the efficiency of the production process and fulfillment of the capital investment plan with a view to putting decisive capacities into operation on time and to making better use of scientific and technological achievements along with their speedy practical application. In that connection we want to devote special attention to implementing the resolution of the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee concerning the development of metallurgy and engineering in the 1976-1980 period.

We shall pay no less attention to the implementation of measures to further increase the level of our socialist agriculture and food industry. This will also include control over fulfillment of assignments in the trade sector, the functioning of paid services for the population and other sectors.

[Question] In the fulfillment of the tasks which you, Comrade Chairman, have listed, the Slovak National Council will certainly use its rich experience from its work with the deputies. However, what steps will you take to further expand their activity?

[Answer] The deputies are assigned an important role in the realization of the conclusions reached by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ and of the congress of the CPS which defined conditions under which the Slovak National Council and its organs are to take action. It is through them that participation on the part of the working people and social organizations is assured in the administration of the socialist state and in the economic management and development of socialist society. We are also aware that more demanding tasks in building a developed socialist society generate great demands especially in political work by the Slovak National Council deputies among the masses in electoral districts. The successful realization of the tasks approved by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ for all sectors of social life urgently requires increased activity and involvement of deputies in the process of explaining the set tasks to the working people and gaining their support for the conscientious realization of all our aims.

In establishing a close touch with the workers' collectives, in consistent and purposeful work by the Slovak National Council deputies among the voters in their electoral districts, in direct contact with the national committees and the National Front's social organizations--that is where we see one of the most important and primary forms of developing socialist democracy and involving the working people in solving the problems of building a developed socialist society.

This direct and intensive contact with the voters will also enable the Slovak National Council deputies to work with greater initiative in the Slovak National Council organs where they will be able to implement better the views, suggestions and admonitions of their constituents in considering a wide variety of problems. The deputies' specific knowledge, which was acquired from working among the voters, will thus contribute to increased effectiveness in decision-making by the Slovak National Council organs and their authority, as well as the deputies' authority with the general public. Also, when adopted laws are being applied in practice, the deputies are assigned the task of interpreting to the voters in their electoral districts the meaning and aims of the adopted laws, in order to familiarize them with the effectiveness of these laws in practice and enable them to influence state economic organs as well as individual citizens to conscientiously observe and carry out all laws. We are trying through our deputies to more actively influence our citizens and educate them to observe the laws and norms of socialist coexistence and oppose their violation.

[Question] You have mentioned, Comrade Chairman, the direct contact by deputies with national committees. It is known that in the past electoral term positive results were achieved in relations between the Slovak National Council as the SSR's highest representative organ and the national committees as local organs of the state authority. Can you recall some of these?

[Answer] It involved, most of all, the field of legislation and control, where the Slovak National Council and its deputies created additional favorable conditions for improving cooperation with the national committees. For instance, the Slovak National Council arranged for the participation of the national committees in the protection of the socialist order and of societywide interests and rights, and also legally protected interests of citizens; it dealt with problems of management, and of implementing and monitoring the fulfillment of the tasks of the state administration tasks assigned to the national committees. The program of the Slovak National Council sessions included also the cultural-educational work of the national committees, as well as concern for training a new generation of qualified workers. We considered questions related to providing services by enterprises of the local economy and production cooperatives, reviewed the problems related to creating and protecting the environment but also a number of additional important problems. The conferences with regard to these problems were prepared in close cooperation with the national committees. On the other hand, the Slovak National Council paid great attention to and showed concern for the national committee from the viewpoint of implementing tasks

of state administration. I would like to express my appreciation especially for our deputies' cooperation with the national committees and their representatives, whether in exchange of experience or in joint participation in different inquiries. The Slovak National Council deputies are taking part more and more frequently in national committee sessions not only as passive spectators but as participants affecting the solution of important tasks.

[Question] Cooperation between the Slovak and Czech National Councils is also traditional. For instance, the cooperation of their individual committees has brought specific results. What intentions and aims of the two highest-level national representative organs do you wish to follow in working contacts with the Czech and the Slovak National Councils?

[Answer] In the upcoming electoral period, we naturally shall continue to cooperate with the Czech National Council; similarly in our working contacts with the CSSR Federal Assembly. Practice has confirmed that the mutual exchange of experiences among individual committees, but also personal contacts of leading officials of the highest-level representative assemblies are useful and contribute to the improvement of the quality of their operations. Especially useful is the mutual exchange of information--consultation, if you like--in formulating annual operational plans, information about the course of sessions of individual organs and about adopted resolutions. Also involved are some forms and methods of cooperation of deputies in electoral districts and the mutual exchange of their experiences gained from cooperation with deputies of lower representative organs and voters.

In his report to the CPCZ Central Committee at the 15th party congress, the secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak appraised the activity of representative assemblies of all levels with these words: "After almost 5 years of retrospect we can say that our entire democratically elected representative system--from national committees through the Czech and Slovak National Councils up to the Federal Assembly--has functioned successfully in the spirit of the program of the 15th congress as one of the most important elements of our socialist democracy and government of the people." This is high praise which we have received from the congressional platform. At the same time, it also obliges us to make our work more thorough and perfect, so that we can fulfill the demanding tasks laid down by the 15th CPCZ Congress for the entire system of representative organs. There is no doubt that we shall implement all of them.

6314

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER PRESENTS KARL MARX ORDER TO MONGOLIA'S TSEDENBAL

Honecker Speech

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 77 p 2 AU

[Speech by Erich Honecker at the ceremony to decorate Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, chairman of the Presidium of the Mongolian Great People's Hural, with the GDR's highest order, in Berlin on 3 May]

[Text] Dear Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal! Dear Mongolian comrades! It is a special pleasure and great honor for me to award you, dear Comrade Tsedenbal, upon a decision of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR, the Karl-Marx-Order. With this high decoration we are paying tribute to your personal contribution to the comprehensive development of the fraternal relations and comradely cooperation between our two parties, states and peoples. We thus express our appreciation of your outstanding merits in the struggle for the cause of peace and socialism.

The communists and all working people of our socialist GDR respect you, dear Comrade Tsedenbal, as a loyal son and worthy representative of the Mongolian people, as a consistent Marxist-Leninist and internationalist. You are successfully continuing the great revolutionary cause of the unforgotten legendary heroes of your country, Sukhe-bator and Choybalson. You have devoted your life entirely to serving the workers movement and the struggle for the implementation of the communist ideals. It is well known also in the GDR with what devotion you have been working for many years now at the head of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian People's Republic for the benefit of the fraternal Mongolian people, for the goals of peace and socialism.

We honor you today as an internationally highly respected party leader and statesman, as a friend and comrade who is devoting all his strength to the further flourishing of the Mongolian People's Republic and who at the same time does everything to continuously strengthen the fraternal alliance with the party and country of Lenin, with all other parties and states of the

socialist community. In you we honor a loyal friend of the GDR. We want to thank you for the great contribution which you have made to the development of the fraternal relations between our two parties, states and peoples. Let these relations continue to prosper and constantly deepen for the benefit of our peoples and the entire socialist community, in the interests of peace and progress.

Dear Comrade Tsedenbal! I congratulate you, dear friend and comrade in arms, on this high decoration on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the GDR as well as in my own name. From the bottom of our hearts we wish you new great successes in your responsible work at the head of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian state, good health and personal well-being.

#### Tsedenbal Acceptance Remarks

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 77 p 2 AU

[Speech by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), on receiving Karl-Marx order from Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, in East Berlin on 3 May]

[Text] Dear Comrade Honecker! Dear Comrade Stoph! Dear Comrades! It is with great pleasure and a deeply moved heart that I accept the highest decoration of your country, which bears the name of the brilliant thinker and founder of scientific communism, the spiritual inspirer and teacher of the workers class of the whole world and the brilliant organizer of the Revolutionary Workers Movement--Karl Marx.

The great theoretician of scientific communism, Karl Marx, equipped the international workers class with the most progressive, truly scientific ideology, which serves as the mightiest weapon of knowledge for the revolutionary transformation of the world. The fundamental transformation of human society on the basis of socialism was initiated years ago by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Permit me to express my sincere gratitude to the SED Central Committee the State Council and the government of the GDR as well as to you personally, dear Comrade Honecker, for the great honor you have accorded to me in awarding me the GDR's highest state decoration, the Karl-Marx-Order.

For us Mongolian communists, for millions of working people of the world, the name of Karl Marx and his immortal and victorious teaching are an eternally burning torch which illuminates for mankind the path to freedom, to happiness and to a bright future--to communism.

Equipped with the immortal ideas of Karl Marx and the worthy continuer of his cause, the great Lenin, the working people of the countries of socialism and the international workers class are winning magnificent historical successes in building a new life and in the class battles against capitalism, reactionism and imperialism.

In the past few decades changes of global character have taken place in the world. A world system of socialism has emerged. The colonial system of imperialism suffered a great defeat and its international position has finally broken down. The international communist and workers movement is growing and strengthening. The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin found their practical implementation in the heroic deeds of the peoples of the Great Soviet Union. The GDR, the MPR and the other countries of socialism and in the historic gains of the workers class and the national liberation struggle of the peoples.

The vivaciousness and tremendous strength of the ideas of Marx and Lenin are reflected in our relations with the GDR, in which the teaching of the founders of scientific communism has become reality.

I would like to note with special satisfaction that, in the development of our country along the path of socialism and in solving complicated problems of economic and cultural construction, we always encounter the friendly aid and support of our loyal friends, the people of the GDR fraternally linked with us.

Deeply moved, I accept the highest award of the GDR party and government feeling sincere joy and I am aware that this decoration is a symbol of the unbreakable friendship between our fraternal parties, states and peoples. It is an expression of the appreciation of the SED and its Central Committee, of the government and the people of the GDR for the Mongolian people and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP].

We are convinced that our peoples' inviolable friendship with the home country of the Great October, the mighty Soviet Union, and with the other socialist states, the militant cooperation of the working people of the MPR and the GDR and the comprehensive cooperation of our two countries will bear even richer fruit in the future in the interest of our common cause-- the building of a socialist society.

Our cooperation, the forthcoming talks and negotiations and the joint decisions we will make in the coming days will undoubtedly serve this noble cause.

I wish to assure you, dear comrades, that the communists and working people of Mongolia, loyally devoted to friendship with the GDR, will continue to do all in their strength to expand and deepen the close links between the MPRP and the SED, the MPR and the GDR. They will unflinchingly struggle for the strengthening of the unity of the countries of socialism, for the cohesion of the forces of peace and for the triumph of the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Permit me, dear comrades, to thank you once more most cordially and at the same time to wish you, and through you the GDR working people, further great successes in shaping the developed socialist society, in the struggle for peace and security of peoples, for the victory of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

## Honecker Toast

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 77 pp 3-4 AU

[Toast by SED first secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker at 3 May Berlin festive dinner in honor of Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the MPR Great People's Hural Presidium]

[Text] Dear Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, Dear Mongolian comrades and friends:

Permit me to most cordially welcome you once more as our dear guests in the socialist GDR. It is a long way from Ulaanbaatar to Berlin. Our friendship shortens this distance. The personal meeting with you, dear comrades and fellow-combatants, is to us a cause of joy. I combine with this the wish that you will feel fine during your visit, and that you may have an interesting and pleasant stay in the GDR.

In October 1973 during a friendship visit by a GDR party-government delegation to the MPR, I had the opportunity of seeing with my own eyes your beautiful and flourishing socialist country. I remember with pleasure our fruitful negotiations with you, Comrade Tsedenbal, and the other representatives of the party and state leadership. I remember the numerous talks with outstanding and meritorious workers and herdsman, the impressive manifestations of their internationalist attitude, their loyalty and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. These were days one never forgets. Everywhere we could feel with how much enthusiasm the Mongolian people, led by the MPRP, is striving for the constant upsurge of its socialist fatherland.

You, dear guests, have come to us as representatives of this glorious Mongolian people, which already a half a century ago as a result of the victorious people's revolution adopted the road of socialism. The ideas of the Great October, whose 60th anniversary we will solemnly celebrate together in a few months, have most deeply influenced the development also of your country. Under the leadership of Sukhe-bator, that outstanding son of your people, cofounder of the MPRP and of the people's power, the Mongolian communists developed a determined struggle against feudal arbitrariness. The victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution in 1921 over the rule of feudalism and of colonialism has gone down into the annals of history. By this victory the Mongolian people were able to start a new life without subjugation and exploitation.

Today, more than half a century later, the workers and herdsman, the employees and representatives of the intelligentsia are implementing the decisions of the 17th MPRP Congress in all sectors of social life. We most cordially congratulate you on this.

Dear comrades, united by Marxism-Leninism, our common ideals and great goals, our two peoples are marching forward to a bright future at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist community, as supporters of the same cause, as class brothers. The relations of fraternal friendship and comradely cooperation between our two parties, states and peoples are constantly broadening and deepening.

Workers, engineers and other specialists of the GDR are working in all kinds of different sectors of the MPR national economy hand in hand with the Mongolian working people. At such important construction sites as in Burenzagt, Salchit, at the meat combine, the carpet factory "Wilhelm Pieck" [as published] and at the "Ernst Thaelmann" State Farm, citizens of both states are actively contributing toward successfully solving the historical task, the establishment of the material-technical basis of socialism on Mongolian soil. It is, inter alia, particularly here that our internationalist solidarity is meeting its test directly in everyday practical life.

During your present visit, dear Mongolian comrades, we will conclude agreements serving the further development of our fraternal relations and the further drawing together of our two peoples. The negotiations and talks which have started today are marked by our unbreakable militant partnership with the CPSU and the USSR, by our firm solidarity with the other fraternal parties and countries. It can be said even today that they will help further strengthen world socialism as the main force of peace and mankind's social progress.

Dear comrades and friends, we can state with satisfaction: Also in our GDR we are making good progress. The working people are undertaking great efforts to implement the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. They know that it serves their very own interests if they work more and more actively for socialism. We consistently continue the time-tested course of further shaping the developed socialist society, the unity of economic and social policy. Thus we want to create fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

The understanding in our country for the internationalist spirit that is inherent in this policy is growing through the experiences of people with the results of their work. High achievements for the benefit of the people, for the strengthening of the GDR are at the same time important for the entire community of socialist states and their international positions.

In the 60th year after the Great Socialist October Revolution, socialism is proving more clearly than ever its superiority over crisis-ridden capitalism. For many years already the socialist community has been the world's most dynamic economic region. Primarily owing to its strength and its influence it has succeeded in winning important successes in the area that is so decisive for the existence of mankind--the struggle for peace and security.

And quite a few governments of capitalist countries, too, have realized that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence between states

with different social systems. This applies equally for Europe, for Asia, for all regions in the world. To insure that peace becomes the natural form of life of the peoples, the Soviet Union, the GDR, the MPR and the other fraternal countries are leaving no stone unturned to further pave the way for peaceful coexistence, despite all the imperialist counterattacks. Fully in this spirit the GDR supports the USSR proposals on halting the arms race, for disarmament, and for eliminating existing hotbeds of crisis. Their implementation would most deeply serve the interests of all peoples in the world.

As for Europe, we assess the period since the Helsinki Conference as a successful period. At the Belgrade meeting of 35 states we will be able to draw up a positive balance sheet. Contrary to the well-known practice of ostentatiously and pessimistically focusing on the Gloomy side of things, [Zweckpessimistische Schwarzmalereien] we are looking into the future with optimism. At the same time, we do not close our eyes to the fact that on the part of strong imperialist forces there are serious attempts to torpedo what has been achieved. What matters is that detente triumphs over the representatives of the "cold war," that the process of detente be continued and expanded in the interests of the peoples. Therein lies our course, and we are pursuing it unchanged, also as regards the relations between the GDR and the FRG.

The state of these relations is better than its reputation, for any realistically-minded person. We are for its further good development. However, this does not so much depend on the establishment of an extensive 80- or 100-point catalog, but rather on the realization that they can be further developed to mutual benefit only on the foundation of the general principles of international law.

At the Bucharest session of the Political Consultative Committee the Warsaw Pact states presented to the world a new constructive initiative for safeguarding peace in the world. Particularly the treaty draft submitted to the participating countries of Helsinki should be mentioned as this provides for the commitment not to make first use of nuclear weapons against one another. There is no conceivable sound reason which could prevent the acceptance of this proposal, which is so extraordinarily important for peace. The more comprehensively we succeed in safeguarding the peaceful coexistence of peoples, the more stable will be security, and the more fruitfully can the mutually advantageous cooperation develop.

In the struggle for the great goal of peace we are at one with the MPRP, the government and the people of the MPR. Your foreign policy, dear Mongolian comrades, aimed at strengthening peace and security in Asia through acts of solidarity and collective endeavors by the Asian states, is fully and completely in line with our endeavors, with the interests of the GDR people.

Unchanged in our views we continue to regard anti-imperialist solidarity as a fundamental rule of our political actions. Hence we actively support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism, apartheid and racism, and for freedom and social progress.

We welcome the historic victories of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, and the people of Kampuchea. We are helping to the best of our ability the peoples of Chile, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Namibia. We support in solidarity the just demands of the Palestinian Liberation Movement and stand firmly at the side of the Korean people in the struggle to implement its legitimate national interests in a peaceful, democratic way without external interference.

Dear Mongolian guests, at the beginning of your visit I would like to reaffirm the conviction that the meetings, negotiations and talks during the coming days will lead to results which are consistent with the level of our relations. In alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states our two countries will further develop their community.

The new treaty on friendship and cooperation which we intend to sign will be a new step in the development of the fraternal militant relations between our parties and peoples.

Let us raise the glass and drink:

--To the friendship and cooperation between the SED and the MPR, the GDR and the MPR;

--To our joint unshakable alliance with the CPSU and the USSR;

--To the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution;

--To the new great successes of our peoples in building socialism;

--To the well-being of our dear friend and Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal;

--To the well-being of all Mongolian friends and comrades.

#### Tsedenbal Toast

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 77 pp 3, 4 AU

[Toast delivered by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal at 3 May Berlin dinner: "Firmly United in the Community of Fraternal Countries"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Honecker, dear Comrade Stoph, dear friends, comrades:

It is with feelings of great satisfaction and pleasure that our delegation has arrived in the GDR, the socialist state whose people are implementing through their selfless work the teachings of their finest sons, the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

We are most deeply moved and pleased by the cordial welcome accorded to our delegation by the leading GDR comrades and by the working people of your

capital, Berlin. We regard this as an expression of the feelings of friendship by the fraternal GDR people toward our party and the government of our country and the entire Mongolian people.

Please permit me, on behalf of the MPRP, the MPR government, as well as our delegation members to express our sincere gratitude to the SED Central Committee and to the GDR State Council and Council of Ministers for the invitation for this friendship visit as well as for the fraternal welcome and the cordial hospitality accorded us.

I would like just as cordially to thank Comrade Erich Honecker for the heartfelt words addressed here to our party, government and the Mongolian people. Dear Comrades, we are pleased to meet you again as well as to have the possibility of conducting an exchange of views on topical problems which interest us; and we are pleased to be able more closely to study the outstanding GDR achievements in shaping the developed socialist society. As sincere friends of the GDR people, all the Mongolian communists and working people are paying tribute to the historical achievements of the GDR people who under the proven SED leadership were able in a short time to elevate their socialist homeland to the ranks of the world's highly developed industrial countries. Today the GDR is a state recognized worldwide and enjoys a well-deserved esteem on the international scene. The GDR is making an effective contribution toward strengthening and consolidating the power of real socialism by raising rapidly its economic and scientific-technical potential.

