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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
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DEFICIENCY IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM EXAMINED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Oct 77 p 1

[Anonymous editorial: "Let Us Correctly Evaluate Everybody's Importance Towards the Three Components"]

[Text] One of the basic tasks that the Seventh Party Congress assigned to school as a condition for strengthening its contents also is the harmonization of the three school components--teaching, productive work, and physical and military education. Harmonization of the three components has an ideological, theoretical and practical importance because it is connected with the many-sided communist development and education of the new generation.

Life is confirming that coordination of the three components in the framework of the entire school year in strengthening the contents of school programs and textbooks, linking teaching with our production and military art, and introducing and implementing effective forms and methods that link theory and practice, are raising the ideological and scientific level of our school, associating it more closely with the life and revolutionary practice of our country and are educating pupils and students with a more correct attitude towards teaching, knowledge, and physical and military education, as well as with the spirit of proletarian discipline and the characteristics of our communist morale.

But despite the results achieved, the Seventh Party Congress considered the task for a complete and organic melting of the three components in the entire life of school as urgent and of prime importance in order to achieve the two big aims of the party; "The revolutionary education and qualification of the youth and the raising of the quality of the entire school work."

We have examples that speak of good school work towards harmonization of the three components. Thus, for example, we say that positive results exist at the secondary agricultural school in Delvina, the "Nazmi Rushiti" in Peshkopi (pupils are producing seeds of [superelite] wheat for the need of the economy), the "Irackli Terova" in Korce, the "7 November" secondary industrial school in Tirana, and so forth because, first of all, there

exists a clear ideological and political understanding on the harmonization of the three components penetrated by the ideological Marxist-Leninist axis. Thus, for example, the laboratories and working cabinets created at the "7 November" industrial school in Tirana, as well as its apparatuses, machinery, and equipment, which are almost all produced by the school collective itself, speak of the fact that the teaching front in this school--the source of knowledge--is not only the classroom, but also the working cabinet, the laboratory, production, and the military training center.

The organic melting of the three components presupposes, in the first place, the consolidation of each component separately, their placement in the place they deserve. Placing each component on the necessary height is an essential condition also for their organic melting. This melting must be seen in dialectical unity with the political, ideological, economic and social development of the country, by also determining the concrete tasks in accordance with the stages of this development.

The path on which marches our school demands that the teaching component should be more consolidated all the time by deeply perfecting programs and textbooks so that they fully reflect the correct party line, Comrade Enver's teachings and the experience of the socialist building, by strengthening the class tendency in the process of teaching and educating and by raising the ideopolitical, scientific, and pedagogical level of teachers and pedagogues higher.

But, alongside it, a great importance is also given to the component of productive work. Despite improvements in the organization of productive work, it is noticed that in practice, on many occasions, the basic parts of this component--the parts with which our school must prepare the school youth--are violated. The gain from practical expressions for work, the polytechnic and scientific raising of pupils and, in short, the realization of the ideological and educational aims of this component demand that the mass of pupils, during productive work, should produce material goods with their own hands by activating themselves in all working processes, together with worker and farmers, and not separately. Working in the bosom of the working class and the peasantry and assisted by the best specialists, pupils will be educated with the high political quality of the working masses, with proletarian discipline and with the feelings for collectivism, and their work in production will not assume the character of a merely physical work, as it appears on some occasions. Thus, for example, an end should be put to the harmful practice that pupils of secondary school, during the accomplishment of productive work in social production, are considered in the plan as pupils in the economy and not as working power. Both the economic enterprises and the executive committees of district people's councils are more responsible for this. The treatment of a pupil as a pupil in the economy removes him from work with norms, "frees" him from the spirit of proletarian discipline and from the feeling for saving which is in the nature of the working class, "cools" him off from the teaching of professional knowledge, and converts him into a spectator, thus leaving room for penetration of alien remnants and for contempt for productive work and professions.

What is of importance and what demands more attention on the part of schools, educational sections and, especially, the working centers and the executive committees of district people's councils is the question of the productive centers so that they may be consolidated more and be established where they do not exist. The latter should have their production, material, technical and distribution plans. More work should be devoted to this problem by the educational organs in Tirana, Lushnje, Pogradec, and Kukes districts. Also, the wrong tendency noticed in some productive centers, that is, that production should become an aim in itself, should be fought; on the contrary, production should be included in the moral-political and ideo-professional education of pupils. Positive experience in this field can be found in many schools of our country, such as at the "7 November" industrial school in Tirana, the "Demir Progri" school in Korce, the agricultural machinery in Durres, and the "Qemal Stafa" general secondary school in Tirana; however, it is necessary to work more in the future in order to generalize this positive experience.

Of particular importance in harmonizing the three components are the correct understanding and implementation of the party orientations for physical and military education in schools. In the evaluation of this component one must always have in mind that the defense of the fatherland has priority over all other duties. To implement this it is essential to shed more sweat in the training polygons and fields so as to make training simple for understanding, deep for thinking, and quick for executing. However, the up-to-date practice shows that in this work there is room for much improvements. Thus, for example, we must fight as dangerous the tendencies toward keeping pupils away from the tension of military training and to reducing the hours of this component under the pretext that it is easy to "understand" and that pupils "gulp" them quickly or that these notions are repeated from year to year. Simplification of the teaching hours of this component must be considered as completely alien because it affects training with the high moral-political characteristics with which we must leaven the school youth so as to be militarily capable at all time.

Problems waiting for a solution in connection with the harmonization of the three components also exist in the higher schools. There are good efforts, but it is necessary to work better in the future so as to further increase pedagogues' and students' responsibility in the proper implementation of their tasks in teaching, productive work and military training.

Concerning strengthening and harmonization of the three components, it is necessary to maintain a more correct attitude towards generalization of progressive experience. Although in various districts there is good experience, this, however, is not widely known and very little is being done to propagandize and generalize it. Positive experience must not be called facultative, that is, if you want it you take it, and if you do not like it, you don't take it. Its understanding, study, dissemination and application must be carried out in a more organized and directed manner. Finding of methods for perfecting and transmitting this experience very rapidly and effectively must be the essential task in the work of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Institute of Pedagogical Studies.

The party grassroots organizations in schools must do more for the theoretical and practical loosening in strengthening and harmonizing the three components. It is true that these problems can be found in the discussions of their meetings, but the results achieved until now show that the quality of their treatment demands more. The grassroots party organizations must devote themselves seriously to solving these problems and in overtaking difficulties, and must draw the necessary conclusions as they are key questions concerning the ideological and scientific direction of our schools.

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ALBANIA

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by Kola Stavri: "Two Positions, Both Wrong"]

[Text] Problems which do not tolerate being dragged along, or being left for tomorrow, are discussed in the executive committees of the district people's councils. Their solution demands profound revolutionary judgment and analysis, as well as constant confrontation with party directives and orientations. However, despite the great burden, one cannot say that in the executive committees all the days are equally loaded with work and worries. In them there also are moments of "great strain" [Albanian: "piku"] in which, as we hear sometime, people "have no time to breathe." This happens generally during the period of planning. And here it is what can be said about it:

It is true that from one year to another one can see improvement in the work for drafting plans; and this is because the thought of the masses and the revolutionary spirit of the class, of the productive people in general, are constantly better reflected. Thus, gradually, the subjectivism of some clerks, who consider themselves as "capable of using a pen" or of "planning," as well as the tendencies of leaders, who "are attracted by" [heq kerraba] the interests of the enterprise, cooperative or institution where they work, are always being eliminated. We only say it indifferently [manjanuar] because subjectivist, voluntary and one-sided trends--expressed with reserve in planning without taking into consideration the average of progress--still exist in the thick demands for funds and material above orientation quotas.

Despite the great struggle which is being made, on some occasions and for some indication of the plan, these trends are disturbing. There are wrong positions which begin with planning and continue during the entire period of work for the fulfillment of plans. The positions of some people towards the problem of investments are particularly characteristic. And towards this problem, which is one, often two positions are held, both wrong.

During the period of "great strain" [piku] of the planning many "attacks" are made on the leaders [dyerve]; it is believed that through these attacks

it may be possible to hear that very desired "yes," that is, to put this or that project of investment in the plan. During this phase one can often see a director or responsible cadre being "angry" because he is not heard when he complains:

--You have always done this to us. I do not remember of having been approved when we demanded investment funds. As long as we say that these funds are needed for the sake of production and the welfare of work, you must believe that it is so, and the gun cannot move it! How will we meet the increased tasks while the productive area has remained as it was 5 to 6 years ago? Good. Do as you like. But, you are not right. I decline responsibility. Go, if you like and convince the collective that it is no good to demand funds, that it does not understand the blockade encirclement, as you say to me, because, after all, I have come to you with the word of the collective.

Listen to this reasoning and you are shocked.

--Good,--you say "it is possible,"--we will examine this demand at the committee. It is the concern of the committee to decide.

It is with this position of a number of cadres towards the problem of investments; that one often meets during the phase of examination and approbation of the plan by the forums. It has happened more than once to hear debate such as the aforementioned in the executive committees where the grassroots organizations put pressure, as well as in departments where the executive committees themselves put pressure. And on some occasions this position goes like this, level by level, because there also are department cadres who "stumble" at the State Planning Commission for investments above orientation quotas. However, it happens that the same people, both at the executive committees and departments, when they want to "check the assaults" of those who demand excessive and premature investments, argue as follows:

--You insist for nothing. We will not take this demand into consideration. Do you live according to situations [a jetoni ju me situatat]? Do you understand encirclement? There is none. We will stretch our feet to the length of the blanket. These are the possibilities of the state.

This is a correct attitude of profound principle. But, how marvelous, after expressing himself in this manner, some one of these cadres with his briefcase full of arguments could have been seen lamenting before:

--How can we balance our investments [Si do t'u veje filli]? The given funds according to quotas are small, they are not enough. We have some worries, some projects are completely essential to us. Therefore, I have come to discuss.... And the "arguments" begin: the same "arguments" as those introduced by the others so as to break him, to make him yield some thread, the thread which he himself has rejected.

Should it happen like this? No. One correct attitude can and must always be kept towards one problem. In this connection, too, an attitude is always correct if based on the party line and on its orientation. Thus, the aforementioned metamorphosis in the position of some cadres towards investments is in contradiction with what the party recommends and, as a result, it is dangerous for the economy. All those who have presented fat demands to executive committees, and the leading cadres of the executive committees in many districts who submit fat demands to the center, exceeding the quota in a perceptible manner, all have started from such wrong positions.