The Mongolian people cordially congratulate the GDR working people for these successes and wish them further victories and gains in implementing the historical resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress on establishing the developed socialist society.

The GDR and the MPR are component parts of the great socialist community of states, the alliance of fraternal countries, which is based on the common Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the unity of aims and tasks.

I would like to stress with sincere pleasure that the relations of close fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties, states and peoples are constantly developing and comprehensively deepening on the solid basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Dear Comrade Honecker, the visit by the GDR party-government delegation under your leadership to our country in 1973 was an event of important political significance for the development of these relations.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the GDR gives our country ever-increasing technical-economic assistance which is a valuable contribution in accelerating the rate of the MPR's economic development, raising the prosperity of the working people, and to socialist construction in our country.

Permit me, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the MPR government and the Mongolian people once more to express to the SED Central Committee and to the government and fraternal GDR people our cordial gratitude for the ever-increasing assistance and support for developing the economy and culture of our country.

We will sign during this visit important documents, including a new treaty of friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR. The fruitful results and the high stage of development achieved in our relations will be anchored in this treaty, and thus at the same time a new stage in bringing our peoples closer will be ushered in.

Our parties and peoples are linked by ties of international friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. I fully and entirely agree with you that the further deepening of the alliance and cooperation with the CPSU is our prime task in the international activities of our parties and in the foreign policies of the MPR and the GDR.

This is the basis for the consolidation and cohesion of the entire socialist community of states. Sixty years ago the Russian proletariat carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in the revolutionary transformation of the world. Lenin's homeland has played and continues to play the decisive role in strengthening the power of the socialist community and in deepening the process of a fundamental transformation of the balance of power in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

Like the peoples of the other fraternal countries, the Mongolian people are preparing in an atmosphere of tremendous political and labor enthusiasm the commemorations of the glorious anniversary of the Great October, which is a common holiday of all the revolutionary world forces and of progressive humanity.

Dear Comrades,

Our parties and states are fully agreed on the fundamental issues of world events. Both our countries advocate a consistent implementation of the policy of further deepening the detente process which has become the main tendency in contemporary international life. The purposeful coordinated foreign policy activity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states plays the decisive role in strengthening peace and international security.

Jointly with you we attach great significance to the successful implementation of the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of the peoples which was adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress and which has become the common platform of the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress of the peoples.

The MPR fully and entirely supports the concerted activities of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other European socialist countries which are aimed at deepening the detente process on this continent and at implementing as a whole the final document adopted at the All-European Helsinki Conference.

Just as you, we are devoting particular attention to the further materialization of political detente by halting the arms race, by implementing effective measures for disarmament; and we are fully supporting the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states developed in this respect.

Together with the fraternal countries the MPR opposes resolutely the attacks by the forces of militarism, revanchism and reaction, which are trying to revive the spirit of confrontation and the "cold war." We must resolutely denounce the slander campaigns and other rabid machinations by these forces aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and at undermining their unity.

Our two states are always reaffirming their consistent support for the struggle of the South African peoples and demand a halt to the policy of racism and apartheid, the granting of freedom to Namibia and the unconditional transfer of state power to the people of Zimbabwe. We jointly oppose the increasing aggressive acts by the colonialist, racist and Zionist forces which are aimed at the independent young African states.

Like the GDR and all other fraternal countries the MPR is interested in consolidating peace and security in Asia on the basis of joint efforts by all countries of that continent, and it advocates the development of friendly and equal cooperation between Asian countries. We cordially welcome the establishment of the united socialist Vietnamese state, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the founding of the Peoples' Democratic Republic of Laos as a significant contribution to the consolidation of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on that continent and throughout the entire world.

Dear comrades,

Our delegation is firmly convinced that our meetings and negotiations with you during this visit will make another contribution to expanding and deepening the relations of friendship and the fraternal alliance between the MPRP and the SED, between the MPR and the GDR, for the benefit of the people of our countries and of the entire socialist community of states, in the interests of the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

I ask you to raise the glass with me and to drink:

--To the inviolable and fraternal friendship between the MPRP and the SED, between the peoples of our countries;

--To the SED and its Central Committee, to the health of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the dear friend of the Mongolian people, to the health of our highly esteemed comrade, Erich Honecker;

--The the health of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Comrade Willi Stoph, to the health of the members of the State Council, government and other leading GDR representatives.

--To the GDR people, who are successfully building socialism in the first German worker-peasant state;

--To the unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states and of the international communist and workers movement;

--To the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism throughout the entire world.

#### Tsedenbal Addresses 4 May Dinner in Leipzig

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 May 77 p 3 AU

[Toast delivered by Mongolia's Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, chairman of the presidium of the People's Great Hural, at Leipzig dinner given in his honor on 4 May 1977]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker! Esteemed Comrade Erich Mueckenberger! Esteemed Comrade Horst Schumann! Dear comrades and friends! Permit me to express on behalf of the party and government delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] our gratitude for the friendly reception accorded us in Leipzig and for the warm words addressed to our party, the Mongolian people and the fraternal friendship between the peoples of our countries.

We convey to you, dear comrades, and through you to the inhabitants of the city of Leipzig and all working people of the Leipzig Bezirk the most cordial, fraternal greetings of all working people of socialist Mongolia.

We are sincerely pleased over the opportunity to visit the famous city of Leipzig, this internationally known center of GDR industry, culture and trade. The century-old continually enriched tradition of Leipzig in organizing the international fair makes a tangible contribution to the implementation of the SED and the GDR government policy aimed at the comprehensive development of mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation between peoples and at a clear demonstration of the successes of real socialism.

The city of Leipzig, rich in revolutionary traditions, has today become a beautiful newly-born socialist city where the best traditions of national and international culture science and art are being lovingly preserved and enriched.

As with many other GDR cities, Leipzig has multifarious links with our country. Leipzig is making a worthy contribution to training qualified cadres for various branches of the MPR national economy. Direct contacts and links were established between Ulaanbaatar and Leipzig. Some industrial enterprises

of Leipzig have partnership relations with enterprises in Ulaanbaatar. In a few of our country's industrial enterprises one can encounter specialists from Leipzig who convey to their Mongolian colleagues their rich experiences and who work shoulder to shoulder with them. We regard this as fruits of fraternal friendship and internationalist cooperation and as important aspects serving the mutual drawing closer together of our peoples.

Taking this opportunity of our visit to your city we would like to again express our sincere gratitude for the fraternal cooperation and the support which is accorded to our country.

Dear comrades! Yesterday and today the party and government delegations of the MPR and the GDR conducted negotiations which proceeded in a cordial and businesslike atmosphere. We discussed with Comrades Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph and other leading GDR functionaries important questions of the further development of the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our peoples and countries and exchanged views with them on topical international problems. I am sincerely pleased to be able to report to you with great satisfaction that our negotiations were very successful. I want to stress once more that as a result of these negotiations the cooperation between our two countries will bear further fruit. Our negotiations confirmed once more the full unanimity of views on all questions which were discussed.

Using this opportunity I would like to convey once more on behalf of the MPR party and government and the entire Mongolian people by gratitude to the SED Central Committee, the government and the people of the GDR for declaring their readiness to grant further aid and support regarding the implementation of the 17th MPRP Congress decisions.

We express our firm conviction that our talks and negotiations and the signing of a new treaty on friendship and cooperation, as well as of other documents will initiate a new important stage in the development of fraternal relations between our countries and will give a new strong impetus to our all-sided cooperation in the interest of our peoples, in the interest of the common cause of the socialist community.

Permit me to convey to the working people of your city and your bezirk best wishes for further successes in the implementation of the historical decisions of the Ninth SED Congress on the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

I ask you to raise your glass and to drink:

--To the fraternal people of the GDR, the builders of the developed socialist society;

--To the glorious SED and its Central Committee;

--To the health of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the outstanding functionary of the international communist movement, our highly esteemed friend, Comrade Erich Honecker;

--To the health of Comrade Erich Mueckenberger;

--To the health of Comrade Horst Schumann and the leading comrades of the Leipzig City and Bezirk present here;

--To the inviolable friendship between the peoples of the MPR and the GDR;

--To peace and socialism.

#### Honecker Speech at Friendship Rally in Berlin

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1505 GMT 6 May 77 DW

[Speech by SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker at a friendship rally with the visiting Mongolian delegation at East Berlin's Palace of the Republic--live]

[Text] Dear Mongolian comrades and friends, dear people of Berlin:

At a time which is significant for the struggle of all peoples for peace and social progress we are united in Berlin today again with good friends and fighting comrades. The visit of the party-government delegation headed by you, dear Comrade Tsedenbal, to our socialist German Democratic Republic is of great import. We regard it as expressive of the fraternity which allies our two states and peoples and at the same time a contribution toward the further strengthening of the socialist community of states. Every step in this direction is beneficial to the vital interests of the peoples and has a favorable effect in the international arena.

You, dear Mongolian comrades and friends, had an opportunity in the manifold meetings of the past few days to see for yourselves that the firm, internationalist alliance with you is alive in the thinking and in the actions of our country everywhere. [applause] It is part of the great friendship of our community of free peoples which jointly prepare their historical holiday, namely, the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [strong applause]

The German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic have been forever anchored in this community of socialism, freedom, and justice. Through our activities we contribute toward the continuous further strengthening of this community for the benefit of the peoples and in the interest of peace and progress.

Our foreign policy is directed toward guaranteeing peace and security. Consistently and with growing success we are exercising solidarity with all peoples struggling for their national independence, with all anti-imperialist forces. And we can state full of satisfaction that [words indistinct] of our party and government delegations [several words indistinct] full harmony exists in this and in all questions (?treated). [applause]

We may state with full justification that the Mongolian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic will honorably live up to their task of the joint struggle for peace and socialism. [applause]

Dear comrades and friends, just a few hours ago we signed the new treaty on friendship and cooperation between the German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic. Thereby another significant page is turned in the history of our relations. This treaty serves the building of socialism and communism in our countries. It is in line with the vital interests of our peoples and of the entire socialist community. The new treaty takes into account to full extent all those favorable changes which have occurred in Europe, in Asia, and in the world at large. And it is with justification that we may say that the treaty determines the main directions of our all-around cooperation up to the next millennium, the millennium of the victory of communism throughout the world. [strong applause, cheers]

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, [several words indistinct] I would like to assure our Mongolian comrades and friends that we will do everything in our power to imbue the treaty signed today with life, so that our friendship and cooperation may further blossom and develop. [applause]

Dear comrades and friends, for more than 50 years now the glorious Mongolian people has been successfully marching on the road of socialism. In heroic struggle under the leadership of the uncompromising revolutionary, the co-founder of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party, Sukhe-bator, it overthrew the rule of colonialism and feudalism which had lasted for centuries. The Mongolian People's revolution of 1921 was the first victorious revolution of a people under the direct influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Mongolia was one of the first countries of the world to crash out of the colonial system of imperialism. The Mongolian people performed a historically significant work which radiated far beyond the borders of the country.

It successfully overcame the terrible consequences of colonial rule (?including) the long stagnation of the productive forces under medieval-feudal production conditions. The resulting material and cultural backwardness and mass illiteracy were overcome. In all this the Soviet Union extended active and altruistic assistance in solidarity. The existence of the young Soviet power created favorable conditions to embark on the road toward socialism in Mongolia, bypassing the development level of capitalism. The

revolutionary changes in the social life of the Mongolian People's Republic testify to the profound changes which have occurred since then. Along with the creation of socialist production conditions the transformation of the Mongolian People's Republic to a modern socialist agricultural and industrial state took place. Fundamental human rights were made reality, rights of which some people in capitalist countries do not even dare dream.

Exploitation of man by man was eliminated. The right to work, to social security, to education and recreation, equal rights for women, the basic rights of the young generation were realized. These are rights which all peoples of our socialist community enjoy, rights which they will continue successfully defending against any plots of reaction. [applause]

Under the tested leadership of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party the Mongolian fraternal people have scored significant successes in the development of its country in strenuous Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. The 17th MPRP Congress in 1976 thus struck an impressive balance and posed further inspiring tasks for the further political and socioeconomic transformation of the country. The past 5-year plan period, we have learned with joy during the negotiations, likewise was the most successful in the history of the Mongolian People's Republic. [applause] In a historically short period the Mongolian people have scored great achievements in the building of the new society, and on this we would like to cordially congratulate our Mongolian comrades and friends here and now. [strong applause, cheers]

Dear comrades and friends, glorious traditions are alive in the relations between our two parties, states, and peoples. I would like to recall here the years [remainder of passage indistinct]. And the German antifascists, and in the first ranks the communists, went into the hard, sacrificial resistance struggle. Our Mongolian comrades at the time extended to them their full sympathy and support. I would like to recall the solidarity with which the MPRP and the Mongolian people advocated the liberation of our forgotten Ernst Thaelmann from the claws of the Fascist executioners. On 11 March 1933 the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party organized in Ulaanbaatar a powerful protest rally against the arbitrariness of the German Nazi rulers.

The cable addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany read in part: We assure you, on behalf of the working people of the free, revolutionary Mongolia that we will strengthen the united front against fascism and imperialism, against new wars and subjugation, together with the working people and the subjugated peoples of the whole world. We demand the release of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann. [cheers] This, dear friends and comrades, is evidence of true internationalist alliance, of the great revolutionary traditions which ally our parties and peoples forever in the spirit of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. [applause]

At the side of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and its glorious Red Army the Mongolian People's Republic contributed to the smashing of fascism

and to the liberation of the peoples. The Armored Brigade of Revolutionary Mongolia, put up with the donations of the Mongolian working people, and the Mongolian aircraft wing [word indistinct] fought on the battlefields of World War II. With their heroic courage they have set up for themselves an unforgettable memorial. At the side of the Red Army they contributed greatly to the liberation of the peoples from fascist barbarism. [applause]

Our German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic are firm friends. Jointly and forever allied with the country of Lenin they organize their relations to be continuously closer and more fruitful year by year. Since 1973, the year of the visit of the GDR party and government delegation to the Mongolian People's Republic, more than 30 agreements and accords on cooperation between our countries in the most diversified fields have been signed, and these agreements and accords are being successfully implemented. We have scored significant headway in scientific-technical and in economic cooperation. In accordance with the complex program on socialist economic integration on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements we are implementing important projects in industry and agriculture. In socialist teamwork specialists of our socialist German Democratic Republic jointly with the Mongolian working people actively contribute toward the socialist construction of their country, toward the modernization, expansion, operational maintenance of some industrial and agricultural projects, toward the intensification of agriculture, joint geological prospecting work, and toward the training of skilled personnel.

Jointly with their Mongolian class brothers they are fighting for the fulfillment of the agreed tasks in accordance with quality and schedule requirements. We are fully agreed with our Mongolian friends that what matters also in the future is to enhance the effectiveness of our cooperation. It is necessary to utilize efficiently all funds, forces, and reserves, to find new forms and methods, and to effectively coordinate existing possibilities so as to [remainder of passage indistinct]. This will be of great value not only to our two countries but also to the whole socialist community.

Dear friends and comrades, the development of the German Democratic Republic proceeds on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of our Socialist Unity Party of Germany, decisions which are so significant for our people. In a climate of joy and optimism our people observed May Day 1977, the fighting day of the international working class. Millions of people in urban and rural areas came to the May Day festivities with fulfilled plans for the strengthening of our republic, in honor of the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. But this is a mere section of our life which is full of struggle. As all of us know we have set greater tasks for ourselves. In the coming years we want to further enhance, regardless of the crisis in the capitalist world, the material and cultural standard of living of the people in a life free from unemployment, inflation, and price hikes. To this end it is necessary to create the necessary prerequisites through the constant increase in the quantity and quality of production, through the enhancement of labor productivity and above all through scientific-technical progress. These are realistic and simultaneously fine tasks.

By their initiative and their efforts under socialist competition the working people of our country show that they are implementing this policy as a concern of their own, and nobody can divert them from this road toward a safe future. Although the enemies of socialism slander socialism and spread lies about socialism, they cannot, try as they might, eliminate the fact that socialism is advancing irresistibly. [applause]

Dear friends and comrades, the strengthening of the influence of socialism in the international arena is of decisive significance for the renewal of the life of mankind in peace and freedom, for the support of the social and national struggle of the peoples against imperialist reaction. We regard the preservation of peace as a primary task. There is no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. The German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic have made a great contribution toward making the change from cold war to detente a lasting process, and this will be so also in the future. Jointly with the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the other socialist countries, and allied in firm community of action with all progressive forces of the world receptive to this, we are doing everything to liberate mankind from the threat of a new world war. We do not overlook the fact that a bitter debate has flared up over the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, over its character, its content, and its results. Testifying to this is the increasing activity of those circles of arms capital, militarism, and revanchism to whom detente has always been a thorn in the side. They openly seek to deprive the peoples what has been fought for in (?wars) and worked for under great efforts. Without blushing they want to pass lies off as the truth. They are treating the agreement made in Helsinki on security and cooperation in Europe like a piece of paper. They most grossly intrude in the internal affairs of other states and step up the arms race.

But whoever wants peace, whoever is prepared to do everything for its preservation and consolidation, must stop these circles. Mankind certainly does not need new hotbeds of crises but new headway on the road of detente and peaceful coexistence. This is exactly the course of our socialist German Democratic Republic at the side of the Soviet Union and the other states of our socialist community. [applause]

As far as the relations of our German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany are concerned, our views are known. May all those take note of this who would like to dodge the fact that good relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany can develop only on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. I would like to repeat here and now that we are against any premeditated painting of gloomy pictures in the assessment of the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. To achieve further results in the interest of European security and of the normalization of the relations between the two German states realism is required, and not just on our part.

Heeding this certainly would be significant for all forthcoming negotiations on questions concerning the further development of the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The respect for the sovereignty of the states and for their borders, noninterference in the internal affairs, are the basic prerequisites for allowing matters to further develop favorably. [passage indistinct] The final document of Helsinki in our view provides the necessary room for the policy of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with different social systems in Europe to (?function) and to be applied for the benefit of the peoples. As I have already underscored, this is the guideline of our foreign policy.

In harmony with the Bucharest Initiative of the states of the Warsaw Pact we deem the discontinuation of the arms race, concrete measures for arms limitation and for disarmament of primary urgency and actively participate in achieving these ends. Without any doubt the relations between the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the United States of America are an important factor for the solution of these questions, for the development of the detente process in general. It goes without saying that we expressly support the intensive efforts of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for the consistent implementation of the agreements or Vladivostok, for (?realistic) agreements on the limitation of strategic arms, whereby the arms race will be curtailed and the danger of nuclear world war reduced.

The meeting of the 35 participating states in the conference on security and cooperation is to be held in Belgrade shortly. We advocate the view that this meeting should take place in a climate in which the results of the implementation of the final document of Helsinki can be objectively discussed and further steps of detente could be contemplated. Such an approach offers the guarantee that the Belgrade meeting will serve the further consolidation of peace and security in Europe. Anyone planning to act differently must allow being told that his acts are at odds with the interests of the peoples. In our opinion he will cause more damage than he could take the responsibility for. We advocate the view that the people of all regions of the world may pursue their work in peace.

The proposals of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, and of all realistic forces of Asia aimed at making tangible headway in safeguarding peace on the globe's most densely populated continent, meet with our active support. We have high esteem for [remainder of passage indistinct]. We welcome the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos which has started to create the bases of socialism and whose representatives we will welcome in the German Democratic Republic in the next few days. [applause]

In the interest of world peace we support the efforts of the Arab states and peoples for a just political solution of the Middle-East conflict. This solution must bring the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab

territories occupied in 1967. It must guarantee the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of a state of its own, as well as the independent existence and security of all states in this region. The proposal of the Soviet Union concerning the resumption of the Geneva Middle-East conference at which an equal participation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization must be insured, has our full approval as well.