In spite of progress, this condemnatory phenomenon appears every year. Therefore, (and also for this reason), plans are returned to be seen again. This should not happen, all the more, when, in this connection, critics have been severe and repeated.

This is one wrong position held towards the problem of investments and has its roots in the lack of ideological formation, in the petty bourgeois conception inclining towards the close interests of the enterprise and the district or the department, and in the struggle for praise, leaving aside the greater interests of society such as these at the level of the economy of the entire country. Such revelations must be treated and fought with force by the party grassroots organizations and by everyone in himself as remnants of the past, as alien revelations towards the economy, as aspects of the classes' struggle. Without such a treatment of this question, it is not possible to eradicate the aforementioned conception consisting in placing local and departmental interests above the state interests.

The other position, also wrong, about which we are writing, concerns work for the implementation of investments.

As soon as you take in your hand evidence showing the realization of granted funds for basic constructions, or for other investments, you are always impressed by the fact that this indication in many occasions is presented unrealized. It happens that the projects demanded with persistence are not at all touched or are started and dragged on without being terminated.

We found this situation in Gjinokaster and Sarande. The approved funds for the economic construction plan (by the investors themselves) either were not touched at all or the work achieved was completely neglected. In Nivan for example, out of 120,000 leks anticipated in the plan for store and granaries less than 15 percent had been realized. In this cooperative, as we learned, as soon as the foundation of the projects had been laid down the work had jammed. Why?--We asked. And we waited for a number of justifications. But none came. The cooperative chief accountant came straight to the point:

--How to tell you.... We, too, do not think that there is any reason to justify this shortcoming. We have no right to complain about material. We have stones on the spot, we produce our own lime, and we can get timber from the forest. We had difficulties in transportation. Our vehicles are broken. In short, we have neglected this work.

Neglected! A mouth word. But, the wheat and corn need a storing place.

At the Agricultural Bank we were shown the investment plan of the "Misto Mane" cooperative. Four main projects were marked on it: a stable for calves, a tobacco shed, a granary and a henhouse. All four for production needs. It is a correct planning, we said. Very good. What about the action, the realization? No situation had been sent to the bank, the fund was left intact. Very bad. Later, we also saw investments at Picari, Cepo, Vriserase, and Adem Zeneli. The situation was the same, a shortcoming.

There is a positive example in Gjinokaster. The example of the Policani cooperative, where investments are followed and executed with great care, with pencil in hand. The Executive Committee does not bother to make this example known and to spread it. And this is a mistake. What peculiarity has Policani compared with the other cooperatives insofar as investments work is concerned? Only their ardor and action. The leaders of the other economic units can have these things, too, if they understand their task correctly and politically.

In Sarande we wished to know how the realization of the land investment is presented, this being a great task assigned by the Seventh Party Congress, because its improvement links the increase of productivity, growing of production, and economic reinforcement of the fatherland and strengthening of its defensive ability. Achievements in this front are great. The party's recommendation "to equip" [mobiluar] the land has become and is continually becoming a reality. But, we always struggle for better and better; therefore, we say that we should do more.

The land repays your care many times. Unfortunately, some people, even if they accept this fact by words, do not apply it in practice. If this were not so, people in Sarande would have proceeded more seriously with land investments. When we were there their figures did not speak well. Out of 3,461,000 leks planned for this purpose, not even 2 million had been realized. In Sarande there were cooperatives, for example, the Grave, Partizani and Lefter Talo cooperatives, which presented themselves very badly.

The Water and Systematization Directorate at the Ministry of Agriculture must have a more correct understanding about the application of land investments (this refers to investments applied by the cooperatives themselves). We say this because, in connection with these investments, there are some problems which deal with planning and drafting of projects and budgets [preventivave], the creation of a more complete technical documentation, the technical direction for the execution of work, and so forth--problems which should have been completely clarified in due time by it, so that work in this field should have been placed on more healthy foundations.

Also, the investments applied by economic enterprises often have the same unsatisfactory aspect and realization. And this so happens because the economic enterprises, from the time of planning, demand funds with insistence and, later on, do not use them and leave them in the middle of the road.

Millions of leks already invested in a large number of projects, because of the fault of some people, do not serve the economy; they are "wasted" [zdigjen]. This is a wrong practice, severely condemned by the party; it should be ended. The people responsible for this antisocialist attitude must be held to account.

And their responsibility is apparent. Despite improvement, some people do not yet plan scientifically based on preliminary studies on the economic-social profit from projects and on the possibilities of realizing them. This mistake is expressed in the frequent change in financial funds during the year, as was done a few times this year by the Ministry of Light Industry and Food; they do not support allotted funds with the necessary material base, thus opening the path to violation of discipline in the material-technical supplying according to contracts; they displace [shperqendrojne] investments reducing them into "fragments [therrime-therrime], such as in Shkoder, where 27 projects are being granted 10,000 to 50,000 leks and, thus, complicating the action for their realization; and they allow irregularity in planning, budget drafting [preventivimin], presentation of situation, financing of investments, and so forth. All these do not happen casually; they express the outlook and concepts of anyone who has a wrong attitude both towards planning and acting for the realization of investments. We believe it necessary to increase mobilizaiton so as to realize this year's investments at all costs, as well as to reexamine attentively whether the 1978 investments are correctly planned according to party orientations.

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BULGARIA

LOW HYGIENIC STANDARDS IN HOSPITALS, CLINICS EXPOSED

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 26 Nov 77 pp 1,3

[Report: "National Conference on Hygienic Conditions in Health Care Institutions"]

[Text] A national conference sponsored by the MNZ [Ministry of Public Health] was held in Sofia on 21 November. The conference dealt with a ripe and very important problem: the hygienic conditions in our health institutions.

The following took part in the conference: Ivan Dragoev, head of the Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee; Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health; Professor Doctor Evgeni Apostolov, deputy minister of public health; Professor Doctor Petur Andonov and Professor Doctor Gerasim Mitrov, deputy ministers of public health; Doctor Ivan Sechanov, chairman of the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union; Doctor Pavel Serafimov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union; senior officials from the MNZ, Medical Academy, and Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union, directors of the public health and social welfare directorates of okrug people's councils, directors of the hygiene-epidemiological inspectorates, directors of the sanatorium-resort complexes in the country, chief okrug hospital physicians, chairmen and secretaries of okrug committees of the Health Workers Trade Union, senior health workers of various ministries and departments, representatives of mass and public organizations, and others.

The conference was opened by Academician R. Popivanov, minister of public health. In a brief speech he expressed the concern of the MNZ's leadership for the hygienic condition of numerous health institutions.

If we are already engaged in building a mature socialist society it is entirely natural for our health standards to meet the ever growing requirements of this socialist society. Unfortunately, however, it is precisely in this respect that we seem to be lagging and are out of step with the tempestuous ascending development of our country and socialist society. That is why, Academician R. Popivanov emphasized, this concern must be well understood by all health officials present here and, subsequently,

properly, actively, purposefully, effectively and uninterruptedly shifted and properly understood by all local public health managers and health workers. That is why, aware of the full seriousness and topical nature of the problem, it is now being presented for discussion and consideration in nearly all of its aspects: the subjective (above all!) and objective factors, labor discipline, health education, and the development of social ( and, in our case as health workers professional as well!) intolerance toward all and any sanitation faults and violations, always seeking the aid of the party, state, and trade union organs, the close interaction among many ministries, departments, and mass and public organizations, etc.

All these problems can and must be resolved. They are imbued with the spirit of the July party Central Committee plenum, refracted through the lens of the slogan of the Seventh Five-Year Plan of "Quality and Effectiveness and Effectiveness and Quality!", and developed in the implementation of the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress.

Then Minister Academician Radoy Popivanov gave the floor to Professor Doctor Petur Andonov, deputy minister of public health, who delivered his report.

Professor Doctor P. Andonov opened by stressing that all of us are under the profound impression of the celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is entirely understandable, for its ideas are exerting a powerful and durable influence on all aspects of human activities. These ideas also shaped the principles of socialist health care based on preventive care.

Learning from the experience of, and receiving selfless aid from the Soviet socialist health care system, we achieved great successes in all areas of health care work. Considerable and significant successes were achieved in the area of health prophylaxis as well.

However considerable such achievements may be, their sober consideration forces us to note that they are not consistent with the objective preventive care needs under the conditions of building a developed socialist society or the factual possibilities of our powerful health care organization and socialist fatherland. This is confirmed by the still unsatisfactory or poor hygienic condition of a large number of communal-consumer, production, catering, school, and other projects.

Hygiene in a large percentage of health care institutions in the country is also unsatisfactory. In a substantial number of cases it is below the level of required criteria and requirements. The voicing of critical remarks by citizens and representatives of social, governmental, economic, and other organizations on the subject of inadmissible hygiene violations in medical institutions has become an ordinary phenomenon. "How can you, doctors, formulate any hygiene requirements," they say, "when you are unable to introduce sanitary requirements in medical institutions?"

hat to do and What is the Solution?

Obviously, the need is acute, and the prerequisites exist (on the basis of available experience and the increased possibilities under the new conditions) for organizing and expanding a nation-wide movement of unparalleled scope and depth to promote hygiene culture, insuring a new, powerful, and comprehensive upsurge of health preventive care. This is a leading problem facing our overall health care organization next year and for the balance of the five-year plan. The scope of preventive care is the key link in the chain of our numerous tasks, inevitably leading to comprehensive and multiplying health, social, and economic results.

How to Begin?

It is the deep conviction of the MNZ leadership that a drastic improvement in the hygienic condition of health care institutions, reaching the level of normative requirements, would be a decisive and worthy beginning of the forthcoming great battle on the prophylaxis front.

Why must we begin with the medical establishments? Above all because of their special position within the systems of the social and governmental organization of the socialist society. The medical establishments are the makers and disseminators of health. Every year they are visited by millions of people. The high-level hygiene of the medical establishments not only contributes to quality and effective medical work but has a tremendous health education and prevention influence on the population. It is precisely the health care establishments and personnel who have the high civic honor of providing clear personal examples of model hygiene standards.

What is the Present Situation?

The sanitary condition of many health care establishments is good. They maintain proper order. They have a comfortable and pleasing appearance. Model institutions -- leading experience schools -- have been also set up. This includes the Turgovishte, Blagoevgrad, Vratsa, Smolyan, and Gabrovo okrug hospitals, the Knezha, Elkhovo, Kubrat, and Asenovgrad rayon hospitals, Polyclinic No 24 in Sofia, the resort polyclinic in Velingrad, the rural medical-prophylactic establishments in Kichevo, Varna Okrug; Chernomorets, Burgas Okrug; hygiene-epidemiological institutes in Kurdzhali, Varna, V. Turnovo, and others. The overall evaluation of the hygienic condition of health care institutions in okrugs such as Plovdiv, Vratsa, and Stara Zagora has been good, and that of Vidin and Mikhaylovgrad okrugs has been almost as good. Twelve okrugs are in the so-called "golden medium," while an unsatisfactory general assessment goes to Silistra, Turgovishte, Ruse, Sliven, Veliko Turnovo, Pleven, Kyustendil, and Lovech okrugs. The least satisfactory conditions are those of Shumen, Pernik, and Sofia okrugs.

Hygienic standards are exceptionally poor at the rayon hospital in Radomir. No single area of the hospital's building and yard was found to be satisfactory. The hospital's rooms are dirty and the objects in the rooms and on the walls are dusty, unsightly and disorderly. Even cupboards containing emergency drugs are covered with dust. The working tables in the manipulations rooms are covered with dirty and torn linoleum. It would be difficult to describe the condition of the kitchen: extremely dirty, dust and cobwebs, and almost no difference between washed and dirty utensils! The hospital's yard has been turned into a manure pile. Similar conditions prevail at the rayon hospital in Ikhtiman.

The polyclinic in Kostinbrod has not been repaired for years and years. The examination rooms are in wooden huts with rotting and unsightly floors and ceilings and torn off doors and windows. The overall appearance of the polyclinic is beneath all criticism. The condition of the polyclinic in Elin Pelin is equally bad. The rayon hospital in Svoje is also unsatisfactory. It occupies a building adapted for the purpose. With proper management, however, it could meet the necessary requirements.

The hygienic condition of the neurology ward and the kitchen section of the Sofia Okrug hospital (the old base) is poor. We cannot be satisfied with the hygienic conditions in Sofia's medical institutions which should have been used as models. Poor hygienic conditions prevail in the city and specialized hospitals, including the Communicable Diseases Hospital and a large percentage of the polyclinics and suburban rural medical-preventive care establishments.

The tolerance of the managers of some hygiene inspectorates whose collectives work under poor hygienic conditions is astounding. This applies to the hygiene-epidemiological institutes in Tolbukhin, Khaskovo, and Mikhaylovgrad, the hygiene-epidemiological groups in Asenovgrad and Byala Slatina, etc.

The study of the shortcomings indicates the following:

The most unsatisfactory hygienic condition is that of the centralized service sectors and units of hospital establishments (kitchens, and sterilization and laundry facilities);

Similar conditions prevail in washrooms, toilets, clean and dirty laundry storage rooms, instruments cleaning premises, offices, waiting rooms, cafeterias, premises and areas for patients' day time care, and others;

Most of the health care establishments have not resolved the problems of garbage collection and storage, solid waste disposal, effective colors of premises, artificial lighting, and ergonomic and esthetic standard hospital furniture. Personnel facilities have not been provided: dumbwaiters, locker rooms, premises for women's hygiene, and patients' admission and discharge premises;

The medical establishments' yards do not meet requirements in terms of slightly fencing, proper functional division, maintenance of grass and flower areas, landscaping of roads and paths, procurement of benches and trash cans, lighting facilities, etc. They are frequently covered by scattered construction materials, discarded objects, etc.;

The necessary treatment facilities have not been installed for waste waters of tuberculosis and communicable diseases hospitals and wards, or medical establishments in settlements lacking sewage disposal facilities;

Problems of smoking and noise abatement in medical establishments are left unresolved (despite MNZ orders on the struggle against such phenomena). A large percentage of medical workers, regardless of category or sex, are giving bad personal examples to the citizens and their patients.

Let us particularly note the special responsibility of the MA [Medical Academy] for providing proper hygienic order in its own institutes, schools, and clinics. Hardly anyone would doubt the impression which this situation creates among the thousands of citizens who visit the academy, particularly in terms of the role played by a model hygienic maintenance of establishments training students and specialists. We should admit, however, that many of the MA units maintain far from adequate hygienic conditions.

Further examples and cases of the poor hygienic condition of medical establishments would be hardly necessary. The ones already cited would be sufficient to draw the conclusion that the public is justifiably dissatisfied and that its remonstrations are entirely fair.

What are the reasons and factors for this situation?

First, naturally, is the so-called subjective factor with its various aspects and manifestations.

This means the underestimating or simply lack of understanding of the tremendous health and educational significance of hygiene in medical establishments. This is the most frequent reason for the total acceptance of and astonishing tolerance of hygiene irregularities.

This means that the managers of many medical institutions or individual units do not consider themselves personally responsible for hygiene. Quite frequently, instead of taking energetic measures they claim to be helpless or that matters are beyond improvements.

This means lack of initiative, inaction, or adoption of a formalistic attitude by some labor collectives or trade union organizations in the face of sanitation weaknesses.

Another subjective factor is the lack of control over the work of many orderlies and the inadmissible "spoiling" of many of them who are entirely neglecting their immediate work duties. How to qualify the behavior of middle-level medical cadres who believe that it is just about below their dignity to grab a rag and clean properly the environment in which they work? Is this the way they behave at home? Yet, are they to be blamed alone for such type behavior? Naturally, those who contribute to such an "aristocratic" behavior are equally guilty.

Is it not high time for such subjective factors to perform their true role? The specific obligations and personal responsibilities of all members of the collective or brigade must be established through the personal initiative and control on the part of the managers of medical establishments. The entire collective must be mobilized for the establishment of model sanitary order in all medical establishments.

Is it not high time for the okrugs' health care managers, MNZ leading officials and, particularly, the officials of the Medical Services to the Population Directorate to include among their tasks the task of systematic and direct strict control over hygiene in medical establishments?

Also astounding is the inaction of the State Sanitary-Antiepidemiological Control organs. Apparently, they seem to forget their official responsibilities, rights and obligations as state control organs, sinking in the mire of indifference or misinterpreted "solidarity." All medical establishments are hygienic establishments and the norms of hygiene are equally applicable to them. That is why the KhEI [Hygiene-Epidemiological Institutes] must give priority to systematic, strict and exacting state hygiene supervision of medical establishments. Individuals at fault must be held liable, and units systematically allowing intolerable gross hygiene violations must be closed down. It is also high time for the Sanitation-Antiepidemiological Control Directorate of the MNZ to begin to deal more energetically with such problems.

Stressing the leading role of the subjective factor does not mean that we must not soberly assess the material and technical facilities and buildings within the health care system. In a number of areas they fail to meet contemporary requirements. Due to the non-fulfillment of the plan for medical construction in the Sixth Five-Year Plan ( in which subjective factors as well played a role!) a large share of the planned bed facilities were opened in existing or adapted buildings by raising the density of beds and places in childrens' establishments, i.e., by crowding medical institutions. Today this is creating serious objective difficulties.

Clearly, we must now take urgent measures to implement the required hygienic measures under the prevailing objective circumstances without underestimating the need for planned initiatives for the overall solution of the problem of the material and technical base of health institutions in the future. Practical experience proves that it is entirely possible to maintain excellent hygienic conditions in many otherwise inadequate installations while poor hygiene is maintained in other medical

establishments recently installed in new premises. Experience shows that wherever the chief physicians have seriously undertaken to deal with problems of hygiene their example has been followed by ward chiefs and by the entire personnel. Results have been excellent (Doctor Simeonov in Turgovishte, Doctor Kushev in Pernik, Doctor Chervilov in Blagoevgrad, and others).

Professor Doctor P. Andonov then stressed that problems of the production and supply of standardized hospital furniture meeting hygienic, ergonomic, and esthetic requirements remain unresolved. The same applies to lighting fixtures, minor mechanization facilities for maintaining the necessary day-to-day sanitary conditions, instruments and utensils for services to the patients, etc. Such "objective" difficulties could and should be equally surmounted through the energetic measures on the part of the responsible MNZ directorates.

It must be pointed out that in many cases the party, trade union, and Kom-somol managements of medical collectives also fail to pursue a steady and effective policy for mobilizing the subjective factor in the struggle for hygiene in medical establishments.

What should be undertaken to eliminate such weaknesses and insure a steady high level of hygiene in medical institutions? The tasks could be classified into several groups as follows:

First. Determining the factual hygienic condition of all medical institutions, in all its units and sectors. This can be accomplished on the basis of a thorough investigation conducted by the managements of such establishments and units with the active participation of the socio-political organizations, people's control commissions, and others. Specialists from the okrug KhEI and other areas could be recruited for such investigations if deemed necessary by the okrug People's Health and Social Welfare directorates and okrug KhEI. Such an investigation must become the basis for the formulation of a specific plan for bringing the project to the level of model hygienic status. It would be expedient for the advance discussion of such plans to involve the active participation of the medical collectives. The plans must include both urgent tasks as well as tasks to be implemented in the future. Wherever such plans have been drafted they must be properly supplemented and corrected. Such plans must be adopted by the establishments and approved by the okrug People's Health and Social Welfare directorates before the end of the year.

Second. A suitable organization must be created to provide steady guidance, assistance, and effective control of the implementation of such plans. Such an organization must be established on the level of the medical institution and on the okrug and republic levels. The establishment of such an organization with responsible officials, deadlines, proper data availability, etc., must also be completed before the end of the year. The tasks formulated in the special order issued by the minister of public health must be taken into consideration in the formulation of the specific plans and the development of the overall organizational system.

Third. Mass agitation work built and implemented on the basis of purposeful ideological and political education activities plays a decisive role. As a result of such activities every medical worker must become profoundly aware of his and his collective's responsibility for maintaining modern hygiene in the establishment as a primary and urgent task.

In this respect we should learn and draw wisdom and inspiration from the great Lenin who, in the difficult times which followed the Great October Socialist Revolution, most urgently called for the solution of a number of hygiene-epidemiological problems.

The link between the struggle for sanitation and communism is shown in its most concentrated and perspicacious form in Lenin's famous work "The Great Initiative." It states literally the following:

"Model production...Model cafeterias, and model cleanliness in a workers' house or district must become ten times greater topics of attention on the part of our press and workers and peasants organizations.

"These are all shoots of communism and care for such shoots is our common and primary duty."