Dear friends and comrades, the people of the German Democratic Republic has welcomed with enthusiasm the liberation of Luis Corvalan by the Soviet Union and the whole international solidarity movement. At this rally we expressly raise our voices again for the liberation of all Chilean patriots still incarcerated. [long applause] We demand freedom for the patriots of Uruguay, and with outrage we condemn the renewed plans of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. The socialist German Democratic Republic will support also in the future the struggle of the African peoples, especially of Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa against the racist regime, against apartheid, and neocolonialism. [applause]

Dear Mongolian comrades and friends, rest assured that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the government and the people of the German Democratic Republic will muster all their strength also in the future to further enhance and strengthen our traditional relations of fraternal friendship and comradely cooperation. We wish you, dear friends, new, great successes in the implementation of the decisions of the 17th MPRP Congress for the weal of the Mongolian people and for the benefit of the entire socialist community. [strong applause]

Dear friends and comrades, long live the fraternal Mongolian people, long live socialist Mongolia! [strong applause]

Long live the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party, its Central Committee, and its first secretary, our friend and comrade, Tsedenbal! [strong applause, cheers]

Long live [several words indistinct] fighters of progress for all mankind. Long live the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution! [long, strong applause, cheers]

Dear friends and comrades, long live the unshakable friendship and the close, fraternal cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party, between the German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic; long live our common cause, socialism and peace. [Long applause, cheers]

## Tsedenbal Remarks at Friendship Rally

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1557 GMT 6 May 77 LD

[Excerpts] Berlin--Stirring evidence of the fraternal ties linking the GDR and the MPR was provided by a friendship rally in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin on Friday afternoon. A few minutes after the signing of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal countries 4,000 working people of the GDR capital manifested their firm resolve to help translate this document and the other important agreement into reality by action in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR, in their speeches affirmed the importance of the agreements for the continued deepening of the comprehensive cooperation between the two parties, states and peoples.

The rally was opened with the national anthems of the MPR and the GDR. On the platform seated together with Erich Honecker and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, were the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the GDR and the MPR Willi Stoph, Jambyn Batmonh, cordial greetings were also extended to other members and candidate members of the SED Politburo, and members of the party and government delegations of the GDR and MPR.

At the opening of the rally Konrad Naumann, member of the SED Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED Executive addressed a cordial welcome to the participants. The members of the rally rose from their seats and applauded the representatives of the GDR and the MPR.

"Our talks and negotiations have confirmed afresh the complete identify of views of our two fraternal parties and governments on all questions discussed." This was stated by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Peoples's Great Hural, at Friday's friendship rally in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin. He added: "We value our meetings with you, our fellow fighters and class brothers, as a visible expression of the constantly deepening relations of the unbreakable friendship and a close all-around cooperation between our parties, states and peoples."

The highest representative of the MPR paid tribute to the extensive help extended by the GDR and the other fraternal socialist countries to his country. "This help," he said, "which is an expression of the internationalist nature of the relations between socialist states, arouses sentiments of profound gratitude among the broad masses of the working people in our country."

The speaker declared: "The joint interests, aims and ideals of the MPRP and the SED, Their loyalty to Marxism, Leninism and to the principles of socialist

internationalism are the foundation of the friendship between the MPR and the GDR. We are linked by the great friendship with our joint faithful friend and ally, the USSR, the reliable bulwark and principal force of the socialist world system. The friendship with the great USSR and the close all-around cooperation with the fraternal socialist parties have become a natural norm and inseparable part of our life."

"In its foreign policy the GDR organically combines the safeguarding of the national interests of its own country with the upholding of the joint interests of the community of socialist states, and the strengthening of its unity and cohesion."

Tsedenbal described the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the MPR signed earlier today as "a firm foundation for the further deepening and perfection of all forms of cooperation." It determined the main direction of the cooperation of the two countries.

"It is a reflection of the determination of our peoples to fight actively and untiringly for the strengthening of peace and international security, as well as for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries, and to support the peoples in their struggle for freedom and social progress."

The speaker stressed. "We note with great satisfaction that the countries of the socialist community are making extensive efforts to consolidate peace and security throughout the world, to deepen the process of detente and make it irreversible, and to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with different social systems, by pursuing a coordinated and active foreign policy."

"The Warsaw Pact member states are taking the stage as initiators of extremely important proposals and practical measures designed to stop the arms race and bring about disarmament and the renunciation of force in international relations, to liquidate existing conflicts and sources of tension and thus to free mankind from the danger of another world war."

The politician stressed. "We fully and unreservedly support the sincere desire of the GDR for the further normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of the agreements concluded between them. Likewise we are for the strict observation of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin and the renunciation of any attempt to exploit this region for hostile purposes against the GDR and the other socialist countries."

He went on: "We realize that the opponents of peace and detente are doing their best to go over to the counterattack and are trying to discredit the process of detente in the eyes of world opinion. By their provocative attempts to launch a slander campaign against the socialist countries in connection with the so-called violation of human rights, they are trying to conceal the true nature of imperialist policy, camouflage their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist states, and fan distrust against actual socialism and the international socialist movement. The Marxist-Leninists see through this intention of their opponents and administer to them a decisive rebuff."

The speaker described the development of the MPR as follows: "Today Mongolia is an agrarian-industrial state with a tempestuously developing economy. Socialist industry has become the most important branch of material production. At present its output is 15 times greater than before the war.

"The MPR is facing the complicated task of completing the creation of the material-technical base of socialism, of transforming the MPR into an industrial-agrarian country, and of moving closer to the level of the developed socialist states. The Mongolian people can solve the tasks of speeding up the country's rate of development and the rapid upsurge of its economy, by making use of the advantages of the international division of labor and relying on the increasing help of the fraternal socialist countries.

He emphasized: "We can state with pride that all achievements of the Mongolian people, its successes and results in fashioning a new life are inseparably linked with the liberating ideas of the Great October and with the all-around fraternal help and support of the first land of socialism, the USSR."

His party and the government of the MPR, Tsedenbal said, regard the intensification of the struggle for the implementation of the program for peace and international cooperation, freedom and the independence of the peoples, proclaimed by the 25th CPSU Congress, as the principle collective aim.

As a socialist Asian country the MPR fought actively for the consolidation of peace and security on the Asian continent. It was convinced "that Asia can and must live according to the laws of peace and broad, mutually advantageous cooperation."

The example of Vietnam has shown conclusively that under present conditions a real possibility exists to liquidate dangerous international sources of tension.

"Detente and the normalization of relations between all countries of Asia would create favorable conditions for the solution of the complicated socioeconomic problems facing them and for safeguarding lasting peace and all Asian security," the politician stressed.

He called for the settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples and declared his solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa for freedom and independence, against racial discrimination and apartheid.

"We are convinced that the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy and social progress will be all the more successful, the stronger socialism is throughout the world and the more the anti-imperialist solidarity of the revolutionary forces gain in strength," he stressed.

"The MPRP is faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, and it is firmly resolved to continue to fight unceasingly for the further strengthening of unity of the countries of the socialist community, the cohesion of the ranks of the international communist and workers movement, and for the consolidation of the solidarity and close cooperation with the fraternal parties and peoples.

In conclusion the speaker stressed: "We are agreed that the further all-around deepening of the friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR accords not only with the very own interests of the peoples of our two countries, but also contributes to the consolidation of the unity of the community of socialist states and to their drawing more closely together in every respect. The important documents signed by us today serve this aim."

CSO: 2300

CP 'INDEPENDENCE,' 'NATIONAL PRESTIGE' NOT TO BE CURTAILED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 54, 18 Mar 77 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Warns Communist Parties of Western Europe Against 'Self-Isolation.'" A translation of the East Berlin foreign affairs weekly HORIZONT article referred to below follows this report. For related information see JPRS 69033, 3 May 1977, No 1384 of this series, pp 11-22]

[Text] The semiofficial East Berlin foreign affairs weekly HORIZONT has now issued a warning against a "self-isolation" of West European communist parties. Referring to "the quest of some West European communist parties for answers to newly emerging questions and certain differing interpretations," HORIZONT emphasized "that both national and international tasks can be fulfilled only in common struggle." Although today the action of communist parties was being carried out mainly in a national framework, the communists were united, beyond their current tasks, by the "common final goal," by their common ideology and by the fundamental principle of proletarian internationalism. The tendency, in accordance with the law, toward the internationalization of economic life and the class struggle, was forcing the communist parties objectively toward closer unity. "In the light of the growing efforts of imperialism to unite its forces against the revolutionary movement and to emerge with a concerted strategy, any self-isolation of a communist party could have serious consequences, HORIZONT emphasized.

As HORIZONT further declared in this connection, the CPSU had a "definite pioneering role" to fulfill within the communist movement. The rallying of the "fraternal parties" around the Soviet Communist Party and the consistent rejection of all forms of anti-Sovietism "do not reduce, but rather strengthen the national prestige and independence of each and every party as well as the comprehensive unity of action of all peace-loving forces."

Foreign Affairs Weekly's Article

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 12 signed to press 14 Mar 77 pp 3-4

[Article by Dr. Siegfried Beier: "Realities and Speculations--Successes of and Need for Cooperation Among the Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist and Capitalist Countries."]

[Text] What characterizes today's communist movement in Europe?

Which political factors demand the stepped-up cooperation of the fraternal parties and make it possible?

What is today's central task--how can it be jointly realized?

National and international--no contradiction, but a unity

Nine months have passed since the Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe. This is certainly too short a time to draw up a comprehensive balance. Yet it is evident that the effects of these discussions are of a far-reaching nature and that the activities and debates provoked by them are many-sided. The communist movement in Europe is again on the offensive. It is strengthening its influence and consolidating its cooperation. Its opponents' camp is responding to this with furious attacks. We should not be distracted by a superficially confused, contradictory set of opinions from the fact that there is a dominant, concerted tendency to the anticommunist campaign, as regards both the goal and specific methods. The striving to split the European communist movement is once again coming to the fore, i.e. particularly to drive a wedge between the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries and the socialist countries.

For example, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE wrote as early as 26 April 1976, without mincing words: "The West European parties can perhaps be split off from the Soviet Union, achieving a break which will be dramatic and strategically so beneficial to the United States..." Speculations are proliferating and excitement is growing at the microphones and before the cameras of the bourgeois mass media over whether the quest of some West European communist parties for answers to newly emerging questions and certain differing interpretations are of a tactical nature or constitute differences of principle, whether they represent a strengthening or weakening of the communist movement, whether they constitute a danger or an opportunity for the imperialist system.

#### Ridiculous predictions

Fried Wesemann, commentator of the so-called DEUTSCHLANDFUNK, on 6 January 1977 arrived at a not exactly original conclusion, when he announced that the death-warrant of the unity of the communist movement could be written. Others before him have made such ridiculous pronouncements. But such wishful thinking, today as yesterday, is in strange contrast with the growing strength, virility and effective cooperation of the communist parties. It is even refuted by Wesemann's anticommunist professional colleagues who openly admit their fear of the communist movement. For example, on 15 March 1976 it was stated in the American TIME that the communist advance "is producing more worry and debate in Western Europe than at any other time since the early years of the Cold War."

The facts show a great upswing in the communist movement. In the socialist countries, unparalleled construction programs are being turned into reality. In the capitalist countries, the power and influence of the communist parties are growing. In the last 3 years alone, they have been able to increase their membership figures by about half a million. The cooperation between the communist parties of Europe and the entire world is also significant.

Of course, such cooperation does not arise spontaneously, and not without overcoming differing interpretations and difficulties. It arises from the conscious recognition that both national and international tasks can be fulfilled only in common struggle. In all discussions which are at present being carried on among communists, this conviction is the point of departure and leitmotiv of the deliberations. "An essential feature of every communist party is internationalism. This means that they feel like fellow-fighters and protagonists in the action which is unfolding in their own country and on an international scale," declared Enrico Berlinguer at the Berlin conference.<sup>1</sup> If anyone should still believe that the communist parties would reject the very thing which constitutes their strength, and which corresponds most deeply to their class nature, he is still building on sand.

#### A Number of Good Reasons

Which real political factors are the main ones causing the communist parties at present to intensify their cooperation?

Firstly, they are the positive effects, experiences and lessons of the results which have been obtained so far in the joint struggle for peace and social progress. The conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe in Berlin was preceded by the conference of April 1967 in Karlovy Vary. Its goal had been to create the preconditions for the creation of a turn toward the relaxation of tension on our continent, to security and cooperation. If that has been attained and all points of the then plan of action have been significantly realized, it is still penetratingly clear that the communist movement fights all the more effectively, the more it consolidates its unity and solidarity and mobilizes all peace-loving forces for common actions. Not only does it set realistic goals, but it has the strength to realize them. Thanks to the unremitting struggle of the communists and all progressive movements, and thanks to the change in international power relationships in favor of socialism, the Helsinki Conference came about and a turn toward the relaxation of tension in Europe was initiated. A new international climate favors social progress--the fascist dictatorships in Portugal, Greece and Spain have been overthrown or are collapsing, the working class has achieved new positions, the growing strength of the communist parties in some countries have become the core of debates in domestic politics.

Secondly, there is the counterattack of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, which want to reverse what has been achieved up to now and to hinder further steps toward the relaxation of tension, which are coordinating their forces internationally in order to weaken the revolutionary streams, to divide

and reverse them. The ways and means employed for this are various, depending upon their estimate of the particular balance of forces.

A complex concerted action on the part of imperialism is manifesting itself in Europe: it is expressed militarily in the stepped-up arms race, in the restructuring of NATO and the plans for the admission or readmission of certain countries into that aggressive pact, e.g. Spain or France and Greece.

In the economic field there are attempts to employ international economic cooperation for exploitative political pressure against the socialist countries and against the participation in government of communists in capitalist countries, as is the case in Portugal and as has been threatened for Italy. The multinational monopolies are exerting an increasingly unbearable pressure. They are withdrawing from all national control and are using the splitting from all national control and are using the splitting of the workers movement to step up their exploitation. Leading monopoly groups are also attempting to take an exit route out of the deep crisis which will reverse the democratic achievements and establish a regime of the authoritative right.

In the political and ideological field, the enemies of the relaxation of tension are undertaking a broadly conceived campaign of interference in the internal affairs of other states. Border provocations against the GDR are becoming more numerous, together with a rabid anticommunist and anti-Soviet witch-hunt directed against the entire socialist community. The terms of the so-called Basket 3 of the final act of Helsinki are being unilaterally separated out and falsely interpreted. In the Federal Republic and other imperialist countries, communists and true democrats are being intimidated, their right to work and self-determination is taken from them and they are persecuted. Neofascist groups do not shrink from bloody terror. Right-wingers are mobilizing their supporters against the increasing unification of the left-wing forces and are striving for increasing international influence and stronger coordination.

Thirdly, there are the common tasks which arise objectively from the changed international conditions and upon whose solution the future of the peoples of Europe, the cause of peace, democracy and socialism largely depend. These tasks are directed to the goal of making the relaxation of tensions irreversible and speeding up social progress. They have found their most comprehensive treatment so far in the action program of the Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe. It is precisely this program, which coincides significantly with the foreign-policy tasks decided upon by the 25th CPSU Congress and the party congresses of other fraternal parties, which is a clear proof of the essentially harmonious interests and goals of the working class in the socialist and capitalist countries. It is based upon four great goals for action:

--the intensification of the process of relaxation of tension through effective measures for disarmament and the strengthening of security in Europe;

--the extinction of fascism and the defense of democracy and national independence;

--the attainment of mutually beneficial cooperation and better understanding between the peoples;

--the securing of peace, security, cooperation, national independence and social progress in the entire world.

#### Most Urgent Requirement of Our Age

The most important of all tasks today is the cessation of the arms race and disarmament. This, the most urgent requirement of our age, makes clear, as does no other, the joint responsibility of the communist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries.

Peace corresponds most deeply to the socialist nature and humanistic ideals of the working class of the entire world. Only in peace can it live up to its historic mission of establishing the society of socialism and communism, a society free of exploitation. It would have to provide the greatest sacrifices in a new world war. Because socialism and peace constitute a unity, disarmament, as Lenin once formulated it, is "the ideal of socialism." Since the first days of its existence, the Soviet Union has fought a consistent fight for disarmament, which has been supported by the working people of all countries. Although in the 1930s it did not succeed in stopping the aggressive policies of imperialism and preventing a world war, the forces exist today which can push that into the realm of the possible.

With the turn toward relaxation of tension which has been introduced in Europe favorable political preconditions arose, on the one hand, for measures directed toward the limitation of armaments and toward disarmament. On the other hand, further steps toward the relaxation of political tension are placed in question if such steps do not take place in the military field. The present degree of political trust would be undermined and tensions and the danger of war could again increase. A secure peace is, however, a basic condition for the continued building of socialism and communism, for social progress in all parts of the world.

This perspective is endangered to an extraordinarily serious degree by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, and by the military-industrial complex as the material bearer of war preparation and inciter of the arms race. The arms race constitutes an enormous social burden upon the workers of the capitalist countries. It strips them of urgently needed means of satisfying their needs, for reproducing their work force, for education, health and social care, modern living conditions, cultural and sporting activities and sufficient leisure. While effective reforms in these fields are postponed, the introduction of new arms systems sucks up sums running into the billions in ever-shorter periods. With research on new weapons of mass destruction with barely conceivable effects, the threats to the physical existence of mankind are growing. So-called environmental weapons, gene manipulations and transuranium elements threaten.

The arms race released by imperialism obliges the socialist countries too to take appropriate measures to strengthen their defensive force. The Soviet Union and the socialist fraternal countries consider it their sacred duty to defend the achievements of socialism with the most modern weapons and to repel any potential aggressor. "At the same time," Leonid Brezhnev declared, "we have no greater wish than to apply the means which are at present necessarily removed from the national economy to the raising of the standard of living of the working people and to purposes of construction. We are ready to introduce disarmament measures tomorrow...."<sup>2</sup>

By applying all economic potential to peaceful purposes and carrying out the main task more comprehensively, socialism could influence yet more effectively the struggle for social progress in the nonsocialist world. It could further step up its power of attraction and, for example, could provide additional resources for the solidarity support of the developing countries.

Finally, disarmament would permit the energetic tackling of such global problems of humanity as the preservation of the environment, the security of energy and resource needs, the expansion of our nutritional basis, etc. Taken as a whole, with general and complete disarmament, humanity would gain roughly an additional 6 trillion dollars in about 2 decades, to meet its urgent needs.

#### Necessary Preconditions

All this makes clear the dimensions of the task identified by the Berlin conference as most urgent.

How can it be carried out? Beyond dispute, only by the fraternal parties in the socialist and capitalist countries making specific contributions according to their concrete historical conditions.

For the parties of the socialist countries, the most important task is the all-round strengthening of the power of socialism and thus of the principal force in the struggle for the securing of peace and social progress. Since, thanks principally to their constant initiative and stepped-up strength, a basis for peace and security has been established, the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states of November 1976 now shows the clear path for the establishment of a lasting peace on our continent. The proposal for the signing of a treaty renouncing the right to the initial employment of atomic weapons is aimed at preventing the danger of an atomic conflict in Europe, since it is here that the largest arsenals of atomic weapons are concentrated and a military confrontation would be extremely dangerous. The NATO states, as is well-known, at their council meeting in December 1976, expressed their categorical rejection of the Bucharest proposals. This underscores yet again the length and complexity of the struggle for the cessation of the arms race. It shows how necessary it is above all to pursue it not only on the state and diplomatic level but also to develop corresponding actions of the broad masses within the national and international framework.