Highly rating the voluntary and conscientious work initiatives of the workers, Lenin considered this as extraordinarily important. "This is the beginning of a coup more difficult, more essential and more basic and decisive compared with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own backwardness, slackness, petit bourgeois egotism and habits which cursed capitalism has left to the worker and peasant. Once this victory has been consolidated only then will the new social discipline, socialist discipline appear..."

Lenin saw the fresh shoots of communism in maintaining model cleanliness in the various sites. How should we assess the intolerable lack of sanitation in medical establishments at that?

Concluding his speech, Professor Doctor P. Andonov stated that from the viewpoint of the patient who is the subject of the constant concern of the state and the party, bad sanitation is a manifestation of a coarse and soulless attitude toward the people, something profoundly conflicting with our morality and obligations.

From the cultural viewpoint lack of hygiene is a sign of low culture and primitivism.

From the political viewpoint lack of hygiene is proof of backwardness. It compromises the socialist way of life and socialist health care.

When we fight for strict hygiene in medical establishments we fight for the profoundly humanistic principles of socialist health care, and for the attentive, humane, warm, and cultured behavior toward the sick.

That is why we consider lack of sanitation a gross violation of state and labor discipline and an antisocial measure and demand strict exactingness and personal responsibility on the part of the culprits.

Pointing out that penalties cannot be the only or principal means for resolving hygiene problems in medical institutions, Professor P. Andonov emphasized that the principal means is the conscientious attitude and mass initiatives of the collectives and their active involvement in a real offensive for hygiene. Here personal example and truly broad socialist competition play a tremendous role. The creative initiatives of individuals and collectives of medical establishments and their model example in the service of public health care is the way to a decisive strengthening of the reputation and prestige of the medical workers.

Professor P. Andonov pointed out that so far we discussed the hygienic conditions in medical establishments. A closely related problem is that of the strange tolerance toward smoking in medical institutions. It would be hardly necessary to justify to medical workers, physicians in particular, the health and social grounds for a decisive struggle against such a harmful habit. In this case as well constant energetic and aggressive measures are needed.

The fact that recently lice have been found in some even though small groups of people is a mark of low hygienic standards and unforgivable tolerance. In this connection he pointed out that the MNZ has adopted and earmarked a number of measures for its total elimination.

In conclusion, Professor P. Andonov emphasized that the leadership of the MNZ knows the tremendous creative potential of the thousands-strong army of health workers. We, he said, know the high conscientiousness and patriotism displayed by the many health workers in their daily and dedicated service on the front of socialist health care. Unquestionably, having profoundly adopted the ideals of the Great October Revolution on the subject of socialist health care, and having abundantly proved their political maturity, civic duty, and humanism, our medical workers will give a high example also in the struggle for drastically improving the sanitary conditions of medical institutions. This will be their worthy contribution and powerful impetus to a new and tremendous upsurge in the development of a nationwide movement for hygienic standards in our socialist homeland.

The following spoke on the report (accompanied by slides with very apt comments on some "more interesting" sanitary violations committed by some medical institutions):

Doctor Dr. Markov, head of the Public Health and Social Welfare Directorate of the Sofia Okrug People's Council, who accepted the critical remarks of the report applicable to the directorate's leadership and to himself personally. He provided some subjective and objective explanations without denying that the subjective factor is one of the main reasons for the

hygiene difficulties experienced by the okrug's health network;

Professor Doctor Ya. Kholevich, director of the Orthopedics and Traumatology Institute of the MA and Doctor L. Ivanov, chief assistant professor at the Chair of Epidemiology and Communicable Diseases of the School of Medicine in Plovdiv, discussed some of the reasons for the appearance of intrahospital infections in surgical and other so-called risk wards;

Doctor D. Topalov, director of the Burgas KhEI, discussed some difficulties in the work of the inspectorate caused by the poor material and plant facilities of some medical establishments in the okrug. This, he stated, greatly hinders their work and is frequently the reason for hygienic violations in them, even though subjective factors remain the most important;

Doctor R. Radichev, head of the Public Health and Social Welfare Directorate of the Plovdiv Okrug People's Council, discussed an interesting phenomenon found in many of our medical establishments: The excess of unnecessary pictures, frames, boards, rugs, plants, and other unneeded and frequently ugly objects. The purpose is, said he, to make the hospital environment closer to....home comforts! Meanwhile, even most basic sanitary requirements are forgotten and violated, not to mention financial economy...

Interesting and pertinent statements were delivered by Doctor M. Milev, director of the Kurdzhali KhEI and Doctor K. Stanchev, chief physician at the Gabrovo Okrug Hospital. Doctor M. Milev shared the experience of the inspectorate's collective: Using its own personnel and non-budget funds and the voluntary work of the entire collective (from the director to the orderly), not only the inspectorate's plant was constructed by several cultural, technical, service, and other attached premises as well. The personnel helped in the construction of the hospital in Momchilgrad and elsewhere. All this, along with constant supervision, not only created good comfort and hygiene and a barrier against sanitation difficulties but, above all, gave an example in how to avoid and neutralize the subjective factor so frequently mentioned of late in its pejorative sense. Doctor K. Stanchev discussed another side of this factor: the medical and cultural behavior of patients and the sick, related to a certain extent to the offering of proper medical services to the population (and, indirectly, to the hygienic condition of a given medical establishment). In this respect, he said, we believe that health education must become more widespread, popular, modern, effective and purposeful.

All in all, it could be said that, even though they were self-critical, the statements were not sufficiently focused on the purpose and task of the conference. Let us note in this respect that more statements were expected from the representatives of the medical-prophylactic and sanatorium-resort networks and the local trade union workers.

In his final words Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health, made a brief assessment of the work of the conference which could be described as a frank and very timely and useful discussion. He appealed

to all health executives and workers to engage in active efforts and display greater initiative in order to broaden and strengthen the united social front of preventive care which, along with the broader development of the socialist competition, is one of the levers of the development of a nationwide movement of health standards. He called for initiating this work now, today, in order to insure the quick, urgent, correct, and lasting resolution of the problem. This will enable us to face openly the party, the government, and the entire people, having fulfilled our civic and, above all, professional duty to them. That is why, in conclusion, Minister Academician Radoy Popivanov expressed his personal confidence and that of the MNZ that our health network and all our medical workers have the force, possibility, and, above all, awareness and feeling of deep responsibility for the fulfillment of this obligation, fully and completely, and for the implementation of this most important national task.

Following the conference Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health, reported on the recent visit of a Bulgarian public health delegation to the Soviet Union (last October).

He described briefly the questions discussed with Soviet public health officials, headed by Academician Boris Petrovskiy, USSR minister of public health. Pointing out that the visit took place on the eve of the greatest holiday of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the socialist comity, and all progressive mankind -- the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution -- he emphasized the exceptionally warm and efficient atmosphere in which were held the talks between the two health delegations despite the heavy work load of the Soviet comrades.

Minister Academician R. Popivanov stressed the sincere readiness of the Soviet side to provide further and even greater aid in resolving some difficult health care problems, including hygiene-epidemiological matters. Describing the visit of our delegation and the exceptionally fruitful results of the talks with the Soviet public health leaders, Academician R. Popivanov emphasized that a new and even higher stage in the health care cooperation between the two fraternal countries has been initiated. This will inevitably influence most favorably the further ascending development of our socialist health care. For this reason Academician R. Popivanov expressed the warmest gratitude of the MNZ leadership to the Soviet health care leaders and Soviet Health Minister Academician B. Petrovskiy personally for their fraternal responsiveness and comradely understanding of our health care problems.

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BULGARIA

MEDICAL SCIENTIST'S AWARDS, ACHIEVEMENTS LISTED

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 26 Nov 77 pp 1,3

[Report: "Noted Scientist, Teacher, and Public Figure"]

[Text] Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Atanas Khristov Maleev,  
Medical Academy rector

Dear Comrade Maleev:

Please accept my warmest congratulations on the occasion of your 60th birthday and the Georgi Dimitrov Order you have been awarded.

The party highly values your services as a noted scientist, teacher, and public figure. Your great organizing activities as rector of the Medical Academy and tireless worker for the development of Bulgarian medical science and education are universally recognized.

I shake your hand warmly and wish you, with all my heart, good health, happiness, and further creative successes in scientific and sociopolitical activities for the sake of the bright future of our people.

Todor Zhivkov  
18 November 1977

The 60th birthday of People's Worker in the Sciences, Dimitrov Prize Laureate Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Atanas Maleev was solemnly celebrated on 18 November 1977 in the big hall of the BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences].

Professor Atanas Maleev was born on 19 November 1917 to a family of teachers and communists. His progressive outlook was formed in early youth under the beneficial influence of his family environment. He completed his secondary and higher education in Sofia. As a student and member of the BONSS [Bulgarian National Students' Union] he engaged in active antifascist work.

He began his creative career as a physician in a rural health service and, subsequently, as an intern in the internal diseases ward of the Sofia Okrug Hospital. He continued through all the stages of scientific development: scientific associate, candidate of medical sciences, docent, professor, and corresponding member of the BAN. He has remained an internist throughout his career. He has worked continuously 32 years in the fields of gastroenterology and pharmacotherapy, gaining tremendous clinical experience and becoming a noted highly erudite therapist.

Professor Maleev worked in the Bulgarian People's Army and the Higher Military Medical Institute from 1948 to 1971. He became Medical Academy rector in 1972 and first deputy minister of public health in 1973, and in 1976 head of the Academy's Scientific Institute of Internal Diseases and Pharmacology. In 1975 he became BCP Central Committee candidate member and was elected people's representative. In the past seven years Professor Maleev has applied his efforts with great dedication to the reorganization and improvement of our health care and medical training. Several major institutes were set up within the Medical Academy system and the School of Medicine in Pleven thanks to his initiative, inordinate energy, and total dedication to the work.

Since 1947 the results of Professor Maleev's extensive scientific research have included 250 scientific publications in Bulgarian and foreign languages, some of which co-authored. He has written six monographs and has participated in the writing of several textbooks on internal diseases.

Professor Maleev has made substantial contributions to the study of ulcers. His studies of immunoglobulins and sialic acid in the stomach juice are of particular interest.

Professor Maleev has made extensive studies of viral hepatitis and chronic hepatitis. He has conducted numerous observations of the epidemiology of the disease and course of the preicteric period. He was the first Bulgarian author on the characteristics of the edema-ascitic form of fulminant hepatitis. He was the first to treat severe forms of the disease with corticosteroids and to study the effect of glucocorticosteroids on the course of the disease and the deviations in the carbohydrate, albumen, fat, pigmentation, and water-electrolytic metabolisms. For the first time in Bulgaria he applied an immunosuppressive treatment of chronic hepatitis and biliary cirrhosis.

Latter data obtained by Professor Maleev and his collective on the immunology of hepatic diseases were summed up in the monograph "Imunologichni Problemi v Gastroenterologiyata" [Immunological Problems in Gastroenterology]. This is the first work of its kind in our medical publications, currently in printing. Studies on the synthesis of individual serum albumens in chronic hepatic diseases are of great interest.

Professor Maleev has made valuable studies of chronic gastritis. He studied immunoglobulins in the duodenal juice after stimulation with pancreomycin and secretin. He studied the diagnostic value of certain new

methods of gastroenterological studies such as the (Lamblen-Bernie) test, the bromosulfophthaleine test, novobiocine, indocyanic clearance, etc.

Alone and in cooperation with other specialists he developed and applied a number of medical drugs such as repersalon, bromalgin, rosanol, almagel, and others. The results he obtained from the clinical testing of semisynthetic antibiotics and broad-spectrum depo-forms of antibiotics made in the country represent important contributions to science and clinical practice. On the basis of his experience he introduced the combined antibiotic-corticosteroid treatment.

Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Maleev's fruitful scientific activities have earned him social recognition expressed in the title People's Worker in the Sciences.

For many years Professor Maleev has been president of the Scientific Society of Internists in Sofia, deputy president of the Republic Society of Internists, and editor-in-chief of the periodical VUTRESHNA MEDITSINA and of ACTA MEDICA BULGARICA.

The ceremony in honor of Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Atanas Maleev's 60th birthday, sponsored by the Republic Scientific Medical Society of Internal Medicine, Institute of Internal Diseases and Pharmacology, and Academic Council and party committee of the Medical Academy, was chaired by Professor Doctor Yonko Beloev. The working presidium of the meeting included Professor Mako Dakov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Academician Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Nacho Papazov, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress; Ivan Dragoev, head of the Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee; Prodan Stoyanov, head of the Science and Education Department of the BCP Central Committee; Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health; Professor Ivan Popvasilev, deputy head of the Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee; Rashko Rashkov, secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee; Nikola Makaveev, secretary of the Pleven Okrug BCP Committee, and other official personalities. Many noted scientists -- academicians, professors, scientific workers, teachers, physicians, students and private citizens -- had come to congratulate the hero of the event.

Professor Mako Dakov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, read the State Council ukase awarding Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Atanas Maleev the Order of Georgi Dimitrov, a high state award. Prodan Stoyanov, head of the Science and Education Department of the BCP Central Committee, read the congratulatory letter of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman. The text of a diploma presented by the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, signed by Academician Nikolay Blokhin, Academy president, was read.

Presenting the hero of the event with a letter of greetings on behalf of the Ministry of Public Health, Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health, stated: "Within our health care system you developed your talent and creative possibilities. You proved to be a great organizer and assumed your place among the most noted representatives of our medical science. You have made exceptional contributions to the implementation of party decisions on the integration of the scientific medical front and the creation of the Medical Academy -- a major scientific-training and diagnostic-treatment complex, the pride of our medical science and health care!"

The following presented greetings to Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Atanas Maleev: Nacho Papazov, on behalf of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress; Rashko Rashkov, on behalf of the Sofia City BCP Committee; Corresponding Member Professor Lyuben Zhelyazkov, on behalf of the BAN; Ivan Filipov, on behalf of the Blagoev Rayon BCP Committee; Doctor Ivan Sechanov, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union; Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Georgi Gulubov, on behalf of the Union of Scientific Medical Societies in Bulgaria; Mj Gen Markov, on behalf of the Ministry of National Defense and personally Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense; Nikola Makaveev, on behalf of the Pleven Okrug BCP Committee; Professor Yanaki Kholevich, on behalf of the Academic Council; Professor Yordan Naumov, on behalf of the party committee of the Medical Academy; Professor Doctor Delcho Zhelyazkov, on behalf of the Institute of Internal Diseases and Pharmacology; and Iskra Altunkova, on behalf of the Komsomol Academic Committee.

Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Teofil (Niyderland), chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Physicians presented touching greetings to the celebrant on behalf of the Union and presented Professor Maleev with a diploma and the Jan Evangelista Purkinije Medal and announced his election as honorary member of the Czechoslovak Society of Hepathologists. Warm greetings were presented by Professor Er. Haschen on behalf of the Martin Luther University in Hale and Professor Jaros on behalf of the Drezden Medical Academy.

The presentation of another 50 letters of greetings, the Sofia Honor Badge, the For Services to the Bulgarian People's Army Medal, and the For Contribution to Technical Progress Badge were additional manifestations of respect for the great contributions made by Professor Atanas Maleev to medical science and health care.

Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Atanas Maleev celebrated his anniversary in the full bloom of his creative forces. This supports our belief that he will continue to serve socialist health care just as zealously for the sake of the blossoming of Bulgarian medicine!

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EAST GERMANY

IMPORTANCE OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Preschool Education Conference

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Nov 77 p 4

[Text] Neubrandenburg, ADN/BZ--The 2-day Conference on Preschool Education opened yesterday in the Neubrandenburg City Hall. The important conference, in which over 500 kindergarden teachers, pedagogical scientists, school officials, doctors and parents are participating, is concerned with further implementing the resolutions of the 9th SED Party Congress in this area. Participants in the exchange of pedagogical experience cordially welcomed the minister for public education, Margot Honecker; the first secretary of the Neubrandenburg SED Bezirk Steering Committee, Johannes Chemnitzer; the president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Dr Gerhart Neuner; and other guests, including Dr Lothar Oppermann, chief of the Public Education Division of the SED Central Committee. Dr Elvira Hermann, division chief for preschool education in the Ministry for Public Education, stressed in her report that the development of kindergarden as part of the socialist educational system is inextricably tied to the process of revolutionary transformation of social conditions in the GDR.

The speaker emphasized that the equipment of kindergardens and organization of material conditions are constantly being improved in the interest of high-quality educational work. At the present time, more than 880 of every 1,000 girls and boys, from 3 years old to school entrance age, are attending one of the 11,700 child institutions.

The conference will end today with the closing speech by public education minister Margot Honecker.

Preschool Education Research

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 221, 18 Nov 77 p 3

[Text] A work group of the East Berlin Academy of Pedagogical Sciences is currently conducting comprehensive studies on the status of preschool education in the GDR. The purpose of the studies is to improve aids for

kindergarden teaching methods. Among other things, detail problems are being studied, such as questions on methods of systematic language teaching in kindergarden. Studies are also being made of how children can best be acquainted with social life and nature and how speech and thought can be objectively developed in the process. Other topics are the educability of preschool children, the combined effect of play, activity and work on personality development at this age level and family and kindergarden cooperation in communist child education. The work group leader, Irmgard Launer, pointed out in this connection that preschool education in the GDR is being given a very high priority. She is teaching children, in daily dealings with each other, to curb any excess, such as too much liveliness, and to adapt any shortcomings in discipline, attentiveness, mutual assistance, to "group standards." She has also protested the research results of bourgeois pedagogues in the FRG, who stress the dominant role of the mother-child relationship. In her opinion, this is obviously an attempt to discredit the "socialist achievements" of the GDR and to conceal their own faults.

11915

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION NO OBSTACLE TO SOVEREIGNTY

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 22 No 11, Nov 77 signed to press 23 Sep 77 pp 61-75

[Article by Dr Walter Vogt, GDR Academy of Sciences: "The Enrichment of the State Sovereignty Substance in the Process of Socialist Economic Integration"]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress documents and the materials of the GDR social scientists conference of November 1976 invite the social scientists' attention to investigating the problems resulting from the CEMA member countries' advancing socialist economic integration and from the perfecting of the relations among the socialist countries.

A decisive political aspect of socialist economic integration, and therefore a problem of great theoretical and extremely current practical importance, is the relationship of socialist economic integration and state sovereignty.

The socialist community exists today as a community of sovereign, independent and equal socialist states. It is going to continue as such a community for a very long time yet until it will eventually merge, voluntarily, into the "uniform world cooperative of the working people"<sup>1</sup> envisioned by V. I. Lenin, made up of socialist states and nations in full bloom. Thus, it can also only be among sovereign socialist states that the process of socialist economic integration takes place. Sovereign decisions by the various socialist states determine the quality and effectiveness, the tempo and the most suitable forms of cooperation in the integration process.

The scientific investigation of the relationship between socialist economic integration and state sovereignty also assumes great importance with regard to the increasing struggle with ideologies that are hostile to socialism.

The sovereignty of a state is one of its vital characteristics. It is the supremacy any state holds over its territory, its independence in international relations, its self-determination in the elaboration and implementation of its domestic and foreign policy, and its decisions in the political, economic and any other field.

State sovereignty--as the state itself--is a concrete historic category. There can be no state without it because it would negate the essence of statehood.<sup>2</sup> For that reason, state sovereignty is no abstract category, neutral in class terms. Its substance, social essence, objective and function always are determined by the class character of the state the property of which it is.<sup>3</sup>

And so it must always be the sovereignty of the class which has a given state for its form of political organization, as its instrument of power. K. Marx wrote "it is inherent in the concept of sovereignty that it can lead no double, let alone antithetical, existence."<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere he said: "Two sovereign powers cannot function simultaneously, side by side, in a state. That would be contradictory, like squaring the circle."<sup>5</sup>

Identical thoughts can also often be found in V. I. Lenin. In his study, "Two Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," he wrote: "There cannot be two state powers within one state. One of them has to disappear."<sup>6</sup>

What K. Marx and F. Engels underscored in their well-known conclusion about the nature of law, that its substance always was determined by the relations of any given ruling class,<sup>7</sup> also fully applies to state sovereignty. "It always is the direct relation the owners of the production conditions have to the direct producers," K. Marx wrote in "Das Kapital," "wherein we find the innermost secret, the hidden foundation of the whole social design and thus also of the political form of the sovereignty and dependency relationship, in short, of any given specific form of government."<sup>8</sup>

The sovereignty of an absolute monarch therefore differed from the people's sovereignty proclaimed in the French Revolution or, later, from that of the bourgeois-capitalist state. Imperialism either absolutizes or completely negates the principle of state sovereignty. The impetus for it in both cases is the intent of enforcing the right to war as an instrument of state policy. This kind of absolutizing or negating can eventually be reduced to the imperialist formula that everything that a state can enforce through its power for the purpose of realizing its class aims is legitimate.