The communist parties in the capitalist countries are providing their decisive contribution through the struggle against the power of the arms monopolies and for thorough-going social changes in the direction of democracy and socialism. They are foremost in many-sided actions for the reduction of armaments burdens, for the carrying out of the Helsinki final act in its entirety. They are directing more comprehensive foreign-policy demands at the governments of their countries, they are unmasking the political and ideological maneuvers of the enemies of the relaxation of tension and are supporting all realistic measures in the direction of peaceful coexistence.

#### Fulfillment of the Historic Mission

It thus becomes clear that the communist parties in each country, at different stages of development historically, are carrying out both national and international duties at the same time, duties which constitute a unity and which in their entirety correspond to the interests of the working class and of all working people.

But does this mean that an international unity of action of the communist party is thereby questionable? Whoever says this is so either has evil intentions or else a very mechanical interpretation of this unity.

If the action of the communist parties is carried out today principally within the national framework, it does however constitute at one and the same time a significant international factor, which has clearly changed the international power relationship and will continue to change it. This struggle is being coordinated on the basis of a common analysis of the situation and a joint action platform. It is directed toward a unitary goal and against the common enemy. International forms of struggle, too, are increasingly developing, as is effective coordination in concrete fields.

The Berlin conference itself, and numerous initiatives and meetings which went before it or have already taken place subsequent to it, are a convincing proof of this. It is however significant that the communists are united, going beyond their current tasks, in a common goal--the fulfillment of the historic mission of the working class. By its nature, this is international and indivisible. Qualitative differences in the degree of its development are removed by a historic perspective, since they are produced by nothing more than temporal succession. The communist parties are united by the common philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, by the basic principle of proletarian internationalism. "The solidarity of the working class and of the communists of all countries in the struggle for their common goals, their support for the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, the voluntary cooperation of independent fraternal parties with equal rights, the organic connection between the national and international interests of the workers in their policy--this is proletarian internationalism in action. It was and remains a strong, proven weapon of the communist and workers movement."<sup>3</sup>

It is furthermore significant that the tendency, which is in accordance with the law, toward the internationalization of economic life and of the class struggle, objectively forces the communist parties to unite more closely. In the light of the growing efforts of imperialism to unite its forces against the revolutionary movement and to emerge with a concerted strategy, any self-isolation of a communist party could have serious consequences. The increasing interconnection of the class struggle means that the successes and failures of each and every party have direct effects upon the joint movement. Finally, the analysis of the changing conditions and the solution of new problems, and the defense and further development of Marxism-Leninism cannot be undertaken by one party alone, but are a collective task of all parties.

The unity of action of the communist movement is being implemented today as the voluntary cooperation of independent parties with equal rights. Today there exists no organizational leadership center, and no party strives for one. At the same time it is evident that the Soviet Union and the CPSU objectively have a pioneering role, determined by history, to fulfill. Under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet Union in this 60th year after the Great October Socialist Revolution is approaching communism, the first country to do so. The CPSU is the most experienced segment of the worldwide communist movement. It has provided and continues to provide an inestimable contribution to the securing of peace and to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, to the solution of new theoretical and political problems and to the unity of all antiimperialist forces.

The rallying of the fraternal parties around the CPSU and the consistent rejection of all forms of anti-Sovietism do not reduce, but rather strengthen the national prestige and independence of each and every party as well as the comprehensive unity of action of all peace-loving forces.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Conference of communist and workers parties of Europe, Berlin, 29-30 June 1976, Documents and Speeches, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1976, p 226
2. Speech of Leonid Brezhnev at meetings of Central Committee of CPSU, in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26 October 1976
3. On the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 31 January 1977

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## EAST GERMANY

### REORGANIZATION OF CIVIL LAW ASSESSED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 7, Apr 77 pp 189-194

[Article by Prof Dr Stephan Supranowitz, GDR deputy minister of justice:  
"Experiences Connected With Implementing the Socialist Civil Code".]

[Excerpts] In line with working class party decisions, much work has been done in recent years in further systematically perfecting the legal order of the GDR. Starting, in particular, with the Eighth Party Congress and continuing systematically after the Ninth SED Congress, concentrated efforts have been made toward insuring in important areas the conformity between law and the requirements of public life at a qualitatively new stage of development. Along with targeted measures for further improving the effectiveness of the law in force, in the management and organization of social developmental processes, important legal codices were elaborated on a broad democratic foundation and put into effect. The systematic continuation of these projects on perfecting socialist law in conformity with the degree of maturity of socialist society is given emphatic expression right now by the public discussion of the draft labor code.

The reorganization of civil law also is part of this development. The elaboration and implementation of the civil code, of the introductory law of the civil code, of the law on the legal implications for civil, family law and labor law relations, and for international economic agreements, of the law on legal proceedings in civil, family law and labor law matters (civil procedure) and of the law on the state notary constitute a noteworthy advance, important in many respects, toward systematically perfecting the socialist legal order of the GDR. The elaboration of the new civil code was connected with the objective of legal policy to produce a complex, pertinent and up-to-date codification for socialist civil law, established throughout on a socialist foundation. It was intended to conform to the specific, qualitatively new demands of developed socialist society and to seek its decisive sociopolitical objective in the systematic implementation of the main task of socialist society.

Having come into effect on 1 January 1976, the civil code has now been applied in practice for over 1 year. This raises the question of how the legal policy

and theoretical conception of the law, the substantive, methodological and textual form given to it, has done for public life what it was supposed to do. The answer to that question has implications for the further implementation of the civil code. One must remain mindful of the fact, however, that a comprehensive assessment of the social effectiveness of the law is not yet possible after merely one year of having been in effect; the social relations dealt with by civil law are too broad and differentiated for that. The complete implementation of such a complex legal code no doubt necessitates a longer process of development. And yet there also is no doubt that the rich experiences of one whole year already permit an assessment of the main effects the law has had.

Even in terms of the regulations in the civil code it is necessary to confine the presentation of practical experiences to some selected areas. And here, in line with the conception of the law itself, one must first of all bring out those experiences that have to do with the satisfaction of the day-by-day working and living conditions of the working people, as they are especially closely connected with the implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. Conceived as a material legal foundation and guide for the working people's acting legally on their own responsibility, the civil code has to prove itself principally in the area of everyday supply relations: in rentals, purchase, the use of services and the handling of socialist property as the decisive economic foundation for civil law relations. This is where the civil code's primary field of application lies, and this is where the measure must be taken in judging the practical experiences we have had with the law.

After the experiences and assessments were analyzed, including those by central and local state organs, production enterprises, commercial facilities, service combines and their economic management organs, and of course also those of the central organs of justice and the courts and the state notary offices, it can be generally stated that the civil code in its entirety has proven itself in public life as a pertinent and vital legal instrument. It helps further consolidate the citizens' confidence in their socialist state and its laws. Its regulations serve the planned implementation of the economic and social policy of the party and government in the interest of socialist society and of each of its citizens.

The appropriation and implementation of the civil code regulations in the various areas of public life do amount of course to a lengthy and continuous process. That process places high demands on the political leadership activity especially of those state and economic organs that are charged with the tasks of supplying the population, for which reason they also carry a special responsibility in seeing to the effective implementation of socialist civil law in their respective areas. It is a process which will continue to require constant surveillance, controls and targeted direction.

The citizens adopted the civil code with much interest. In response to vivid requests, 2 million copies of the code have been published since it was ratified.

That truly reflects socialist democracy and genuine jurisprudence in the interest of the people. It demonstrates how, with the further molding of the socialist substance of our law, its social effectiveness also develops and deepens.

The popular dissemination of our new civil law through public events and lectures, press publications, radio and television, as well as through discussions, especially in state-owned enterprises and commercial facilities, has created favorable preconditions enabling the citizens to become familiar with the new civil law and to develop further responsible social action on their part.

#### Purposeful Management Activity -- Basis for the Great Effectiveness of the Civil Code

The effectiveness of the new civil law decisively depends on whether or not the state organs and economic management organs, and the combines, enterprises and facilities, see a political task in implementing the civil code and combine its application with the implementation of the public and economic tasks with which they are charged.

Most of the state and economic management organs, enterprises and facilities which have to supply the population with material or cultural goods have recognized, and exercised, their particular management responsibility when the civil code came into effect.

In the introductory civil code phase, many organs, enterprises and facilities have, appropriately, given their attention mainly to preparing their associates, politically as well as technically, for working with the new civil law regulations in their particular areas of responsibility. The Ministry for Trade and Supply, for instance, has implemented this qualification process, so important for carrying the civil code into effect, within the commercial facilities, on the basis of a concrete and accountable operations plan. By publishing training and information materials, it has enabled the organs and facilities under its control, particularly those of retail trade, to improve their own means of implementing, under their own responsibility, the tasks of their relevant qualifications in this regard. Many local state organs and local supply enterprises under their control have sponsored numerous training activities, again with the support by the organs of justice, to familiarize their associates with the new regulations and help them apply in their own areas of responsibility the new civil law properly, in conformity with its political objective.

Good experiences in the implementation of the new civil law can mainly be reported in places where the civil code requirements are deliberately used for making improvements in, and releasing new initiatives for, the tasks of their own in the production of goods, in housing, commerce, services, the handling of public property and so forth.

It is worth mentioning especially that in connection with the implementation of the new civil law a number of valuable activities got started by the working people and their enterprise and combine collectives for improving the work situation, especially in the area of supplying the population with goods and services. The civil law regulations are increasingly being understood here as guidelines for organizing important everyday legal relations. That expresses an essential aspect of socialist civil law: its active and organizational role in solving social, especially economic, tasks.

This trend in socialist civil law must be further encouraged. The point has to be made, time and time again, that the field in which socialist civil law applies must neither be reduced to imposing legal structures on the interrelations among citizens nor confined to settling legal relations within the sphere of consumption. Any such restraint of civil law contradicts the business it is supposed to regulate and, with it, confines its effectiveness as an instrument of state management for the social relations it governs.

It has therefore been pointed out, correctly, in many conferences and training activities that the civil code addresses itself to the working people not only in their capacity as tenants, buyers or users, that is, as consumers, but at the same time also in their capacity as producers of the very same goods and services. For instance, on the occasion of a discussion of the new civil code held by the working people of a brigade in the state-owned Berlin Stern Radio enterprise, they made pledges to producing in excellent quality. Through close cooperation with trade and with service workshops, they intend to explore still more thoroughly the causes for deficiencies, rigorously seek to eliminate them and reduce their own mistakes on the job.

The discussions of the civil code have also often been combined with further activities by the working people in their struggle for exemplary order, discipline and safety. The "mechanics workshop" collective of the state-owned cable plant combine of Oberspree, for example, has analyzed the connection between the tasks of the civil code and the content of socialist competition. The working people are assuming obligations that are producing great discipline with regard to the plan and in the labor process.

In this manner the civil code helps foster socially responsible actions and make more effective, for the benefit of all working people, the social relations in supplying the population with material and cultural goods and services.

#### Growing Responsibility in the Handling of Socialist Property

Special coverage is given in the civil code to the obligation to use socialist property responsibly, to augment it systematically and to protect it from damage. The great social effectiveness of these regulations is of importance, in principle as well as conceptually, in assessing the experiences pertinent to the civil code.

Experience thus far has shown that accurate regulations that are easily committed to memory, concerning the inviolability of public property, the rational use made of it and the protection to be given to it are doing what they are supposed to do.

The civil code provisions are focusing more strongly the deliberate actions taken by the working people and enterprise collectives on providing legal protection for socialist property. This task is being carried out more effectively under various aspects in the enterprises and residential areas than used to be the case. The emphasis here lies on the preventative function of the civil code. It aims at effects that are formative and educational in terms of consciousness and legal understanding. At the same time it has been accomplished that the legal agents representing socialist property are becoming more active than they used to be in enforcing civil law claims, especially damage claims.

For raising and enforcing damage claims, new effective forms of cooperation among the competent organs have emerged in all bezirks. For example, the Neubrandenburg bezirk court together with other bezirk organs, including the FDGB bezirk committee, social insurance department, and the state insurance bezirk management, have laid down principles for dealing with damage claims and measures that help secure the rights of the injured parties as well as facilitate efficient court proceedings and their educational objectives.

The higher demands made on enterprises and citizens in the exercise of the rights and duties given them by the civil code, with respect to socialist property, have led to various activities concerning a better protection and control of state-owned financial and material assets. For example, regulations on safeguarding state-owned investments in construction measures in privately owned real estate, especially for developing and modernizing retail stores, restaurants and recreational facilities, have induced proper and necessary initiatives toward the value assessment and precise determination of state-owned shares of wealth created thereby.

#### Implementation of the Law on Rentals for Housing -- Expression of Social Safety and Security in Socialism

The connection between the civil code and the implementation of the main task as well as the security and safety for all citizens of socialist society implied in the main task is particularly close in the area of rentals for housing. Special political attention therefore has been paid from the very beginning to the application of the provisions on rentals.

In general it may be said that the civil code's rental regulations help enforce the government housing policy, place rental relations on a socialist foundation and foster collective and individual initiatives by the citizens toward the use of housing space and the maintenance and improvement of essential housing conditions in the public interest. Rent regulations furthermore are proving useful in the further development of relations of socialist co-operation and mutual aid among the tenants. Based on them, the lessor-lessee

relations are being made more effective, especially from the vantage point of their joint responsibility for the maintenance and care in housing, and further activities by the tenants can be developed in that they will then also make repairs and construction changes and repaint their apartments.

The civil code provisions on joint management by tenant communities have induced many bezirks to focus more strongly on forming new tenant communities. Attempts have been made to spell out the contracts in greater detail by setting down the rights and duties of the building and housing economy enterprises on the one hand and of the tenant community, on the other. The aim is to foster the tenants' desire to help in the maintenance, care and beautification of housing. In several bezirks, the housing economy organs or the management enterprises of the state-owned building industry have worked out model contracts for tenant community joint management.

There are differences in the various bezirks regarding the state of education and the state of participation by the tenant communities as well as the deliberate application of the new civil code provisions in this field, even within one and the same territory. Thus there still are reserves to be tapped in the citizens' active participation in solving social tasks in residential areas.

Civil code provisions encouraging the tenants to undertake construction measures enhance the tenants' interest in improving their housing. As a rule, clear terms of agreement have been set down about lessor-lessee rights and duties in connection with construction measures. Misunderstandings and conflicting views are thereby avoided.

The lessor-lessee provisions on rights and duties with regard to paint jobs, which were given the most intensive attention when the civil code was under discussion, respond to social possibilities as well as to the individual interests and desires of the tenants, which are especially prominent in this area particularly. Their practical application has met with the working people's agreement.

The legal situation as defined by the civil code would of course prevent the lessor from demanding from a lessee who moves out unjustified additional payments for having the apartment repainted or from changing agreements in existing rental contracts unilaterally at the expense of the lessee. Both partners of the lease must conscientiously abide by their mutual rights and duties.

A consistent implementation of the new law on leases will continue to be a major emphasis task. A trusting cooperation with the working people has to be fostered with special efforts in this area. Also needed is a close cooperation among the local housing councils, the state-owned housing administration and building economy, the tenant communities, the National Front committees and the juridical organs. And generalizations must be drawn constantly from the good experience encountered in this field.

Substantive problems cannot be solved solely by means of a new law. That much is undeniable. But practical experience also has often borne out the fact that a new law can greatly help make better use of existing possibilities in becoming more economical in the use of material and financial means, intensifying the cooperation among state organs, enterprises and citizens and stirring up new initiatives.

#### Implementing Purchase and Service Regulations -- Basis for Trustful Socialist Cooperation

The civil code's purchase provisions aim at giving structure to the citizens' needs for goods in proper proportion and requirement. They become perceptible when the citizens are supplied with consumer commodities as an instrument for insuring the justified interests of buyers and sellers, for protecting the economic needs of the national economy and for supporting the movement toward a higher grade of output. They make the people realize that their having supplies in proper quality available largely depends on their own contribution to an assured quality production. The consciousness-forming role the civil law plays can also be seen in the movement toward assuming obligations for making further qualitative improvements in production. This is the sense in which the new purchase law provisions begin to become more and more effective in practice.

The provisions on a democratic citizens' participation in customers advisory councils and sales outlet commissions, for solving tasks in socialist retail trade, have proven to be useful. At present, approximately 300,000 citizens are actively engaged as customers' agents in public organizations. The provisions on the citizens' participation in purchase law relations were picked up by various socialist retail trade organizations for improving the possibility the population has in expanding and promoting supplies in accordance with conditions obtaining today. The board of the consumer cooperatives association, for instance, has revised its guideline for cooperation with the sales outlet commissions.

Surveys on trade establishments indicate an effort at providing more expert information and instruction for customers by the trade people in line with the civil code provisions. Nonetheless, there are still many unused possibilities here, especially regarding the purchase of technical consumer goods and furniture. The Ministry for Trade and Supply has in the meantime taken the necessary measures.

An essential influence on implementing the purchase law is being exercised by the trade information facilities and customer service centers, which are advising the citizens and partly support them very effectively in their exercising their own rights.

The warranty setup reorganization has brought it about that the mutual rights and duties of the partners in sales contracts are now clearly defined and that justified claims by buyers can be handled more rapidly and without loss of time. Juridical organs, by their legal advisory activities, have

helped clarify controversies in warranty compensation claims so that only a few cases had to go to court. What bothers us, however, is that some enterprises have not immediately, or partly inadequately, adapted their own warranty certificates to the new legal situation.

Practical experience confirms that as a rule the trade does recognize the buyers' justified warranty claims. Yet the procedures of trade organizations in warranty and other buyers' claims are still uneven. The system for taking care of such claims and the manner in which the records are kept are still not in good shape. One finds at times that salespeople, because they do not yet know the new warranty provisions, might even recognize unwarranted warranty claims without properly investigating them.

To the extent that making good for faulty merchandise is possible within a warranty period as stipulated by the implementing regulation for the civil code on rights and duties in warranty claims for faulty merchandise, as of 27 December 1976 (GBL, Part I, 1977, p 9), this claim is normally honored, and the civil code places a priority focus on it. When the warranty period itself is not long enough for making good, replacement is normally provided but repayment is more infrequent.

The legal regulations for domestic services and repairs have also brought advances in this field in the cooperation among the participating state organs, enterprises and citizens. Legal problems arise here mainly when the service enterprises do not have an adequate capacity or when these enterprises do not carefully live up to their advisory and instructional obligation in the outlets with which service contracts are signed or in advising customers on their warranty claims. Here, without wishing to raise excessive and unrealistic demands, service people must be made more expert. The Ministry for Bezirk Administered Industry and Food Industry, therefore, intends to introduce, as a new vocation, that of the "customer service specialist," and to prepare brochures listing the particular civil code regulations as well as uniform contract forms and customer service tickets. Such efforts help in the implementation of the new civil law and in trustful cooperation by the citizens with the service enterprises.

#### Usufructuary in Real Estate and Buildings for the Implementation of the Socialist Land Policy

Effective instruments for implementing the socialist land policy are found in the civil code provisions on the usufructuary of real estate and buildings for dwelling or recreation, in conjunction with the legal provisions on state authorization procedures in real estate transactions and on real estate documentation. Together with the provisions on promoting rural family housing construction, they are forming the legal basis for the work of the state notaries in the legal transactions toward making real estate available for family housing construction, acquiring single-family units and concluding usufructuary contracts for recreational sites. By purposefully implementing these provisions, the local state organs and state notary offices are making an important contribution to meeting the sociopolitical program in the fields of housing construction and public recreation.

Many initiatives by the employees in the state organs are aimed at taking care of the citizens' land law transactions expeditiously, unbureaucratically and smoothly. Yet even so, the time it takes for these transactions from drawing up contracts to entering the property transfers in the land title registry often is still excessive. It is necessary to reduce those working periods and to generalize the best experiences in this field. That would conform to the interests of the working people and serve to establish clear legal conditions more rapidly.

The state notary offices can insure a priority handling of real estate contracts mainly through improved labor organization. They are also helping the working people in procuring the necessary documents. Close cooperation is rapidly developing between the state notaries and the local councils. Joint consultations between the specialized departments and the state notaries often take place. For settling finance issues, there is much close contact with the credit institutions. These are all experiences worthy to be generalized.

The legal possibilities provided for by the civil code also are being made effective more and more for implementing lucid government rules in the field of land use for recreational purposes and garage construction. The state notaries, for example, are assisting the title holders of state-owned real estate and the local organs in assuming their public responsibility for a suitable usufruct of the ground. Many bezirks have prepared, jointly between the state-owned building economy and the finance departments, draft contracts for concluding ground usufruct contracts for state-owned land on which bungalows and garages were to be erected. They conform to legal regulations in force and at the same time effectively combine social with individual interests.

It appears, however, that the legal provisions on land usufruct have not yet become sufficiently effective everywhere. In part that is so because the local state organs and real estate administrations still exercise too little influence on properly applying the legal provisions to the use of land for recreational purposes. In order to perfect the state management of real estate transactions, the government authorization procedures must be further developed. Thereby one will make sure that the citizens, in availing themselves of weekend homes and similar buildings erected in conformity with a contractually agreed upon usufruct, can enjoy their rights and duties in harmony with social requirements.

All together, there has been an evident increase in the practical importance of legal relations in the area of real estate transactions, due to the generous social policy of the party and the government. The civil code regulations that are focusing on rational land use are proving themselves useful primarily in satisfying the housing and recreational needs of workers' families and large families.

## Insuring High Efficiency in Civil Jurisdiction

Judges and notaries have done a lot of work in introducing and applying the new civil law. Through target-directed training and many management and organizational measures they have within a brief period created all the pre-conditions for skilled court and notary activities on the basis of the new law. They have furthermore, in an exemplary fashion, helped explain the new civil law through lectures, training courses and discussions in state organs, enterprises and institutions.

In this adaptation of the entire activity of the courts and state notary offices to largely altered legal foundations in the material and litigation field, the employees in the organs of justice, down to the clerks who are taking the minutes, have performed responsible work. Analyses of jurisdiction and operational surveys have confirmed that the courts and state notary offices have properly understood the civil code's social concern and are applying the law effectively in this sense.

The employees in the organs of justice have given their special attention to insuring, through effective and concentrated proceedings, great efficiency in civil jurisdiction in line with implementing the economic and social policy of the party and the government. Civil suits today as a rule take not even 3 months. Over 50 percent of the cases are completed within 4 weeks. It also expresses the great educational influence the courts have on the parties in litigation that almost half of the cases reach some settlement.

Judges and lay judges let themselves be properly guided by the consideration that the new political and juridical quality of civil law must also be reflected by appropriately efficient civil court proceedings. This concentrated and rational trial procedure is logically being complemented by a properly understood participation of social forces in civil suits, in a target-directed implementation of suits in front of a broader public, primarily in enterprises and, last but not least, in highly skilled analyses of the proceedings. That under such conditions there is no room for unending litigation or any attempts at obstructing the whole sense of court procedure and the obligation to find the truth is something that goes without saying.

The public work in which the judges and state notaries are engaged furthermore aims primarily at explaining, politically and with technical skill, the new civil law and how it connects with our economic and social policy, whereby they also stimulate the creative activities of the working people and their collectives toward implementing the demands and criteria of the new civil law in their meeting their industrial and commercial tasks. Judges and notaries also continue to be actively engaged, especially, as lecturers and seminar leaders within the framework of training activities sponsored by the local organs and the enterprises in the building economy, commerce and services.

Citizens are making more use now of the information desks at kreis courts. Judges and state notaries are trying harder to make the citizens aware of how their civil law concerns fit into overall social requirements and to

assist them in their forming their legal relations on their own responsibility. Legal inquiries pertain principally to the legality in drawing up contracts, for instance in real estate usufruct, and to matters of apartment leases, purchase and services. This development expresses the growing confidence the citizens have in the courts and state notaries. It also expresses the desire many citizens have to base important legal relations on their own knowledge of their rights and duties and to abide by the legal order.

The lay judges and members of public courts mainly faced two tasks in recent months. They had to become familiar with the new civil law in order to make well qualified contributions to jurisdiction. And they had to take part in propagating the civil code, especially among the working people in the state-owned production enterprises, in the organs and facilities of commerce and services and in the field of the state-owned building economy and communal housing administration. Undeniably, there lies a great political and social value in this activity of many lay judges and members of public courts. It helps in further improving the effectiveness of the socialist civil law in organizing the supply transactions in material and cultural goods for the population. For that reason, the work of the lay judges and members of public courts merits special recognition and calls for unmitigated future support.

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## EAST GERMANY

### FOREIGN CURRENCY OBTAINED VIA BUSINESS FRONTS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 18, 25 Apr 77 pp 98-99, 102, 104, 106

[Unattributed article: "GDR Trade: Broken Traffic--In Order To Obtain Foreign Currency, East Berlin's State Traders Circumvent the International Trade Agreement by Illegal West Deals"]

[Text] The firm engages in "international business transactions of all kinds," has its seat in Vaduz in Liechtenstein, is registered with the Tax Office in Bremen, has a bank account in London and preferably mails its business letters in West Berlin.

But in Vaduz the many-sided Elmsoka Establishment International Import Export Commercial Company can be reached by telephone, if at all, only via the Verwaltungs- und Privatbank [Administrative and Private Bank]. The mailbox suffices, because as a rule West German business contacts are made with the owner of Elmsoka direct--the GDR-owned Intrac Handelsgesellschaft mbH [Trading Company Ltd] in East Berlin.

There are several more trading companies, administered by East Berlin Minister of Foreign Trade Horst Soelle after the Elmsoka model, that have mailboxes in Vaduz. The fronts in Liechtenstein go into action when there are business deals in inter-German trade that require particular discretion. "There are some very peculiar things going on," according to Ministerialrat Nikolaus Haberland, responsible for customs in the FRG Finance Ministry--things like extralegal inter-German deals.

Through firms serving as fronts in Liechtenstein or strawmen in the Netherlands, the communist state traders have been resorting to well-nigh capitalist ingenuity in order to open backdoors for channeling their goods into the Federal Republic. If it serves their business interests, they instigate tax fraud, sometimes also slipping products from the fraternal socialist countries into inter-German trade. "We know," says Peter Mueller, head of imports at Otto Versand, "that some items are circulating there which aren't quite kosher."

What the GDR foreign trade companies are out to do is to procure foreign currency. Says Wolf Statskamp, who supervises inter-German trade at the Oberfinanzdirektion [fiscal authority] in Muenster: "They use every opportunity, including every illegal opportunity, to obtain foreign currency."

It stands to reason, not only geographically, that in so doing the GDR gives preference to the Federal Republic. The two parts of Germany also have a special relationship in trade--regulated primarily in the Berlin Agreement of 1951 on interzonal trade, which with some minor modifications is still in force today.

Accordingly, imports from and exports to the GDR amount to something like barter, with the value of mutual deliveries being figured in offset currency units (1 mark = 1 deutsche mark) and a central accounting taking place via the German Federal Bank in Frankfurt and the German Bank of Issue in East Berlin.

In other words, a West German importer pays for merchandise not to the East German supplier but to the German Federal Bank, and, conversely, a West German exporter gets his money not from his East German customer but from the German Federal Bank. The GDR and the FRG balance their accounts through their government institutes.

However, since the GDR imports more than it exports in inter-German trade, there has been a great gap in mutual deliveries for years. In order to keep the economic relations going, and thus also to improve the political climate, the Federal Bank extends to the GDR, the chronic debtor, a no-interest overdraft credit--called "swing." East Berlin can thus overdraw the central offsetting account up to the agreed swing.

By decision of the Bonn government, this no-interest credit was adapted to the increased trade volume and pegged at M850 million in 1974.

The GDR has been taking advantage of the overdraft credit for more than 20 years, generally almost to the agreed limit. Thus, last year, with a swing of M850 million, the GDR owed M786 million. A delivery to the FRG, while reducing the East Berlin debt, brings in no cash. For West German purchasers need a foreign currency license for any business with the GDR and may make payments only into a single account--No 504 02871 of the German Federal Bank.

In order to get freely disposable Western currency, nevertheless, the state-owned firms try to get their products past the central accounting office into the FRG and thus to obtain Western currency directly.

The foreign currency is obtained by GDR Minister of Foreign Trade Soelle and his deputy Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, who is responsible for the procurement of foreign currency and calls himself "the millions Schalck." In these

illegal deals, the state traders know so many tricks as to arouse the admiration of Eckhardt Welsch, department head in the Customs Fraud Office in Cologne, at the East German "variety of ideas."

A deal typical of such practices may proceed as follows: The East Berlin Intrac, foreign trade enterprise responsible for the "purchase and sale of metals, ores, petroleum, petroleum products and other raw materials," procures petroleum from the Soviet Union and thus gets hold of one of the few Eastern products which have a ready market in the West.

Then Intrac engages its Vaduz mailbox front: Elmsoka, performing as a Western firm not bound to the provisions of inter-German trade, asks Frisia AG in Emden, a subsidiary of VEBA [United Electricity and Mining Corporation] to process the crude oil, pays the correct taxes (under No 11-11/3410 at the Bremen-Center Tax Office) and by telephone offers West German oil dealers fuel oil, gasoline and high-test gasoline.

The concrete negotiations are then conducted by the managers of the East Berlin Intrac, who sell their oil in portions ex Emden, Hamburg or Rotterdam. Elmsoka again makes out the invoices--in deutsche marks, payable in dollars at the London bank of Kleinwort, Benson, Lonsdale Ltd.

The trade yields foreign currency to East Berlin, and profit to the West German customers. Georg Toepfer, overall manager of the Hamburg oil-trading company Mabanaf, which according to customs data took more than 180,000 tons' worth of GDR oil products to the value of at least DM45 million, comments: "If we took it, it was certainly because of the price advantage."

The high profit margin is, however, reduced ex post facto: at present the Oberfinanzdirektion in Duesseldorf is proceeding against a dozen Intrac/Elmsoka customers because of "unauthorized procurement of oil products within the framework of inter-German trade."

Violations of the Berlin Agreement and foreign currency provisions (Law No 53 of the Military Government from the time of the occupation still governs interzonal trade) are punished with imprisonment up to 5 years, a fine of up to DM25,000 or a penalty depending on the scope and profit of the illegal transaction.

The penalties turn out to be not particularly severe. A photographic equipment dealer in Freiburg who had procured 1,000 Praktika Nova I 35-mm cameras from Dresden via a firm in Ghent in Belgium for about DM150,000 had to pay a penalty of DM2,000. Unlike the oil professionals versed in international deals, he had, however, been unfamiliar with the standard regulations.

"A large part of the manipulations," concedes a north German customs man, "falls on the GDR side of the ledger; but that does not mean that there is no collusion by our firms."

Thus many inter-German businessmen are pursuing a distinct strategy of camouflage. Particularly opaque are the connections via Liechtenstein. Herbert Kaiser, head of the Customs Fraud Office in Cologne, estimates that the GDR has about 15 mailbox fronts in Vaduz, but there are only "about 5 or 6" about which he has "some fairly concrete notions." The Muenster customs agent Stetskamp presumes that every fairly large GDR business has its own mailbox in Liechtenstein, but says, "We do not know all of them by any means."

The Liechtenstein front is, however, only one of many variants with which the GDR undermines the regulations of inter-German trade--in the case of million-mark deals and in small-scale business. The state traders have ideas even when it comes to a 3,000-mark deal.

When the zoo of a small town in Westphalia wanted to obtain two Australian emus, the Leipzig zoo proved helpful. The people in Leipzig for a start shipped two of them (about 1,500 marks each) to the Netherlands, obtaining Dutch guilders for them; then a Dutch animal dealer sold the birds to his German colleague, who took over the emus--by now of Dutch origin. The deal blew up because of an inadvertent error: the Dutch emus were delivered with a Leipzig veterinary certificate.

"Broken traffic" is the name for deals via a third country in export-import circles. GDR enterprises move their products to the FRG primarily via the Benelux countries. The goods thus never show up in official inter-German trade statistics.

The favorite place for transshipment in the case of triangular deals is the Netherlands. Goods are reloaded here behind the border, with special warehouses for "broken traffic." "In the case of GDR textiles alone which make the detour via Holland," complains a customs agent, "our figure for undetected violations is more than 95 percent."

Conversely, the triangular shipments also yield a profit when West German manufacturers dispatch their trucks via the Netherlands into the GDR.

The FRG merchandise is officially exported to the Netherlands, with the exporter getting an 11-percent turnover tax reimbursement from the tax office. A Dutch business contact buys the merchandise, pays turnover tax and delivers it to the GDR; he, too, gets the turnover tax reimbursed, since he is now exporting Dutch merchandise.

The purpose of this triangular routing is a 6-percent saving in taxes in inter-German trade. According to Bonn doctrine, on the one hand, the GDR is not a foreign country, and consequently the turnover tax must not be refunded as is customary in export deals; on the other hand, the GDR is not part of the FRG either and, therefore, need not pay the 11-percent turnover tax. This dilemma--part domestic, part foreign--has led Bonn to come up with a 6-percent turnover tax for inter-German trade.

Consequently, taxed as they are with turnover tax, West German goods ought to be 6 percent higher in the GDR than, say, in Austria or Belgium. But this disagreeable state of affairs can also be circumvented, in a way that saves foreign currency.

East Berlin foreign traders reduce the price for their West German suppliers and in turn let him collect the turnover tax reimbursement; the shipment proceeds to the GDR via Benelux or, even simpler, via the GDR to Poland--where it never arrives, however.

Because, for export to Poland, the German exporter is reimbursed the turnover tax. Under pressure from his customer, many a supplier colludes in the illegal routing and makes the shipment officially to the Polish People's Republic, with the GDR seeing to it that it is properly detoured in transit.

In this, the government firms even occasionally render themselves and their West German business contacts assistance with forged letterheads. They print business stationery in which they appear, for instance, under the name of the Warsaw electronic trading company Elektrim.

Since it is camouflaged professionally, it is difficult to look through the swindle, but sometimes, irritated about the business acumen of their neighbors, the Poles tip off West German offices.

Just as GDR enterprises have no scruples about forging Polish letterheads, so they have no scruples about moving products from fraternal socialist countries as GDR products into inter-German trade.

All traces are carefully obliterated, the original packing is exchanged for GDR cartons, and marks as to origin are filed off metal goods. Only occasionally is there a breakdown, such as recently in Duesseldorf, when GDR metals arrived via the interzonal trade bearing the mark "made in Czechoslovakia."

According to what agents suspect, sometimes even Hong Kong textiles reach the FRG via interzonal trade. Import chief Mueller of Otto Versand has also "heard that it can happen that Far Eastern merchandise is procured via the GDR."

And time and again clever state traders also manage on the side to siphon off foreign currency in inter-German trade. According to a man knowledgeable in steel, there is a standard trick to which, above all, medium-size steel firms are subjected which supply special steel to East Berlin: "The negotiations have almost been completed, then they suddenly bog down, and then the GDR begs off. A little later emerges a deus ex machina in the person of a go-between who claims to have excellent connections with East Berlin and is prepared to conclude the deal for a commission."

As soon as the go-between is used, the contract almost invariably is concluded. The gentleman with the good connections cashes in a 4.5-percent commission, to the benefit of the East German foreign currency reserves.

If a GDR enterprise gets into real difficulties in fulfilling the plan and is forced to buy in the West despite the chronic shortage of foreign currency, it will occasionally fill its coffers by criminal methods. In this, as a rule, enterprises go it alone, with the government closing both eyes--for example, in smuggling alcohol, a major field of the East bloc countries, primarily the GDR and Hungary.

With production costs of about 90 pfennigs per liter of alcohol, the smuggling of alcohol is probably the most lucrative way of quickly obtaining deutsche marks.

Things sometimes are just as illegal in inter-German agrarian trade.

For instance, it is quite uncertain what will become of the 36,000 tons of butter--subsidized by the EEC with more than DM200 million--which were sold to the Soviet Union last month. West German customs agents suspect that a substantial part of this butter will soon move back to the EEC again via inter-German trade.

Herbert Kaiser, of the Customs Fraud Office in Cologne, in any case, would not be too surprised if "the butter sold to the Soviet Union shows up again here one of these days"--at a higher price than that subsidized by the EEC.

The West Europeans, the FRG citizens at their head, would then have paid twice for the butter.

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## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

STATUS OF CIVIL CODE--According to GDR Minister of Justice Heusinger, the new civil law established in the GDR 15 months ago has "proved a success." In a GDR Radio broadcast, Heusinger said that it has been "put into practice" just as its authors had expected. In this connection Heusinger alluded to the great interest in the new civil code: To date, 2.5 million copies have been sold, and it does not appear as if the demand has been fully met. Heusinger attributed this to the fact that, in contrast to the German Civil Code, this civil code has been formulated in its organization, arrangement, and language so as to be understandable to everyone. The GDR Minister of Justice emphasized that GDR citizens by no means regard the new civil code as a "manual for litigation;" in fact, the number of civil proceedings is relatively small. He pointed out that 50 percent of the cases were terminated through settlement by the parties to the lawsuit; i.e., only every second proceeding was resolved by judicial decision. Heusinger also stressed that 80 per cent of all civil, family, and labor legislation proceedings were concluded within 3 months, an "internationally remarkable achievement." [Text] [Bonn IWETAGESDIENST in German 13 Apr 77 p 2]

CRITICISM OF COLLEGE INSTRUCTION--In the East Berlin publication FORUM, Prof Juergen Kuczynski, renowned economist, has strongly criticized education at GDR colleges as being unrealistic. He states that the "shock" which college graduates must first overcome in actual working experience is chiefly due to this type of teaching. Kuczynski especially finds fault with the fact that a social harmony which has nothing in common with the reality of socialism is still being postulated in ideological indoctrination at the universities. He says that one can imagine the poor sociologist who, coming fresh from the university with "wisdom" of this kind, looks in vain for a "harmony of the contradictions in accordance with the actual requirements" in a enterprise. According to Kuczynski, this kind of thing is "non-Marxist nonsense" and "mostly the product of petit-bourgeois glossing over of an apologia for socialism." According to Kuczynski, at GDR universities, emphasis in teaching is placed primarily on models of movements and organizations, without the added stipulation that there are infinitely more influences, inconsistencies, and variables in reality than are included in [the teachings on] the model. Students, according to Kuczynski, ought to be far better prepared for actual reality than is the case today. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 25 Mar 77 p 3]

POPULATION DECLINE--The population of the GDR is continuing to decrease despite the increasing birth rate. Prof Kurt Lunkwitz, East Berlin demographer, has warned against optimistic prognoses with the statement that "the replacement of the parents' generation is not yet ensured." According to Lunkwitz, "in order to guarantee that the population remains constant" and to stop a further decline in the GDR population, three children would have to be born per marriage. Actually, however, since 1974 only 6.7 percent of GDR babies have been third children. (In the FRG the proportion of third children was 12.1 percent). [Text] [Bonn DIE WELT in German 6 May 77 p 17]

CSO: 2300

STATE, THROUGH COMPROMISE, RECOGNIZES NEW RELIGIOUS CONGREGATION

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 24 Apr 77 p 24

[Article by Miklos Palos: "A Recognized Denomination; The Nazarene Congregations; A Pledge Instead of an Oath"]

[Text] The number of recognized religious denominations in our homeland has increased by one. According to the official communique: "In accordance with the law concerning the free practice of religion the chairman of the State Church Affairs Office declares that, effective 16 March 1977, the Nazarene Congregations of Believers in Christ are a recognized denomination, on the basis of the submitted organizational regulations in which they proclaim that they will uphold the laws and decrees of the state and desire to satisfy their obligations as citizens."