In social reality there is thus no state sovereignty "per se." It always only is the concrete, class-bound sovereignty by any given state as the power instrument of the class that holds the power. K. Marx found a common denominator for the class character of state sovereignty when he concluded: "Sovereignty of the monarch or of the people, that is the question."<sup>9</sup>

Imperialist ideologists and politicians in partnership with the champions of rightist opportunist, "ultra leftist," and nationalistic theories as well as with the Peking leaders are seeking to misrepresent the nature of socialist interstate relations, above all those that are part of the process of socialist economic integration. They are placing socialist economic integration in opposition to state sovereignty, constructing a

contradiction between the two. In these attacks there continues to lie the core of all the slander and attempts of affecting the essence of socialist economic integration. They are usually connected with attacks on the role of the USSR in the integration process and are a direct expression of anti-communism. By them one seeks to kindle nationalism and antisovietism in the CEMA member countries, start conflicts among the socialist countries and sever those states from the USSR, the main force in socialist economic integration. Those circles seek to weaken and destroy the unity of the socialist community and to undermine the foundations of socialism. With it, they mean to neutralize the influence of socialist interstate relations as an example for other countries and as it affects the development of the entire system of international relations.

That also is the common cause and unified objective in these attacks while otherwise the views of their authors and agents often may differ from one another. That kind of contradictoriness is typical of bourgeois ideology and reality in general. And in particular, it also points to some specific economic and political differences.

First: Of a number of these authors it is typical that they either do not understand or deny the class nature of state sovereignty. In a totally inadmissible manner they generalize or absolutize the class-bound contradiction between capitalist integration and the capitalist understanding or exercise of sovereignty. And they arrive at the false conclusion that way in maintaining socialist economic integration is bound to lead to restraints on the state sovereignty of the countries taking part in it. There also, as they allege, existed a contradiction between state sovereignty and some "hegemonism" presumably practiced by the Soviet Union.

Such views--in different shadings--are proposed, among others, by R. Furtak, W. Leonhard, B. Meissner, Ch. Royen, H. Sand, A. Uschakow, G. Wettig (all of the FRG), K. Thalheim (West Berlin), A. Korbonski, R. Mellor, R. Staar (all of the United States), and M. Kaiser (England). In the years prior to the 25th CPSU Congress and the most recent party congresses of the other fraternal parties in the socialist community of states, the groups mentioned had mainly been wearing out the thesis socialist economic integration and socialist internationalism would lead to "constraint on state sovereignty." Most recently now a new slander campaign was started which in substance goes still farther in that now the complete surrender of state sovereignty and of nationality is being prophesied.

Take B. Meissner who, in his well-known anticommunist, especially antisoviet, manner, misrepresents and distorts the foreign policy line of the 25th CPSU Congress as follows: "The principle of 'proletarian-socialist internationalism' that has been sharpened by the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' means nothing else here but an ideological paraphrase of Soviet hegemony which, in the course of the integration process, is meant to lead to unified statehood on a federative basis."<sup>10</sup>

Nor does the Springer paper DIE WELT, the mouthpiece of especially reactionary circles in the haute bourgeoisie of the FRG, spare its breath in prophesying to public opinion in the FRG that Eastern Europe is "on the way to a super-Soviet Union." The same paper, deliberately distorting the facts, claims that, in quintessence, certain publications in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had come up with this: "The time is now ripe for the communist countries of the socialist bloc to abandon their own nationality and unite into a new 'socialist nation.'"11

Second: Other adversaries of Marxism-Leninism cannot help recognize the strict protection of state sovereignty in the process of socialist economic integration.

In an article titled "CEMA at 25," K. Bolz, head of the economic systems department at Hamburg's "Weltwirtschaftsarchiv" (World Economic Archive), writes: "The complex program, as up to now all other CEMA activities as well, is based--in its entirety as much as in all its parts--on the principles of state sovereignty, nonintervention, equality and so forth. The right to national planning, the foreign trade monopoly and the right to conclude interstate contracts are not affected by the integration efforts announced."12 And he continues: "Socialist national sovereignty may not be infringed by the integration methods, that is, the autonomy in national planning and management must be fully preserved. All integration principles--including the methods arranged for in the 1971 complex program--must submit to that condition and have done so."13

Similar views have been expressed by W. Kuhn (United States), H. Braeutigam (FRG), J. Caillot (France) and others.

Third: There are then again other imperialist ideologists and politicians who are constructing an antithesis between socialist economic integration and state sovereignty by claiming that "true integration" is possible only by creating suprastate organs. The tendency here of derogating state sovereignty, of declaring it historically obsolete and of finally negating it, is nothing new. Advocates of this thesis are, for example, P. C. Jessup and E. Reves (both of the United States), B. Feron and P. Vellas (both of France) and K. Jaspers (FRG).

The latter declared repeatedly, as long ago as in the early '60's, the renunciation of sovereignty by one nation or the other should have to be looked at as an "act of its own political greatness." He thought political development had rendered the concept of a sovereign state obsolete.<sup>14</sup>

The imperialist concept of state sovereignty as being "obsolete" stands in direct contradiction to social reality and the inevitabilities of social development in our times. It is meant to justify "theoretically" the constraints on and, in the final consequence, the liquidation of state sovereignty for the weaker capitalist countries, their integration with supranational organizations dominated by the main imperialist powers--such as the United States and the FRG.

Curiously enough, accusations of the USSR on its violating sovereignty are coming out of the very circles of the imperialist and anticommunist ideologists mentioned. Though, based on their own imperialist class interests, they hold sovereignty to be of no value at all, they still pose as defenders of sovereignty elsewhere, in socialism. They, of all people, have to be the ones to impute to the Soviet Union, and censure it for, the "establishing" of a policy of a so-called "limited sovereignty" or "confined sovereignty."

The sovereignty of the fraternal states involved in the process of socialist economic integration is, in content and essence, the state sovereignty of the strongest, consistently revolutionary and thus, leading force of the new socialist society: the workers class. It, with its allies, exercises the power in any given socialist state, its interests objectively expressing the overall social interests. It is determined by the class character of socialist state power and codetermined by its international essence. And so it is insured and secured, by the power of the workers class in its own country as well as by the political, economic and military strength of the community of the socialist states as a whole. And so it is "guaranteed in two respects, by the various states themselves and by the common potentials of the socialist community."<sup>15</sup>

Under socialist conditions state sovereignty thus presents itself as "a dialectical unity between preserving sovereign statehood and belonging to the community of socialist states in the interest of the development of this community as well as of each country belonging to it."<sup>16</sup>

A persuasive proof for the soundness of this dialectical connection has been the successful struggle for the general diplomatic recognition of the GDR and its admission to the United Nations. Thanks to the concerted efforts of the socialist countries--mainly the Soviet Union--and the international solidarity of the progressive forces in the world, the diplomatic blockade against the GDR, which imperialism had been able to maintain for more than two decades, was broken completely in the first half of the '70's. Whereas at the time of the Eighth SED Congress the GDR had diplomatic relations with 29 states, at the time of the Ninth Party Congress it had already risen to 121. And in the United Nations and other international organizations, the GDR also works on equal terms with others.

In his Central Committee report to the Ninth SED Congress, E. Honecker rated that as a "success of world socialism, another result of the great international solidary support our workers and farmers state has received."<sup>17</sup>

Through its worldwide recognition, the GDR finds its possibilities vastly expanded for constructively contributing to coordinated actions taken by the fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace, security, detente and social progress and for continuing its solidary assistance to reaching the goals of all the anti-imperialist forces.

There also exists a close connection between state sovereignty and the problem of independence for each individual fraternal socialist country. Autonomous and independent in the elaboration and implementation of its domestic and foreign policy, each socialist country enjoys full territorial integrity and independence.

That, however, by no means exhausts the content and essence of independence in each of the socialist countries. In defining it one must always proceed from V. I. Lenin's important demand that the question of independence be looked at from the standpoint of the class struggle. V. I. Lenin always opposed any concept of independence that would be abstract and neutral in class terms.<sup>18</sup> The content and essence of independence in a socialist state are shaped by the class concept and international character of socialism. And that is why the Marxist-Leninist inquiry must always be: Independence--from whom and for what?

The independence of any socialist state lies neither in "neutralism" nor in an "isolation" with respect to the other fraternal socialist states. What it essentially expresses is, precisely, its political and economic independence from the imperialist states. The successful safeguarding of any socialist country and the protection of its political and economic independence from imperialism are possible only through the power and united efforts of all countries of the socialist community. They are insured only through its entering a close and indestructible alliance with the other fraternal socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union, and by deepening the cooperation with them in every respect.

This experience it is, time and again confirmed by practice, which the leading representatives of the fraternal parties in the socialist community of states kept greatly emphasizing at their most recent party congresses. At the 25th CPSU Congress, G. Husak said: "The decisive prerequisite for the socialist development of the CSSR, its freedom and independence and its life under peaceful conditions are the friendship, alliance and all round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community."<sup>19</sup> And J. Kadar, at this highest forum of the Soviet communists, made this point: "The pillar and guarantee of the peaceful life, undisturbed socialist construction and national independence of our people we find in the fact that our country is a member of the Warsaw Pact."<sup>20</sup> The special role of the Soviet Union was enunciated by F. Castro at the First CPC Congress: "Without the continuous, determined and generous help from the Soviet people, our fatherland could not have stood up in the battle against imperialism."<sup>21</sup>

Its own economic strength and that of the socialist community of states as a whole provide the most important precondition and material foundation for the consolidation and protection of state sovereignty in each fraternal country. In connection with the need for strengthening and securing the real sovereignty of the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin pointed out that without a strong economy, "we are altogether finished as an independent country."<sup>22</sup>

Of crucial importance to a rapid growth of such economic power is that full use is made of the advantages of socialist economic integration. Increasing the degree of interlinking among the national economies of the CEMA countries, the gradual formation of an integrated fuel and energy economy, their jointly securing the raw material base, the deepening of specialization and cooperation in research and production, their joint work in rationalizing and reconstructing the production capacities, and the all round deepening of their reciprocal ties in the process of socialist economic integration bring about the strengthening of the material foundations of their state sovereignty and of their economic, and thus also their political, independence from imperialist states.

This is of vital importance, especially, for the economically less developed CEMA member countries, Cuba, for example, or the MPR.