Certainly many will wonder what changes were necessary and what made it possible for the conditions to ripen so that the status as a recognized denomination could be declared. Before answering let us give a brief historical review of the Nazarenes.

Families With Seventeen Children

A report series by Karoly Eotvos based on conversations with eye witnesses has preserved the origins in Hungary of the Nazarene Congregations of Believers in Christ. According to these documents, which have appeared in book form, the Nazarene mission in Pest was begun in the summer of 1839 by Janos Denkel and journeyman Janos Kropacsik under the influence of Swiss pastor H.S. Frohlich. Here the congregation met with a certain Lajos Hencsei who, according to early chronicles, was a powerful figure in the sect. As a result of his efforts the movement spread to various communities of the country.

During the first period of the movement the attention of the state power hardly fell on the Nazarenes. Later, however, they were increasingly harassed for one of their fundamental teachings according to which they would not bear arms and would not take an oath. During and after World War I the fate of the Nazarenes, like that of other small church groups, was one

of increasing persecution. On the basis of a 1939 decree their religious services were banned and during the Second World War the community could exist only in an illegal form.

This was resolved after the liberation and in 1946 the official regulations banning religious congregations were legally invalidated. The main point of contention continued to be the position taken by the Nazarenes (a position which seemed to be unchangeable for a long time) against the home defense obligation and against taking an oath.

The change was brought about not by force but by the development which took place in the country and in living conditions. Slowly those belonging to the sect could no longer avoid recognizing that their personal situation had fundamentally improved together with the development of the social-economic life of the country. (It should be noted that the Nazarenes consider birth control a sin and so there are many large families among them. The last census disclosed that 206 of their families have five children, 108 have eight children, 101 have more than 10 children and there are even families with 14-15 children. The Nazarene Jozsef Bansagi of Budapest holds the record for the largest family with 17 children.)

The social policy measures affecting large families improved the situation of the Nazarenes to an ever greater degree. It is thus understandable that while their position as citizens improved considerably their opposition to the state, or to a single law of the state, became unjustified.

As a result of conversations led by the State Church Affairs Office the member of the Nazarene congregations found a way to adjust their administrative position. This is reflected by point number 12 of their articles of faith and organizational rules which states, among other things, the following: "We believe that the task of state power is to protect the security and well being of the people and to provide administrative services.... We respect the supremacy of the state and we uphold its laws and decrees. We want to satisfy our obligations as citizens. Accordingly we will accept military service with the provision that we are always ready to accept service in medical, technical or other military units instead of training or serving with weapons. In all those cases where state institutions may require an oath we will take a pledge--which will be equivalent to the full substantive obligation of the oath."

(We should note that an official certification by the congregation, with three signatures, is needed for participation in the above judgment by persons with military obligations, who must have belonged to the congregation for at least 1 year.)

International statistics show that there are 40,000 congregation members in the world. (In Europe most of them live in Yugoslavia. The question of bearing arms has still not been settled there. For this reason a great number of the Nazarene youths take work abroad in order to avoid armed military service. In Vienna, home of the first Nazarene congregation, they now

have six congregations. In addition there are Nazarene congregations in France, Romania, Sweden and the Soviet Union. Nazarene congregations have been formed in the United States, Canada, Brazil and Australia as well.)

Sandor Palotay, chairman of the Council of Free Churches in Hungary, called attention to a significant fact. (The Nazarenes are not members of the council of free churches but they have entrusted the administration of their official matters and their representation to its chairman on the basis of decades of common activity.) Since the birth of the Helsinki document, and especially now before the Belgrade conference, some of the small western churches have given up their prior passivity and, stressing the cause of religious freedom, are joining with increasing activity in the international debate about human rights.

#### Not Jehovah's Witnesses

Most recently, for example, a World Conference for Religious Freedom was held in Amsterdam. The undisguised purpose was a criticism of the religious situation prevailing in the "eastern countries." Those invited included a former minister of the Franco government and a member of the overthrown Greek military junta. At the conference, however, primarily on the basis of the report of the majority of the participating church personalities, the main theme became, instead of a criticism of the socialist countries, the treatment of the small churches in many capitalist countries as sects and the disadvantageous situation which thus arose.

In regard to the Nazarenes the chairman of the council of free churches called attention to the fact that public opinion often regards them as identical with the Jehovah's Witnesses. The members of this sect refuse to make concessions to the state and refuse to fulfill many obligations as citizens. In recent decades the Nazarenes have won respect everywhere with their diligence and honest work, there are many outstanding workers among them, members of socialist brigades, and many of them have been decorated for their work and social activity.

In order to correctly inform public opinion here are a few quotations from the organizational regulations accepted by the Nazarenes: "In regard to obligations and interest in social questions the Nazarene Congregations of Believers in Christ believe and teach that they want to be honest citizens of our beloved homeland in faithful and diligent construction and in regard to work morality.... The Nazarenes live in separate congregations, independent of one another; the congregation is the foundation and most important forum of their communal life. Bearing the material burdens of the congregations is the task of the members; everyone participates in this according to his ability. Superiors receive no compensation or wages, openly or secretly, for work in or service to the congregation.... According to our faith marriages can be only among members of our congregations and we consider divorce impermissible." (Marriages among the Nazarenes are performed at weekday services and they oppose all external pomp at weddings.)

According to a domestic survey on the basis of most recent statistical data there are 3,312 Nazarene congregation members living in Hungary in 112 groups. There is a strong majority of women. The more than 3,000 members are cared for by 19 servants of the church, 175 readers and 150 prayer fathers. At one time the number of Nazarenes was decreasing due to aging but in the last decade, as a result of the high ratio of births, there has been a slight increase. (Most of the Nazarenes were formerly members of the Reformed Church; many of them now are "unbaptized," that is children of Nazarene parents.)

#### The Example of Samuel Soos

A church study writes as follows about the way of life of the Nazarenes: "They strive for a simple, healthy life disapproving of the extremes of fashion; their goal is to create a pure and simple home. They do not smoke and while they do not preach complete abstention they consider drunkenness a sin and punish it according to their congregation rules. They do not go to theaters or movies. Earlier they disapproved of radio but the opinion of the congregation leaders is now divided in judging television."

And now one example of a contemporary Nazarene family. Samuel Soos is 70 years old and was for a long time a leader of a congregation. (He retired as a deputy shop chief.) He raised 7 children; his 3 daughters are a dress designer, a technical illustrator and an administrator and his sons include an electrician, an instrument maker in a laboratory of the Academy of Sciences and a music teacher at the world famous Kodaly Institute. His youngest son was earlier sentenced to 32 months for refusing military service, but after 6 months he received amnesty and was freed. Then, on the basis of the decree now published, he began serving his military time in an assignment suiting his religious convictions.

8984

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

NEW WEEKLY PUBLISHED--Budapest, 29 Apr MTI--Entitled HUNGARIAN WEEK, a new political, cultural and tourist weekly is to appear in Hungary first on 1 May--in the Russian, Czech, Slovak, Polish and German languages. The new weekly aims to widen information about life in the socialist countries and at the same time to provide tourists coming to Hungary with detailed information about events during a week. The German-language edition will serve as an enlarged version of BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU. The weekly will appear in 15,000 to 20,000 copies between 1 May and 1 October every week, and it will be published fortnightly and in a fewer number of copies in off season. The paper will cost 1 forints [as received] per copy and will also be circulated in the socialist countries. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1737 GMT 29 Apr 77 LD]

CSO: 2020

POLAND

POLITYKA INTERVIEW WITH FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 12, 19 Mar 77 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the FRG, in Bonn on 10 March 1977 by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski of POLITYKA: "Peace in Europe Is Not Threatened"]

[Text] [Question] A few months ago Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, was asked how Germany looks today in the eyes of contemporary Poles. I should like to reverse the question: how in your opinion does Poland look today in the eyes of contemporary Germans?

[Answer] In brief, rather far from the old stereotypes. It is in large measure a positive picture, determined by considerable liking for the Polish people. In your question you were referring to the visit by Mr Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, to the Federal Republic of Germany in June of last year. I do not have any doubts whatsoever that this visit was an important factor in clarifying and correcting the German public's view of Poland. This was very clearly indicated particularly in the warm reception given the First Secretary by our citizens during his trip through the Federal Republic of Germany. I should like to take this occasion to draw attention to something else: more than 30 years after the end of World War II, the memory of the suffering that war caused is still alive. Those sufferings cannot and should not be forgotten. The majority of the German people, both the older and the younger generations, today wish for understanding and reconciliation with the Polish people. I am convinced that particularly the young people of both nations will be able to get together without difficulties and prejudices, "building bridges to the future" between the two peoples -- as the First Secretary stated prior to his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

[Question] And what is your personal view of Poland?

[Answer] The Polish people have made an important contribution to European history and culture. Since the war they have done an amazing job of rebuilding. May I recall that in the summer of 1966 -- at that time in my capacity as deputy chairman of the SPD parliamentary faction -- I visited your country for the first time. In the more than 10 years which have passed since that trip, much has changed, not only in your country but also in relations between our two countries. In both countries there had taken place a long political process before -- following the signing of the 1970 German-Polish treaty and following agreements during my meeting with the First Secretary in Helsinki in 1975 -- we were able to create conditions for a substantial improvement in our relations, which found clear expression in the First Secretary's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. My meeting with the First Secretary permitted me to become acquainted with a person whose political thinking, willingness to come to an agreement, broad outlook and determination made a great impression on me. I am particularly impressed by Poland's economic growth, within the space of a few decades developing from an almost totally agrarian country into a modern industrial nation. I have great esteem for the cultural achievements of the Polish people, which have radiated far beyond Poland's borders, as well as for the lively historical awareness, expressed in cultivation of national traditions and faithful reconstruction of historic architectural monuments. I am looking forward to my second trip to the Polish People's Republic, this time as the Federal Chancellor. It will help in resolving all those problems which we are discussing in this interview. It will also be for many Poles and Germans a new opportunity for mutual self-reflection and for taking a step toward one another.

[Question] Following Edward Gierek's visit to your country, how do you assess the development of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland?

[Answer] I am pleased with the development of these relations. Both parties affirmed their intention to further build and develop these relations and are in the process of carrying out these intentions. Obviously we must view the development of mutual relations as a long-term process, and we should not expect a breakthrough in all areas in just a few months time. Important for this process is the element of stability and mutual trust. The governments must make a very important contribution. But their influence and their power are limited; therefore all depends to a determining degree on the will and cooperation of broad strata and groups in both countries and on a proper attitude on their part. The Federal Government will continue devoting the greatest possible attention to development of mutual relations based on the 7 December 1970 treaty, on the Helsinki Agreement and on the joint declaration made on the occasion of the First Secretary's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. We were pleased to note that last year immigrations by Germans from Poland took place within the framework specified by the protocol of 9 October 1970.

[Question] What measures dealing with cooperation with Poland does the social-liberal coalition intend to undertake during the next four years? What areas should be developed and what can be expected thereafter?

[Answer] The Federal Government intends to expand cooperation between our countries, on the basis of intergovernmental agreements, and further to expand relations in various areas. In particular, I have in mind the following:

on political exchange of views between both governments and government leaders, which should be continued and further developed;

on a visit by a delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party to the Federal Republic of Germany. As you know, it was only recently that a delegation of the Social Democratic parliamentary faction paid an official visit to Poland, conducting extensive political talks. This was the first visit by an SPD delegation since constitution of the new Bundestag;

on further development of economic relations. This would also mean intensification of cooperation in third markets. Annual conferences of the mixed commission are of great significance in this area;

on a cultural agreement, all conditions for which have been met on our part. We assume that the Polish side can also approve its implementation, in order that we can initiate the following stage, that is, drafting and coordination of concrete cultural exchange programs;

on a German-Polish forum, providing for regular get-togethers of politicians, economists, scientists and political commentators. Preliminary steps have already been taken for the first get-together of this kind;

on a German-Polish youth exchange. I might recall that recently the minister responsible for family and youth affairs, Mr. Huber, suggested a get-together of experts to draft an agreement on a youth exchange.

[Question] What do you think about the matter of textbooks? This is a question of considerable current interest in Poland, and is also of significance for the further development of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic. It is closely linked to the question of future relations between Poland and the Federal Republic. What can we expect in this very important area -- and we are speaking here about the younger generation?

[Answer] At this time I should like to comment only in regard to our side, that is, only that part of the matter for which we Germans are responsible. As I said to Mr. Gierek, and this was stated in our written

agreement, the Federal Government -- in conformity with our constitution -- does not have any direct executive power in this area. It must rather try, through recommendations, to impel the Land governments, which bear exclusive responsibility in this area, to action. About four weeks ago, at a conference with the heads of the Land governments, I earnestly requested that they look carefully into the matter and that they make a special effort in this area to carry out the recommendations of the German-Polish textbook commission. I am placing particular hopes on those Bundeslaender whose cultural and education policy has been shaped by Socialist-Liberal coalitions. Goodwill is essential on both sides! We should not make the textbook question a question of prestige, since in my estimate there is no need to fear a rebirth of nationalistic or revisionist attitudes in our young people.

[Question] In recent years we have observed that more and more Germans from the Federal Republic are visiting Poland. I myself saw in Masuria tourist buses carrying Germans, and I must say that contacts between Poles and the Germans were very friendly.

[Answer] This is my impression also. I might note that my wife was one of these private-citizen tourists, and she returned with very pleasant impressions from her trip.

[Question] How do you assess development trends in Europe since the Helsinki Agreements?

[Answer] The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe created with its Final Document an important basis for continuation of the policy of détente within a multinational framework. Helsinki was the beginning of a new phase. It initiated movement in the European arena. I am convinced that both we and our Eastern European partners are ready and willing to continue the process of détente within the framework specified in the Helsinki Agreements. Thus we are pointing toward continuation of European talks in the direction of greater security and more extensive economic cooperation and cooperation in the humanitarian area. Nobody can claim that all the points of the Helsinki Agreements, pursuant to which we have entered ground which in many respects has been untouched up to the present time, have been implemented. But impatience would be a poor counsellor here. The meeting in Belgrade will afford an opportunity for an interim status report. I hope that this exchange of views will provide new stimulus for implementation of the Helsinki Agreements. European security and cooperation are the business not only of governments but of all citizens as well. At Helsinki we drew attention to people's skepticism over international conferences and to the obligation of statesmen to convince their citizens that in the case of these documents it is not exclusively a matter of diplomatic art, that the Helsinki Agreements constitute a call to action, which nobody can subsequently ignore without detriment to themselves. I stressed that our signatures signify a strong obligation for all of us, for words

to be followed by deeds. Helsinki gives us an opportunity, no more but also no less, to increase cooperation in Europe in the interest of the individual as well. Only if we make a continuing effort to utilize this opportunity will we succeed in influencing development in Europe in a manner corresponding to the expectations aroused at Helsinki.

[Question] In your opinion, what is Europe's principal problem?

[Answer] Obviously the most important thing for us in Europe is to maintain and secure peace. I do not see -- particularly in light of the Helsinki and Belgrade conferences -- any immediate threat to European peace. I do not need to emphasize that the Federal Government will steadily and consistently continue its policy of détente. I am presently concerned with a return to world economic stability. I should like to believe that this concern is also shared by the government leaders in the Eastern European countries. We are dealing with a worldwide recession and inflation which -- although in various forms, at differing rates and to differing degrees -- has affected almost all nations, economic systems and regions. This shows the interdependence of our national economies. The state of the world economy is of vital significance both to the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. One out of every five workers in our country supports his family on exports, that is, on the sale of our goods in world markets. Every Pole also is affected by price changes in world markets. Everybody must comprehend that each government can overcome these difficulties alone only to a limited degree.

[Question] How do you envisage the role of the Federal Republic of Germany in solving this principal problem?

[Answer] The Federal Republic of Germany is aware that not only our economic stability but also social and internal political stability demand close cooperation with the nations of the European community, as well as with all other economic partners throughout the world. The policy of the Federal Government rests upon the idea of cooperation and partnership. Therefore we have assisted countries experiencing difficulties, both bilaterally and multilaterally. The Federal Republic of Germany is also willing to assist other countries in the future, assuming that the countries which accept this assistance will themselves make a vigorous effort in the direction of increasing their own productivity. We lend help, but it is help for self-help. The economy of the Federal Republic of Germany has stood up relatively well to the buffeting of the world economic crisis. One can see from the latest statistics that from the standpoint of economic growth, unemployment and inflation, the Federal Republic of Germany is in the best position of the 10 major Western European countries. The value of the German mark rose an average of 14 percent during 1976 in comparison with all other nations' currencies. This is an indication that other countries have confidence and are relying on our economic growth.

[Question] How do you assess the situation within the SPD?

[Answer] The SPD, Germany's oldest party, has fought for more than 110 years for freedom and democracy. As a party of intellectual freedom it recognizes the principle of political pluralism and therefore protects the opinions of individuals of different political persuasions. Without the political strength of the Social Democrats development, and stabilization of democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany would be inconceivable. Consistent support by the Social Democratic Party of freedom, justice and solidarity guarantees the stability of our republic's political structure. In the course of its tradition-rich history, the SPD has developed into a popular party, that is, it contains rather diversified groups from within our society. The resulting potential conflicts of interest in individual matters must be settled through open and responsible internal party debate, in order to achieve a spirit of solidarity. Obviously in such a large organization as the SPD -- which today has a membership of more than 1 million -- there cannot help but exist differing views. I am in favor of intellectual and political debate within my party. And this also means controversy. It promotes internal party development and shapes the results of important enactments. I do not consider it very appropriate, however, to place emphasis on the so-called creation of wings in the party. Recently debate between different wings in the party has in actuality very frequently been a conflict between generations. But the generations are integrating with one another. As far as that is concerned, the Social Democratic Party has up to the present time always succeeded in achieving solidarity. Since the common good constitutes the direction of action taken by the overwhelming majority of its members, they are loyal to the common basic values which have been implemented step by step since the conference in Bad Godesberg (in 1958 -- M.F.R.): freedom, justice, and solidarity. The present tasks of the SPD are not easy, particularly since the Social Democrats are in a coalition. It is impossible to avoid compromises. Party members recognize that under the pressure of prevailing conditions, with limited public funds, some plans can be carried out only in a modified form. For generations there have been philosophically-thinking people in the SPD who focus beyond the present day, but there have also been people of action, who have been able to adapt to present realities. It is important today for all wings to cooperate in a loyal manner and with solidarity, striving to achieve the best results possible from existing possibilities. I am convinced that my party, in the future, just as in the past, will be able to resolve all its problems, including the task of acting as a guiding force in the development of friendly relations with the Polish people and nation.

[Question] Mr. Federal Chancellor, thank you very much for the interview.

8817

CSO: 2600

## POLAND

### FINAL VOLUME OF POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY HISTORY PUBLISHED

Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Apr 77 p 4

[Article by Manuel Lucbert]

[Text] Warsaw--The Polish Communist Party [PCP] has its history at last. The first volume was published in 1958 in the glow of enthusiasm which followed the Polish "October" of 1956; the second in 1966; the third and last volume was published in 1975.

It should come as no surprise that this work, with its sometimes explosive contents, was almost entirely ignored for more than a year, not only in Poland but in all of Eastern Europe. As far as we know, only the theoretical journal of the Romanian Communist Party, ERA SOCIALISTA, Devoted an article to it (No. 8, April 1976). But it remained without an echo in the West for nearly as long\*.

Jozef Kowalski, the author of this work, devotes himself to a complete revision of the PCP's history--the official one until now--from its creation in 1918 to its dissolution in July 1938 by a decision of the Comintern. Another subject for amazement: this history, which for 30 years would have sent its chronicler straight to his death, was published by the very official publishing house Le Livre et la Science, sponsored by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR).

Although the author, once a member of the PCP and today a member of PZPR, could not gain access to the archives of the Comintern in Moscow, which are carefully guarded, he was able to make use of certain sacred documents in Warsaw. Still, liberalism always has its limits: although the first volume ran to more than 30,000 copies, only 10,000 copies were published of the second and dissemination of the third, still of lively interest, was to all intents and purposes private--3,000 copies.

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\* See the article by Martin Pollack: "Zu einer Geschichte der Communistischen Partei Polens. 1918-1938" in the periodical WIENER TAGEBUCH, February 1977.

Jozef Kowalski is much interested in the discussions inside the Polish party during the 20 years of its existence, and in the conflicts between the Polish communists and the Soviet Communist Party, which is more and more inclined to impose its hegemony. Analysis of these debates leads him largely to put an end to the myth of the suspicion of Trotskyism which, since 1924, has been a burden on the PCP in Moscow. Had not Stalin accused the Polish party before a special Comintern commission, created in order to assess the activity of this organization, of being "an offshoot of Trotskyite opposition"?

Breaking radically with Soviet historiography, Kowalski does not content himself with demonstrating that it had been absurd to compare the ideas of certain great leaders of the PCP with Trotsky's ideas. He affirms that, with regard to the basic question asked from 1930 on--whether the revolutionary movement should carry out a "united front" policy, in Germany for example--Trotsky expressed "certain rational ideas" in establishing a difference between fascism and bourgeois democracy and in contesting the thesis of social fascism adopted by the Fifth Comintern Congress in 1924. This position, which was abandoned by the Communist International in 1935, was the same as viewing social democracy "objectively as fascism's moderate wing".

This restatement leads Kowalski to treat Isaac Deutscher, who later became one of Trotsky's most celebrated biographers, more calmly than is usual in Poland, where he is officially looked upon as a "traitor". Isaac Deutscher, who worked in the propaganda section of the PCP, at the beginning of 1933 when Hitler was already in power had published an article calling upon Germany's communists and socialists to unite. This appeal had been renewed in a memorandum by the Polish party's internal opposition. Deutscher believed that national socialism's barbarism would bring on a bloodbath and that the German Communist Party would be too weak to confront the danger alone. The PCP's secretariat believed at the time that this article was destined to "arouse panic" and gave the order to withdraw it.

Another posture toward Deutscher's position, Kowalski writes, would not have had as its only effect the preservation for the party for a number of its brave members. "It would have been of vital interest to the labor movement for the Central Committee of the PCP and the executive of the International to draw the inferences from this memorandum and from other signs of troubles and doubts within the party, and above all to appraise the reality accurately."

Kowalski recalls that latent antisemitism, including that within the party, was fed by the idea--believed today to be erroneous--that internal opposition within the PCP was principally led by its Jewish members. In this connection, at the time of the great wave of antisemitism in 1968 the author was one of the few historians who opposed the attacks aimed at slandering the Jewish revolutionary intelligentsia.

The dissolution of the PCP in 1938 was a mere formality, all of the party's leadership having previously been systematically liquidated by Stalin. Kowalski has taken the trouble to publish the list of all the leaders thus destroyed at Moscow; it occupies two full pages of his book.

8946

CSO: 3100

POLAND

KOLAKOWSKI DENOUNCES FALSIFICATIONS IN WEST GERMAN JOURNAL

Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Apr 77 p 4

[Text] Vienna--In a letter addressed to the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL and to POLITYKA of Warsaw, the Polish philosopher (Leszek Kolakowski), who has been living in London since 1968, has just protested against the publication in the West German extreme right newspaper DEUTSCHE NATIONAL ZEITUNG of a falsification aimed at discrediting him. Several days ago that newspaper reproduced a text, signed by Kolakowski and the historian Adam Michnik, requesting the DEUTSCHE NATIONAL ZEITUNG and Radio Free Europe to lend their aid to the Committee of Support for the Workers created in Poland following the events of last summer.

This text, Kolakowski writes, is a flagrant falsehood. "Such outrageous methods employed against the Polish democratic opposition" must be condemned, he adds. "This time the forgers have even gone so far as to collaborate with the chauvinistic and anti-Polish media of the German Right which are questioning the durability of Poland's existence under state control."

On Saturday 9 April the Warsaw newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY ironically thanked (Leszek Kolakowski) and Adam Michnik for the publication of their alleged letter in the DEUTSCHE NATIONAL ZEITUNG. The newspaper asserted that this action exposed to view "the true face and the destiny of these turncoats. A number of forgeries have recently been circulating within and outside of Poland. The most celebrated victim of these falsifications was Cardinal Wyszynski, at the beginning of the year.

8946

CSO: 3100

SURVEY OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ON VIEWS OF POLAND'S FUTURE

Krakow GAZETA POLUDNIOWA in Polish 20-21 Nov 76 pp 4-5

[Article by Teresa Betkowska: "The Student Viewpoint"]

[Text] Andrzej: My vision of Poland to come? I believe it will be a country in which all signs of failure to meet the people's basic needs will have been done away with; apartments, shorter work time and better organization of leisure will no longer be able to pose a problem. The future will also bring modernization of industry and further economic development, placing our country in one of the leading positions in the world....

Barbara: The object of national pride? I am proud of our traditions in the fight for the national and social liberation. I am proud of the courage and devotion demonstrated by the Poles in difficult moments of the past. But I am no less proud of our scholars and their contribution to world science....

Jurek: The concept of motherland? Motherland is a country in which one feels best. A country for which one yearns....

Wacek: What is worth striving for? Setting up a happy family; presenting the issue in this manner, it goes without saying that we will meet our obligation to work properly, that we will apply ourselves to character development....

Poland's future is envisioned in a variety of ways by the students. Equally varied are their attitudes regarding their future professional work and the positions that they are going to occupy in the social hierarchy. Some think, for example, about professional advancement of political careers; they see themselves, famous and influential, managing huge production plants and staffs. Others would calmly, almost unnoticed by the people around them, devote themselves to after-college jobs, chosen according to their persuasions, in which their knowledge and interests can be applied advantageously. For yet others, the overriding issue is an ideal family home; wife, children, a car, an apartment, and availability of a wide array of cultural opportunities.

The attitudes and opinions were as numerous as the interviews I conducted. And I believe, on the basis of these interviews, that one could almost say that each student has already developed (or, more accurately, has conceived) for his personal use a model of life to be realized at some time in the future. Is it a good model, or one that suits the socialist society? Are the personality changes evinced by the country's future intellectual vanguard (the leaders of production and cultural life in the country will emerge from its ranks in the coming decades) proceeding in the proper direction, i.e., do our upbringing efforts develop a creative man who identifies the overall social interest with his own good? Finally, are we raising people who are able to comprehend and mold the history of their country and mankind?

I posed these and similar questions to sociologists as well. Upholding the view of the Marxist classics ("transformation of the human personality is not only a goal, but also a precondition necessary to ensure the development of our system"), they continually probe the youth communities in an attempt to assess to what extent the process of development of human personality conforms to the currently used educational methods.

The sociologists recognize the fact that in the current stage of the development of socialist consciousness in our society it is important to determine the degree of advancement of this process, and a fair amount of their attention is focused on the student youth--in addition to the young workers and farmers. Because of their large numbers and special needs, if not for other reasons, college students give a distinctive character to university towns, and they will play leading roles in these towns.

#### Poland's Future as Seen by Students

The national consciousness, to put it briefly, refers to one's attitude toward Poles as members of the national community. It is the attitude toward the values represented by the nation, the Polish state, motherland. Finally, it involves the principles of one's conduct in regard to the society, and it constitutes an important factor of this society's integration. Let us see how students view this issue. A representative student group (750 persons from years 1 and 4) from the Krakow schools: the Jagiellonian University, the Mining and Metallurgy Academy, the Higher Pedagogical School, the Agricultural Academy, and the Krakow Polytechnic, served as respondents in a poll "What will the future Poland be like?"<sup>1</sup> Besides a vision of our country, the poll took into account the models of patriotism, the concept of motherland and forms of ties to the nation, and national pride.

Let us take a closer look at the vision of the future outlined in the students' imagination. Why? Because these young college graduates, though this may sound like a truism, are soon to set about making this vision come true. For the picture they paint today probably will become for them tomorrow a source of motivation in their individual and collective conduct in the professional and social environments. Yet, as evidenced by the poll (which included the gradation: slight-moderate-great) the students' interest in Poland's future is moderate. Most interested in the future of the country are the humanities

students; next, those attending agricultural schools; and lastly, the students in technical schools.

On the other hand, their vision of the future of Poland seems to be interesting (it is not related to content or type of studies or to the family background or sex of the respondents; we are faced here with the integration of young intelligentsia as a social stratum) and it contains proposals for change in three areas of the society's life: in its civic, technical and economic situation, in the personal characteristics of Poles and the moral substances of the social relations, and in Poland's position in the world. Let us note that 26.5 percent of those polled refer to changes in the Polish personality: indifference to the sufferings of others, unfriendliness, vandalism, hooliganism and bribery are the pathological social features that should be combated with utmost urgency in the students' opinion. Their commonsense tells them to advocate a higher level of employee morale as well.

#### Factors on Which Poland's Prosperous Future Depends

The majority of the students (61.7 percent) affirm that further economic and cultural development of the country is dependent on the deepening of the socialist transformations domestically. This development is believed by 24 percent to be unrelated to the socialist character of changes since they would occur anyway, and history alone could decide about their character. Only 7 percent of the respondents believe that the political system has no effect on opportunities for further development.

The students recognize the role of work in shaping Poland's future. However, their views concerning the significance of particular professional groups in this process were admittedly surprising for this author. When asked whose job they value more highly--that of an engineer or, say, a writer--the majority of them chose the engineer. Suspecting that by chance I had grouped interviewees with similar opinions, I again resorted to the poll. This fact proved to be not at all accidental: students have the highest opinion of inventors and technical specialists, and give a considerably lower valuation to the work of persons involved in the arts and culture.

How should this phenomenon be evaluated? In my opinion, the cult of technology certainly limits in some manner a person's notions of his own possibilities for shaping the future of the country. I believe that still too little is said in our country about the humanization of work, and the efforts of the creators of culture are regarded as something extra that one can well live without. But it is well known what a separation of this kind would lead to! And equally familiar is the knowledge that the understanding of civic, political and national responsibilities evolves on the basis of the importance of one's own work and self-esteem.

## Being a Pole

An important component of national consciousness is the pride of belonging to the national community. This proud feeling is decisive for social integration. To what extent are students proud of the past? And the present? Putting it in a nutshell, the student community holds in high esteem the tradition of Polish fights for liberation and the Poles' participation in the struggle for freedom of other nations, but finds the cultural traditions to be of much lesser value. The past receives a higher valuation than the students' fellow countrymen's present achievements. Is this perhaps due to the fact that distant times are idealized in school while the present is evaluated immediately in a realistic manner? Asked about their ties to the nation, the young people refer in their answers to a sense of duty, work for the country and the political and proprietary bonds. Poles are those who feel they are Polish. Language, territory, temperament and character are not a basis for a person's identification with the nation. However, it may be well worth considering whether it is good that emotional associations come to the fore of the students' concept of motherland (55 percent of the student respondents affirm that one's motherland is the country in which one feels good, the country for which one yearns). From the point of view of the developed socialist personality the concept of motherland should also have a rational character, and it should include definitions of the bond with the nation as an historical and political community.

The question about models and heroes are not among the easy ones. The young people are trying to find--for the most part in the literature--some figures which would meet their conceptions of a human being deserving to be elevated onto a pedestal. Our discussions and press articles constantly dwell on the absence of the contemporary hero. The model of a Pole now current among the academic youth is fairly stereotyped. The students overestimate human traits that evolved on the basis of the fight for national liberation, but they lack a clear opinion regarding those traits that are essential for successful and efficient managing. The students underrate persons who are contemporary examples of excellent performance, and rather infrequently allow that they themselves could become models for imitation. This is not to say that the students see their countrymen as lacking the characteristics of a good manager! But many of them, still too many, consider social discipline, for example, to be of minor importance.

## Attitudes Toward Future Jobs

Let us see now what are the students attitudes toward future professional work. What are their lifetime goals? We will be aided in these considerations by a questionnaire developed by Maria Sozanska.<sup>2</sup> To begin with one must state that the attractiveness of future jobs figures prominently in their considerations; as many as 64 percent of the respondents believe that one should choose an establishment that permits a person to pursue a profession compatible with his qualifications. For almost as many respondents the choice of the place of work is dependent on whether they receive an apartment. Following the above in importance as factors determining whether

a respondent joins a particular enterprise or institution are knowledge that one is a needed specialist, varied cultural and entertainment opportunities, and physical and recreational appeal of a certain locality. Mentioned as often as the overall attractiveness of the location is the absence of undesirable characteristics of the work environment: students would like to work where there is no human conflict, no monotony.

### Students' Lifetime Goals

By asking the respondents what goal is worth pursuing in a person's life, Maria Sozanska obtained a ranking of values, with the sphere of personal life placing first. The students as a rule think about establishing a family, participating in small social circles and having an interesting cultural life. It is only following these that they refer to professional activities as having a measurable effect and speak about material consumption or the management of groups of people.... The last observation is both revealing and surprising. Only 3.5 percent of the respondents see themselves in managerial positions in the future.

What are the students' primary expectations with regard to a future professional job? Again, this is a problem meriting a closer look, especially in view of the fact that an interesting job emerges as the central value here. Opportunities to pursue a person's interests, earnings that permit a high living standard, prestige and possibility to do a job beneficial for society are listed, in this order, as conditions on which satisfaction in life depends. The students--and this is perhaps equally surprising--attach only a modicum of importance to making contacts in their immediate environment.

An attempt at presenting the attitudes and opinions of academic youth is admittedly a difficult task. If it is made on the basis of sociological polls, tentative generalizations can certainly be formulated and a picture of the entire academic community can be formed. This does not mean, however, that all will see that picture in an identical manner and agree with the "average model" of a student as outlined in this article. I found this out myself by letting several of my earlier interviewees read the text. Some of them think that there is still too much passivism, a tendency to take the easy way out and be oriented toward consumption, among the young people (Andrzej: "Thirty percent of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] members actively participate in the life of their organization, and thus the life of the school and community--what can be expected of the others? Are they going to change after graduation?). Others believe that the picture will take brighter colors if Polish students are compared with their foreign counterparts. (Basia: "We possess genuine knowledge, sociopolitical consciousness; and, in spite of everything, we put material problems in second place, though they are very important for us. Apartments or cars are by no means luxuries but rather the necessities of contemporary civilization, while other students most frequently think first about business and afterwards about personality improvement.) Still others try to prove that college education in no way prepares one to get started in "adult" life (Wacek: There

are still too many perfunctory methods of gaining knowledge, and very few opportunities for independent thinking and work. What is it going to be like on the job? Even now our senior colleagues give us hints: keep saying yes, be a good boy, nice and polite--you will see it pays"). However, they are unanimous in emphasizing that the Polish students are capable of accomplishing much, and they believe they can soar high once we adults give them a chance to spread their wings.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A questionnaire developed by Ewa Stawowy and Ryszard Filas under the direction of Jan Jerschina.
2. Maria Sozanska, the Institute of Marxist Philosophy and Sociology, Higher Pedagogical School in Krakow.

8795

CSO: 2600

VALUE, FAIRNESS OF PAID HIGHER SCHOOL PREP COURSES DEBATED

Prevailing Practice Questioned

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 12-14 Nov 76 p 5

[Text] Open Letter to the Warsaw Superintendent of Education and Upbringing

Mr Superintendent, as far as we can determine--although this may be unfair to the extent that we have not succeeded in contacting all organizers--at least half of the graduating secondary school students planning to compete for higher school enrollment are attending [preparatory] courses or plan to attend them. Does this fact not trouble the educational authorities? We have the impression that course organizers do not inform the responsible superintendents about the effect of this type of preparation on higher school studies, that they do not coordinate the fees, and that they do not give the names of the instructors. If we are mistaken we would like to ask: How many courses will be initiated during this school year?

Mr Superintendent, do you not think that a course system which offers preparation for higher school studies outside the secondary school lowers the authority of our school system? Indeed, the organizers suggest to the graduating pupils several months of lessons for each of two or three subjects. This means that the applicant who takes supplementary lessons, for example in physics and mathematics, must set aside an hour and a half a day for this. Counting preparation for these lessons and travel of the pupil from his last class of secondary school, two and a half hours a day should be set aside. How in such a case will he expect to perform his school duties?

Mr Superintendent, we are of the opinion that failing to provide supervision for the course preparation of graduating secondary school pupils is socially harmful and gives rise to myths about both school work and entrance examinations. For this reason we call attention to this letter and the article published with it.

Signed "SM" [SZTANDAR MŁODYCH Editorial Staff]

### Editor Surveys Problem

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12-14 Nov 76 p 5

[Article by Leszek Gontarski, director of the SZTANDAR MLODYCH Department of Education and Science]

[Excerpts] "The SZSP School Council of Warsaw University organizes preparatory courses every year for applicants to higher schools (separately for those graduating from school during this year and secondary school graduates from previous years). Detailed information and registration in..."

The newspapers circulated this type of announcement starting in early October. At the same time in Warsaw's secondary schools, teachers gave out information about courses, also lasting several months, organized by the ZNP, parents' committees, and the NOT (Chief Technical Organization). Thus, officially and freely, graduating students are offered additional lessons, outside of school hours though most frequently taking place in the school, which are to prepare them better than their own school or technical school for the battle for enrollment in higher school. Preparation in exchange for money.

Each person who showed up at the information booth at Warsaw University received a copy of a leaflet telling which subjects would be taught and what the cost would be, for example, for 60 hours of lessons. Groups consisted of 10 subjects. The shortest course was 2.5 months; the longest, 6 months. The fees ranged from 600 to 1,200 zlotys for each subject. In addition, a so-called registration fee of 100 zlotys was required. The person registering could choose any number of subjects. Classes are held three times a week from 1630 hours to 1805 hours. Practically speaking, then, it is possible to register for only two courses at most.

In reading the information leaflet one gets the feeling that the courses are conducted thoroughly, and, furthermore, one becomes convinced that only completion of these courses guarantees entry into the higher school rolls. "This year's series initiates two long 144-hour courses, since experience of past years has shown that this type of course constitutes the most important guarantee for proper preparation for the higher school entrance examinations..."