Accelerated industrialization, without neglecting agriculture, is the central concern of Cuba's First Five-Year Plan, the directives for which were ratified by the First CPC Congress in December 1975. The implementation of this program is being insured primarily by having the most important projects realized in close cooperation with the CEMA countries, mainly the Soviet Union, and with their active help and support.

For example, with the help from the CEMA member countries, two large new nickel mines are being set up with a 30,000-ton annual capacity, one, with Soviet support, at Punta Gorda, the other one, with the participation by all European CEMA countries, at Las Camariocas. When they are finished, Cuba will be one of the most important nickel producers in the world. Furthermore, with the economic and scientific-technical support by the USSR, 21 sugar plants are being completely reconstructed and important plants are being established in energy, transportation, petroleum processing, a sugar-cane combine plant and machine building enterprises. Scheduled for starting operations between 1981 and 1986 are Cuba's first nuclear powerplant--with a 880 MW capacity--and the first integrated metallurgical plant--with an annual steel production of one million tons.

For fulfilling Cuba's industrial program, the GDR, among other things, supplies all the equipment for a cement factory built near Cienfuegos, with a 1.5 million-ton annual capacity, as well as machinery and equipment for the textile and construction industry and for agriculture.<sup>23</sup> Cuba's participation in important socialist economic integration measures strengthens Cuba's economic power and likewise, its state sovereignty.

As concretely set down in the CEMA complex program, special measures by the other CEMA member countries, mainly extensive support from the Soviet Union, are designed to accelerate, and improve the efficiency of, the national economy of the MPR. This has become already most visible in the Darchan industrial complex built with their assistance and in the construction of the Mongolian-Soviet ore processing combine at Erdenet. Here a gigantic complex is being erected for mining copper and molybdenum that will be one of a dozen of the largest enterprises of this kind in the world.

The enterprises set up in the MPR with Soviet support currently produce 50 percent of the GNP, which includes 90 percent of the electric energy, 90 percent of the fuel and 60 percent of the mining products.<sup>24</sup>

The examples given here also clearly refute the contentions by imperialist ideologists and the Peking leaders that the socialist countries are allegedly "subservient to Soviet rule" in the socialist economic integration process. When have "rulers" helped those in "subservience" to align their economic level to that of the former or to strengthen their economic power and its material foundations for the benefit of their own state sovereignty and independence? That has never happened in the past or in the present.

F. Castro, addressing the delegates at the 25th CPSU Congress, said: "Our country is proud of its relations with your great country. They are a practical example of internationalism, mutual understanding, respect and trust. The Soviet Union, in giving decisive aid to our people, has never raised any demands or conditions, has never dictated what we should do. In the whole history of international relations, marked for millenia by egoism and brute force, there have never been such fraternal relations between a mighty and a small country. Only socialism makes such relations among nations possible."<sup>25</sup>

No fraternal country taking part in the socialist economic integration process has transferred its sovereign rights to some supranational organ. The realization of the general and specific tasks of socialist and communist construction always comes by way of the national framework. Every fraternal socialist country enters its integration relations on the basis of its own national legislation and legal order. It is the fully autonomous and sole owner of its means of production and its national income.

CEMA's economic-organizational activity comes in the form of recommendations to the member countries. They are then being adopted in economic and scientific-technical matters, that is to say, in all substantive matters in CEMA activity for which CEMA has been charged by statute. However, CEMA recommendations are adopted only through concurrence with the member countries that are interested in the particular measures at hand. For a country that has declared it is not interested, the recommendations have no validity. Yet it does retain the right to attach itself to them at a later time, and this on conditions to be arranged between the previously interested countries and this country. This flexible formula in the statute enables the CEMA countries to solve all problems without imposing any decision on any one fraternal country that originally had not wanted, for whatever reason, to take part in the joint solution of certain tasks.

That some member country does not participate in some measures thus forms no obstacle to the cooperation among the other interested CEMA countries. The principle of interestedness "insures that no recommendations or resolutions can be adopted in CEMA which might injure the interests of even only one country or provide unilateral advantages for only some CEMA member countries.

The CEMA statute guarantees that not a single decision can be made within the Council against the will of any member country affected by it. The principle of interestedness aims at creating the broadest possibilities for the adoption of coordinated decisions."<sup>26</sup> Thus it both strengthens the unity of the countries participating in socialist economic integration and, with it, guarantees the sovereign rights of each of the countries.

Recommendations become binding through being confirmed by the member countries and by the appropriate notification to the CEMA secretariat (on the day when the last member country has submitted its confirmation). Then they obtain the character of international law accords among the participating states. Their implementation takes place within these states on the basis of orders given by their governments or other competent organs, that is to say, in the outcome of being translated into the terms of law of any of those states.

Nor is the activity of the international economic organizations of the CEMA member countries--a form of joint management, planning and economic stimulation of socialist economic integration processes in selected areas--accompanied by establishing international organs, as little as the whole process of socialist economic integration itself. Each participating country determines on its own the degree and scope of its interest in concrete problems and areas of cooperation.

The fraternal socialist countries have firmly anchored in their multilateral and bilateral agreements and accords their reciprocal respect for the principle of state sovereignty and the other principles of socialist interstate relations.

For instance, the "Basic Principles for the International Socialist Division of Labor" emphasize that the socialist countries, in their all round political, economic and cultural cooperation, "let themselves strictly be guided by the principles of full equality, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, and fraternal mutual aid and mutual advantage."<sup>27</sup>

The complex program for socialist economic integration underscores that the cooperation among the CEMA member countries proceeds "in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, nonintervention in the internal affairs of the countries, complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual aid."<sup>28</sup>

That was corroborated anew by the government chiefs of the CEMA member countries during the 30th Council meeting in July 1976 in Berlin on further deepening and perfecting the cooperation and development of socialist economic integration.<sup>29</sup>

In the November 1976 Bucharest Declaration, the Warsaw Pact member states reiterated their determination "to reinforce steadily their cooperation

based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalist solidarity, respect for the equality and sovereignty of each state, nonintervention in internal affairs and comradely mutual aid."<sup>30</sup>

These principles have also assumed an important place in the bilateral friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaties, vested in them with legal authority.

The socialist economic integration process enriches the state sovereignty of the participating socialist countries. Each fraternal country receives the possibility to help decide matters and share the responsibility for solutions that formerly, all by itself, it could not have decided and that went far beyond the scope of any one country. That pertains, among other things, to the long-term solution of the fuel and energy problem, the accelerated use of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, and investment coordination. This participation, completely voluntary and equal, in the coordination and implementation of integration measures depends neither on the size of any given country nor on that of its resources and its economic potential.

The forms in which the sovereign rights of the socialist countries involved in the integration process are consummated are also changing. They now get the chance to exercise these rights not only in the traditional form, through the state institutions, but also in a new, collective form, by means of participating in the work of the CEMA organs and in the international economic organizations of the CEMA member countries which are putting the common intentions of these countries into effect. It is not possible to agree for that reason with the view expressed by some scientists who find a "voluntary restraint" or a "self-restraint" in state sovereignty by any country in the cooperation in the integration process as it cooperates in the integration process taking place among the CEMA countries, legally through the recommendations and decisions of CEMA and the international economic organizations of the CEMA member countries or in the form of signing bilateral and multilateral treaties.

The Soviet scientist V. S. Shevtsov was right in criticizing that such views did not take into consideration "that, for one thing, not every restraint in competency leads to a restraint in sovereignty; that, secondly, a voluntary self-restraint by a state regarding some of its rights does not affect the essence of state power as such and therefore cannot change its sovereignty; and that, third, international transaction and cooperation among equal and sovereign states has nothing in common with any curtailing of their sovereign rights. Any other interpretation of this matter, it seems to us, is based on a wrong opinion about the nature of state sovereignty and on a distorted notion about the mechanism in which it works."<sup>31</sup>

E. T. Usenko has made the point "that in the process of cooperation among the socialist states an uninterrupted upswing of their economies ensues which, logically, also consolidates their sovereignty."<sup>32</sup> This process leads "to an enrichment of the real and normative content" of the principle of state sovereignty.<sup>33</sup>

P. Fedoseyev has been in charge of the publication of a monograph titled "The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine on Socialism and the Present." There the point is made that in the forms of its exercise and in its content, sovereignty is historically conditioned, that is to say, changeable."<sup>34</sup>

A. P. Butenko likewise, in his study titled "Socialist Economic Integration-- Essence and Prospects," arrives at the following conclusion: "The heart of the matter is that the development of integration has to do with a change in the content and form of the exercise of these sovereign rights but not with confining the scope of these rights."<sup>35</sup>

One must fully agree with A. P. Butenko when he points to the consequences of such notions as a "voluntary restraint" of state sovereignty and draws the following clear conclusions: "First of all it would follow from that kind of approach that the countries' advancing toward communism by means of socialist integration comes about by sacrificing state sovereignty step by step, with greater restraints to state sovereignty, up to its total disappearance, becoming all the more necessary the more the integration process advances. That kind of configuration, where progress becomes a movement that, instead of developing the rights and freedoms of the nation, instead of insuring the consolidation of its independence and sovereignty, restrains them, does not conform to the actual nature of the development of the nations and countries toward communism. Secondly, that kind of approach ignores the historic change in the content and forms of the exercise of state sovereignty. And finally, the fact that some forms exhaust themselves and others develop is presented as if that were a restraint and liquidation of sovereignty."<sup>36</sup>

Already the contours can be seen that indicate the further development and deepening of socialist economic integration will, depending on the economic conditions and on the tasks that have to be solved in common, lead to further gradual changes in certain functions and competencies in the CEMA organs and in the international economic organizations of the CEMA member countries, as well as in the manner in which intentions are formed and decisions are taken within them. Yet in all matters concerning the making of such agreements, a completely sovereign decision by each participating country remains a fact.

The 31st CEMA conference held in Warsaw in June 1977 was a milestone for the further stable and dynamic economic development of the CEMA member countries, the strengthening of the material foundations for their state sovereignty, and the confident advance by the socialist community of states.

At the festival beginning the conference, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the lasting importance of the main event of the 20th century was emphasized, which has fundamentally changed the whole course of human development and initiated a new epoch, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and of the peoples' struggle for complete liberation from all forms of exploitation and suppression and for permanent peace.

In that context again a special point was made of the role of the Soviet Union as the pioneer in the social progress of mankind and as the main force of socialist economic integration. The close fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union is the indispensable prerequisite for the successes achieved and the guarantee for the future successes by each CEMA member country.