[Gontarski then explains that to register the applicant must first complete a personal questionnaire and must pay all fees for the courses ahead of time. Each course participant's name is entered on a list for a given course and he is given an admission card for identification which he must show to the persons checking before he can enter the class. The leaflet goes on to say that in justifiable cases payment for the course can be alleviated, such as in the case of orphans or persons with a low family per capita income. In such cases the applicant must include complete certification for determining average family income or family status. The author then describes other possibilities for preparatory studies organized by the ZNP and other groups.]

[Gontarski reports some reasons applicants give for deciding to enroll in additional classes. These reasons include the fact that the courses make up for lack of preparedness, whether through the fault of the student or of the school; that "everyone else is doing it and, therefore, I must--otherwise I will be behind from the start"; that parents made them do it; and that taking the course brings the applicant into closer contact with the school and the assistant instructors, theoretically giving him a better chance. Inquiry by Gontarski among teachers in some Warsaw schools revealed that while they do not encourage these courses, they tolerate them because they consider them to be an indispensable partner to the school. Directors, educators and subject specialists are of the opinion that the existence of the courses is an indication that there is a need for them. One school principal gave the following answer to why this need exists.]

"The general education secondary school has now become a general school, accepting everyone who applies. However, for some pupils, overcoming the obstacles posed by the curriculum is a very difficult matter. And the curriculum is broad. The teacher does not have time for additional matters extending beyond this curriculum. On the other hand, the higher school, wanting to select the best, sets above-average demands. It is not surprising that youth try to meet them. After all, higher school enrollment is at stake. He tries to improve the situation in two or three subjects and deepen his knowledge in classes outside of school. Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind how the secondary school curriculum stands with regard to the demands of higher schools."

The above opinion is in conflict with those voiced by representatives of higher school recruiting committees. I have been observing entrance examinations for several years. Every year I hear complaints against those who are taking the exams. They are charged with lack of command of basic information. The examiners say that the secondary school teaches haphazardly and selectively. This applies, above all, to mathematics. After the change, specifically after a broadening of the curriculum, only some teachers are in a position--for lack of preparation or of time--to complete the planned material. This year I witnessed those who were applying to Rzeszow Polytechnical School acknowledge openly which parts of the material were not completed. Apart from the competition, the committee asked the applicants which school they came from (the examination was secret) and whether they really had not had lessons in such and such problems. The response confirmed the above observations. The examiners then started the oral tests with a question about the name of the teacher. Depending on the answer one could predict whether the person taking the examination would cope with the questions or would fail. I am describing this example so extensively because this recruiting ping-pong has been going on for a couple of years. Recently Minister of Education and Upbringing Jerzy Kuberski, in response to a question by ZYCIE LITERACKI, referred to this problem as follows:

"I think that the higher schools must also revise their approach to secondary school graduates and to the entrance examinations. I am not defending the secondary school, but I am in possession of a fact which plays havoc

with the whole logic of accusing the secondary school. I am thinking of the secondary recruitment for those who failed the entrance examination the first time. If one follows their fate in the higher schools, for the most part it turns out that they are good students. And this shakes the idea that the examination for higher school is the only judge of secondary school performance."

I think that both sides--the higher school and the secondary school--in clinging to their positions, are not analyzing thoroughly the phenomenon called preparatory courses, a phenomenon which undermines the authority of at least one of the sides.

The courses have a brief history. They emerged and actually began to proliferate 10 years ago. The student organization of Warsaw University proposed them. This was an initiative aimed at helping young people from the provinces. Lessons were given 2 or 3 weeks before the entrance examination; they were not repetitory but were a kind of training in the techniques of taking an examination. The fee for the course was nominal. Such courses are acceptable, but there are fewer and fewer of precisely such courses. The organizers came to the conclusion that it would be best to extend them throughout the whole year, because there was rather great interest in them and the social need was tremendous. After all, it is cheaper than tutoring. In recent years, however, especially in large academic centers, the course has become an institution functioning alongside a tutor or an institution for those who cannot afford a tutor.

And this fad, as some would have it, or need arising from school weaknesses, as others say, has become so widespread that it no longer surprises anyone. We wish to disturb this system by asking a few questions:

--How does it happen that educational authorities permit the official functioning of paid schooling in addition to the school system, even though it is voluntary?

--Who supervises the courses and on what principles are the teaching cadres selected?

--What explains the range of fees for each subject in the general courses?

--Is it possible that a pupil of a graduating class can devote 9 hours a week to the course classes? What repercussions does this have on carrying out the school obligations and on the health of the graduating student?

#### Readers' Responses

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 29 Nov 76 p 5

[Text] After publication of the article on 13 November entitled "Will the Course Help You?" we received a number of letters whose authors either

supported or criticized our position in the matter of so-called preparatory courses. We also had visits to the editorial office and invitations to discussion about what the courses offered to those now studying at a higher school. Below we are printing some of the responses to the questions [printed in the above article].

#### The School Does Not Teach Independence

I am the father of a son who is now in higher school. I frankly admit that for 2 years I financed tutoring in mathematics. I also sent my son to a preparatory course, although not for a whole year but only for 2 weeks. Why did I do it? Because I could not say no to my son. He was not the worst pupil; his secondary school certificate attests to that. Only fours and fives from top to bottom. But in spite of that he wanted to take the tutoring. [He said] if you do not make it possible for me I will be the only one in the class relying solely on the school. He was similarly motivated to the decision to participate in the course for those competing for academic enrollment. I was opposed both to the tutoring and to the courses, but I could not have the reputation of being a miser who begrudged the money for his son's education. I gave in, but the whole time I wondered why the school permitted these private lessons and courses. Editor Gontarski's article explained a great deal to me, and, what is most important, I became convinced that I am not the only one indignant about the present situation.

I cannot agree with the principal of a Warsaw secondary school who states that the school curriculum is too broad and the pupils too weak. I am surprised that she is not surprised that pupils seek someone who will supplement the school activities. If that is the case, what responsibility rests on the school? To fulfill the curriculum, or is that not too little? It seems to me that the contemporary school too often limits itself to that. It does not teach independence, responsibility for oneself, a vital hardiness. I may meet with the reproach that I am not writing about the subject at hand. However, it seems to me that all these things are united into a whole. There is something wrong in this instructional and educational ping-pong which the press is writing about. A good secondary school certificate but a disastrous entrance examination; order in the school but behavior beneath criticism in the streets. Why does this happen? I agree with the author of the article that tolerating [preparatory] courses is to the detriment of education and, furthermore, impairs its authority. In support of my arguments I state that when I started higher school studies, there were no preparatory courses, and private lessons were not so widespread.

Kamil Janikowski, Poznan

#### Time To Investigate This Phenomenon

I have been observing recruitment to the university for several years. Occasionally I ask students at school whether they took private lessons or participated in courses. Many answer affirmatively. This means that we

can speak of a phenomenon and, as it emerges from the SZTANDAR MŁODYCH article, the phenomenon is spreading steadily. Should it not be investigated? If such investigations and inquiries are conducted among those who are taking the entrance examinations or who are already students in higher school, it can be determined whether the preparatory courses really help. If they do not, it will be easy to dispose of this phenomenon; if they do help, then it is necessary to answer not only the questions posed by SZTANDAR MŁODYCH.

I am an opponent of the courses and it may be for that reason that I have repeatedly wondered where they get their popularity and ultimately their peculiar kind of effectiveness. Is the school providing inadequate preparation? Extending an affirmative answer to all institutions would certainly be unfair. But the entrance examination, whether anyone wants it or not, is a form of evaluating the school's performance, and it reveals that not all secondary and technical schools are satisfactorily preparing youth. After all, the entrance examination constitutes a test of the material called for in the curriculum, and if half of those taking the examination to enter the university receive unsatisfactory marks, this fact is surely evidence of something. For this reason I think that a portion of the youth are seeking in the courses something they lack in school--a good command of the subject.

To me, however, a much more important factor is the desire to become familiar with the atmosphere of the higher school. Several pupils expressing an opinion in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH talked about this motivation. The youth want to get acquainted with the higher school, to learn about the courses of study, to talk with the teaching staff of the higher school. I do not know if the readers observed that one of the courses described [in the article], organized by the Warsaw University SZSP School Council, enjoyed tremendous popularity, while another, sponsored by the ZNP, did not have many eager applicants. The applicants want to go to a higher school and they tend toward the one where they think they would like to study. To me this is very significant and for this reason I think that if we decide on the preparatory courses they should only be so conceived that youth have the opportunity to get acquainted with their future school. However, I make one stipulation: all applicants should have such a chance. In what form should such courses be organized? It would be best if applicants could meet 2 weeks before the entrance examinations. I realize that this is a difficult undertaking to accomplish. However, why not conduct lecture-seminars throughout the whole year on selected Saturdays and Sundays? There have already been such initiatives and it is not known why they were given up. The student organization could take such action.

Krzysztof Konarzewski, Warsaw

Thanks to the Courses We Were Admitted

We feel bound to register a categorical protest against editor Gontarski's article. We are first-year students in Polish philology at Warsaw University and we state with full responsibility that the only source of the knowledge

which permitted us to take the entrance examinations and to pass them satisfactorily were the preparatory courses organized by the SZSP school council. The secondary school certificate examination is a formality, and the fact that the secondary school prepares for it is meaningless. It is much more difficult to overcome the psychosis of fear created by the teachers than to complete satisfactorily the work for the graduation examination. The preparatory courses gave us systematized and concrete knowledge, but they also introduced us to the system of academic work, so very different from the ridiculous and nonfunctional system of work in secondary school. Secondary school for us was a center of social life.

During the 1975-1976 school year we participated in a fall preparatory course (English language) and a June course after the graduation examination (Polish language). Of course our observations are highly subjective, although they concur with the views of a huge portion of my contemporaries. Who, if not the student, is qualified to appraise the value of the knowledge acquired from secondary school? With such a high level of demands made at the entrance examination, preparatory courses (taking into consideration the level of the secondary school) are the only way of preparing oneself. Of course, I stress that our opinion is based on our own experiences, but we know that it is a widespread opinion. For this reason we insist on publication of this letter. We wish to have cleared up and corrected in the columns of SZTANDAR MŁODYCH all the unjust accusations raised against the courses.

Pawel Szymon and Andrzej Bracki  
University of Warsaw students

#### University Official on Recruitment

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 6 Dec 76 p 5

[Interview with Dr Weislaw Wisniewski of the University of Warsaw by SZTANDAR MŁODYCH editor Leszek Gontarski; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: Dr Wisniewski, the Institute for Sociology, Education, and Upbringing, which you head, conducts research on the fate of students and student applicants. Has there ever been a poll of those attending preparatory courses?

Answer: We have such a survey, but it was conducted during the 1968/1969 academic year. At that time we were interested in the course organized by the youth organization at Warsaw Politechnical University. We presented the results to the ones who commissioned the survey--the then ZMS Warsaw Administration. I think that in spite of the years which have passed since the poll, we can still make use of the results today. I look at the entrance examinations and at the preparatory courses and I venture to say that not much has changed.

Question: To what kinds of questions were you seeking answers?

Answer: We were investigating primarily the effectiveness of the preparatory courses and their influence on the social composition of those admitted to higher school. After conducting our polls we compared our observations to higher school statistics. They revealed interesting things. First of all, the courses provide a greater chance for admission to higher school. Among those who enrolled in the courses (636 persons), 51 percent became higher school students. Only 42 percent of the remaining applicants fulfilled the minimum requirements for admission. Second, the courses had no influence on the shape of the social composition of those admitted. In the group of the "prepared" youth, the percentage of those of worker and peasant origin was about equal to that of the entire group admitted to higher school. Third, worker and peasant youths who attended the preparatory courses did better [on the entrance examination] than those who had merely achieved the secondary school graduation certificate.

Question: Dr Wisniewski, in the article about the preparatory courses, which was published in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH on 13 November, we wrote that the school loses authority in permitting these preparatory courses. Many readers disagree with this. They think that there will be an increasing number of different kinds of courses. This is supposedly the fad, this is a necessity.

Answer: I agree, we are dealing with a phenomenon. It results from the necessity for self-improvement and for continuing education. But it is necessary to see the difference between a course which broadens qualifications and refreshes knowledge and one whose purpose is to replace the school. I would like to call attention to the fact that we are dealing with "preparatory courses" which are becoming increasingly longer, lasting several months. And the instructors are frequently the same teachers who are not capable of teaching in normal classes. I am speaking so sharply on purpose to illustrate a problem. After all, in reality it is not only the teachers who are to blame, but also the curriculums, the organization of instruction, and the overloading of the pupil. Educators, as it happens, in wanting to help the pupils, organize the additional lessons for them. But the way it is perceived by society is something else, and we must not forget about that.

The higher schools also do not behave altogether properly. It is a known fact that the courses are conducted by people who very frequently sit in the examiner's chair. And even if this is not the case, they are well-informed as to what the higher schools demand of those taking the examination. Thus they prepare young people not with material but for an examination. But in such a situation those who do not participate in the courses for whatever reasons are behind from the start. And the disparities, instead of being equalized, are greatly increased.

Question: Is the examination system not at fault in this?

Answer: There is no ideal system. Each one will have some weaknesses. Professor Szczepanski even stated once that instead of recruitment there could be a drawing of lots and we would end up with the same kind of students as after the recruiting rush. There is something to that. Personally I think that the examination should test not only knowledge but also aptitudes. It ought to answer the question of whether it is worth investing in the applicant. After all, it is easy to fill in gaps in information, while it is difficult to teach independence of thinking. Another matter is that at present we lack good "prognostic indicators" guaranteeing success at studies. The examination, however inefficient, fulfills this role to some extent.

Question: Dr Wisniewski, in speaking about the results of the 1968 survey you stated that mostly worker and peasant youth take advantage of the courses. Then is there any sense in organizing such "preparatory courses?"

Answer: There is sense for youth from the so-called provinces, although not from all schools. After all, we have secondary schools and technical schools in small municipal centers whose level of teaching surpasses that of Warsaw schools. Graduates from these institutions have no need of any centralized repetitory courses. But their colleagues from weak schools--and after all, the level individual schools represent is generally known--would benefit from courses which systematize knowledge and bring them up to the level of the best. In such a case the entrance examinations would be practical, almost like sports competitions, in which everyone has an equal chance before the start and in which skills and capabilities decide who will come out better at the finish line. For that portion of youth of worker and peasant origin who want to be among the best it is worth organizing courses. But let them be shorter and supervised in reality and not just in formality by the educational authorities. And one more thing: the courses should be intramural, because the fatigue caused by traveling can bring more losses than gains.

CSO: 2600

## YUGOSLAVIA

### EXERCISE BY ZADAR BOATMEN, TERRITORIALS SKETCHED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 77 pp 12-13

[Article by Radovan Ivanovic: "With the Territorial Defenders of the Zadar Archipelago"]

[Text] Captain Krste has not raised his fishing net this morning. Comrade Sime from his territorial defense unit got there first. The call arrived after midnight.

"Move out for exercise, comrade!"

Captain Krste, who is 72, seemed to be just waiting for the call. The old man wanted to test himself and his boat, to recall the days on Olib island in 1943 when--as chairman of the people's liberation committee--he helped to capture the "Bianca Stella."

The elderly fisherman, into whose face the winds from Kornat island have cut deeply, is always prepared. Beneath the bow lie biscuits, a container of salted sardines, and the obligatory demijohn. And Captain Krste never sets out without fuel. His boat is always prepared, too

Tome Klarin, Ivan Valvic, and Zvonko Govorcic were less prepared. The call came when they were up on the docks. They had thought to take advantage of the beautiful weekend weather for painting. But the call forced them to return the boats to the water before finishing their chores.

Since morning, the calm island cove has ceased to be quiet. Blue, yellow and red boats have been arriving without tourists, nets, or fish. They are met by Marko Maric and Rajko Gabrijan, territorial defenders who have also received notices this night and have arrived before dawn.

A brief, decisive command from reserve Lt Zarko Jelacic gets the group of territorial defenders--armed to the teeth--moving. They run from their shelter amidst the agave plants and "seize" the wooden decks of the boats that have just been arriving.

The exercise has begun, but the territorial defenders still do not know where they are going and what they will be doing.

"They will receive their assignments at sea," says Branko Dobric, reserve commander. "We are heading for Molat, where we will land our special operations group. Then we will go on patrol in the Sedmovrace area. These behind, on the last ship with captain Ivan, will set up a mine observation point on the lighthouse."

Such is the assignment for this group. Who can know how many more there are? The territorial defenders of the Zadar archipelago possess more than 3,000 such vessels.

"If there were twice that many," says reserve Col Jere Sute, "that would not be a lot. Look at these islands and islets. There are 125 of them, and every one has to be protected and defended."

"Sea Bass, Squid here." The walkie-talkie is crackling. A sequence of incomprehensible numerical signals follows. Shortly thereafter comes a response. "Squid" is going to the lighthouse, too. Mile Tolja will be waiting there to show his observations. A mine observation and reporting point will then be set up.

Rivanj is behind us on the right. The group commanded by Lt Marin Zetina, a driver in civilian life, is next in line.

"Follow me!" he shouts.

The men rise. They automatically grip their weapons more tightly. First to jump after the commander is Marinko Maric, an electrician. He is holding an automatic rifle instead of a screwdriver. Mirko Medic, Gradimir Punos, Andrija Babac, and Mladenko Ivusa all jump from the yellow-and-black boat. Their position is on the left bank of the cove.

The men from Captain Krste's vessel are moving on the right, led by Rajko Garbijan from the Bagata firm. Marko Maric, Slavko Lakic, Stanko Miljkovic, and Ljubo Tesic follow with certain steps. Along the stern of Captain Klare's boat, which is marked ZD-660, a motorboat is being lowered into the water. Until this morning, it was owned by the Jugotanker firm, but now it has been mobilized for the needs of frogmen. In light diving suits with automatic rifles, Vinko Simunic and Zoran Stipanic are getting ready to dive into the cold sea to investigate the Brguljski bay so as to secure the area for our warships, which are expected to arrive the next night.

"Good luck, children!" shouts Captain Krste, obviously satisfied with having succeeded in accomplishing his part of the assignment. Then he turns to us: "Hey, what if we were to cast the nets now? There'd be mullet to catch. But what can you do? 'War' is like that. Now pass the sardines and the wine! You shouldn't forget that in wartime, either."

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 12. The 20,000 inhabitants of the 15 inhabited islands of the Zadar archipelago can outfit 3,000 such registered boats for the needs of nationwide defense.
2. p 13,  
upper left. Territorial units on such vessels are extremely mobile and can land on every one of 125 islands to organize successful, active defense in the shortest possible time.
3. p 13,  
upper center. To enable maritime traffic to continue even under wartime circumstances, wartime navigation procedures are put into effect. To this end, among other things, territorial defense units set up mine observation and reporting points.
4. p 13,  
upper right. Small vessels are capable of docking and showing up right where the enemy least expects.
5. p 13,  
center left. While performing combat assignments, territorial units at sea make thoroughgoing use of the experience of our partisan warfare.
6. p 13,  
lower right. Territorial units at sea include island forces, maneuvering forces, and special-purpose forces. The latter include frogmen specially trained for sabotage, antimine operations, and antisaboteur operations.
7. Outside  
back cover The temperature in the Adriatic is extremely low in January, but that does not seem to bother these territorial defenders and frogmen of Zadar, Zoran Stipanac and Vinko Simunic, as they conduct successful antisaboteur defense in the harbor of Preko.

CSO: 2800

END