The conference gave high praise to the experiences gathered in the fraternal socialist countries through the creative application of the universally valid inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction to their own concrete conditions and in the formation of a new type of international relations among them. Of extraordinary importance furthermore are the determinations by the 31st CEMA conference in connection with the elaboration of long-term target programs and cooperation in important branches of material production which are making more specific, and develop further, the complex program; maximizing the development program for nuclear powerplant construction; implementing the complex program for science and technology and improving the effectiveness of scientific-technical cooperation; fulfilling the obligations derived from the coordination of the national economic plans, from coordinated plans for multilateral integration measures for from 1976 to 1980, and from long-term trade agreements; and the coordination program for the national economic plans for the period from 1981 to 1985.

The 31st CEMA conference resolutions will help in purposefully developing further the socialist countries' fraternal cooperation for the good of their peoples, in further strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states and in enhancing their international authority and influence. They also demonstrate the magnitude of the tasks which the CEMA member countries will have to solve in the process of socialist economic integration in years and even decades to come.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Berlin, 1975, pp 335-336.
2. This remark, however, does not preclude that a state may temporarily become subject to certain restraints in the exercise of particular competencies.
3. Cf. H. Kroeger, "The Class Content of State Sovereignty," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, 1972, No 3, p 455.
4. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 1, Berlin, 1976, p 230.
5. Ibid., Vol 6, Berlin, 1973, p 248.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 24, Berlin, 1974, p 45.
7. Cf. K. Marx/F. Engels, op. cit., Vol 3, Berlin, 1969, p 311.

8. Ibid., Vol 25, Berlin, 1976, pp 799-800.
9. Ibid., Vol 1, p 230.
10. B. Meissner, "Foreign Policy at the 25th CPSU Congress," AUSSENPOLITIK, Hamburg, 1976, No 2, p 135.
11. E. Deschner, "Integration in Gulps--Eastern Europe on the Way to a Super-Soviet Union?" DIE WELT, West Berlin, 21 June 1976.
12. K. Bolz, "CEMA at 25," WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST, Hamburg, 1974, No 6, p 306.
13. Ibid., p 305.
14. Cf. K. Jaspers, "Lebensfragen der deutschen Politik" (Vital Questions of German Politics), Munich, 1963, p 312; "Freiheit und Wiedervereinigung--Ueber Aufgaben deutscher Politik" (Freedom and Reunification--On the Tasks of German Politics), Munich, 1960, p 64.
15. P. Verner, "Workers Class and Socialist Economic Integration," "Fuer das Wohl der Arbeiterklasse und des ganzen Volkes, Ausgewaehlte Reden und Aufsaeetze" (For the Good of the Workers Class and All the People--Selected Speeches and Essays), Berlin, 1976, p 343.
16. H. Sindermann, "Socialist Economic Integration and State Sovereignty," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, 1974, No 6, p 738.
17. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 10.
18. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 22, Berlin, 1974, p 348.
19. "Foreign Guests Addressing the 25th CPSU Congress (G. Husak)," PRESSE DER SOWJETUNION, Berlin, 1976, No 13, p 259.
20. Ibid. (J. Kadar), p 261.
21. "On a Speedy and Complete Victory in the Construction of Socialism--From the CPC Central Committee Status Report," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 20/21 December 1975.
22. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 33, Berlin, 1973, p 412; cf. also Vol 35, Berlin, 1973, p 503.
23. Cf. E. Taeschner, "Cuba Doubles Investments," HORIZONT, Berlin, 1976, No 23 p 22.
24. Cf. H. Kroepelin, "Proven Fraternal Alliance With the Soviet Union," HORIZONT, Berlin, 1976, No 12, p 20.

25. "Foreign Guests Addressing . . .," op. cit., (F. Castro-Ruz), p 256.
26. N. M. Fadeyev, "Der Rat fuer Gegenseitige Wirtschaftshilfe" (CEMA), Berlin, 1975, p 51.
27. "Basic Principles for the International Socialist Division of Labor," "Freundschaft-Zusammenarbeit-Beistand, Grundsatzvertraege zwischen den sozialistischen Staaten" (Friendship-Cooperation-Assistance--Basic Treaties Among the Socialist States), Berlin, 1968, p 272.
28. "Complex Program for the Further Deepening and Perfecting of the Cooperation and Development of the Socialist Economic Integration of the CEMA Member Countries," "Dokumente der RGW" (CEMA Documents), Berlin, 1971, pp 15-16.
29. "Communique of the 30th CEMA Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 10/11 July 1976.
30. "For New Results by Means of International Detente, For Strengthening the Security and Development of Cooperation in Europe--Declaration by the Warsaw Pact Member States," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 27/28 November 1976.
31. V. S. Shevtsov, "The Sovereignty of the Soviet State" (in Russian), Moscow, 1972, p 36.
32. E. T. Usenko, "The Principles of Socialist Internationalism in the CEMA Statute," "CEMA--Basic Legal Problems" (in Russian), Moscow, 1975, p 101.
33. Ibid.
34. Cf. "The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine on Socialism and the Present" (in Russian), Moscow, 1975, pp 347-348.
35. A. Butenko, "Sozialistische Integration--Wesen und Perspektiven" (Socialist Integration--Essence and Prospects), Berlin, 1972, p 58.
36. Ibid.

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STATUTE PUBLISHED ON FUNCTIONS, RESPONSIBILITIES OF MINISTRY OF CULTURE

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[Official text of "Statute of the Ministry of Culture, Resolution of the Council of Ministers," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, East Berlin, 20 October 1977]

[Text]

Article 1

(1) The Ministry of Culture (hereinafter designated ministry) is the organ of the Council of Ministers for the national direction and planning of culture and art in the German Democratic Republic. It carries out its assignments in implementation of the decisions taken by the party of the working class in accordance with the German Democratic Republic's constitution, legislation and other legal provisions.

(2) The operation of the ministry is directed toward:

- Looking after the growing contribution of culture and the arts to the further organization of the developed socialist society and the evolution of the socialist lifestyle by a diverse and inspiring cultural life in town and country;
- Encouraging literature and the arts as well as their socialist ideological content and creating the conditions for the absorption of the humanist progressive cultural heritage of the German people and other peoples;
- Making a worthy contribution to the international culture of socialism by the comprehensive development of the socialist national culture.

(3) The ministry's assignments primarily include the following:

- To encourage the all-round development of socialist personalities by the arts, literature and intellectual-cultural life;
- To ensure the ideological, material and financial conditions for the genesis of new works of socialist-realist art and literature as well as their distribution;

- To guard and nurture the humanist and revolutionary traditions and achievements of the national and world cultures, and to encourage their intellectual absorption by the working people;
- To provide and encourage the conditions for a rich intellectual-cultural life among all working people, the cultivated organization of leisure and cultural-artistic activities as essential factors of the socialist life-style;
- To prepare conceptions and measures for the planned development of cultural life in town and country, especially in the centers of the working class;
- To safeguard the effective protection of the cultural and artistic values of the socialist German nation;
- To develop and organize Sorabian popular culture in accordance with the principles of the German Democratic Republic's socialist nationalities policy;
- To promote suitable working and creative conditions for artists and writers;
- To encourage and train the new generation of artists as well as further educate artistic and cultural cadres;
- By deepening cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries help the adjustment of the socialist nations and their cultures, and encourage the exchange of experiences, cooperation and mutual support in all areas of culture.

(4) Enterprises and facilities are subordinated to the Ministry.

(5) The ministry closely cooperates with other central and local state organs as well as with economy managing organs, assisting them to observe their responsibilities for cultural development.

(6) When carrying out its duties the ministry must ensure the development and utilization of all cultural facilities for the benefit of a socialist cultural life responsive to the rising demands of the working people. At the same time it must comprehensively observe the principle of socialist thrift in the handling of material and financial funds.

(7) The ministry carries out its duties in close cooperation with other central state organs, the Free German Labor Union Federation (especially the Labor Union Art and the Industrial Labor Union Printing and Paper), the GDR National Front, the Free German Youth, the federations of artists and the GDR Cultural League.

(8) The ministry must accomplish its tasks by comprehensively involving its personnel in management and planning as well as ensuring the staff's cooperation in the fulfillment of the plans, especially by way of the many types of socialist mass initiatives.

#### Article 2

(1) The ministry is directed by the minister as per the principle of one-man leadership and the collective discussion of questions of principle. The minister is personally responsible to the People's Chamber and the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic for the entire range of the ministry's operations.

(2) Within the scope of the rights and duties assigned him and in accordance with total societal requirements the minister makes the decisions necessary for state direction and planning in the areas of intellectual-cultural life, art and literature. He safeguards coordination with other central and local state organs. He ensures the consistent implementation of socialist legislation and the observance of socialist legality.

(3) Within the scope of his competence the minister issues orders and implementing regulations. He regulates individual ministerial assignments to the subordinated enterprises and facilities by the issue of directives and instructions.

#### Article 3

(1) The minister is responsible for the planned development of culture and art, intellectual-cultural life and the preservation and expansion of their material funds. He must safeguard the exact organization and supervision of plan fulfillment. The minister ensures the preparation and implementation as well as the central inspection of selected investment projects. He assists the regional coordination of the operation of cultural facilities.

(2) The minister ensures that, in cooperation with the State Planning Commission, the other central state organs and the bezirk councils, scientific forecasts and long-range plans as well as five-year and annual plans are prepared in accordance with legal regulations. He safeguards the unity of material and financial planning.

(3) The minister ensures the efficient use of material and financial funds and their long-range planning consonant with the cultural targets.

#### Article 4

(1) The minister is obligated to explain to the local people's representations and their councils the decisions taken by the party of the working class and the Council of Ministers and to discuss their implementation. He

ensures assistance to the local state organs in the development of the citizens cultural life. The minister safeguards the utilization of the most progressive experiences. He therefore regularly holds discussions with the council members responsible for culture at the bezirk councils and involves them in the preparation of decisions.

(2) Within the scope of his responsibility the minister assigns to the council members responsible for culture at the local councils the tasks designed to safeguard the standardized national direction of culture and art; he issues the instructions pertinent to such assignments.

(3) The minister ensures the implementation of the tasks arising from legislation and other legal provisions as well as the decisions of the authorized organs for socialist national defense, including civil defense.

(4) The minister ensures regular supervision and inspection in the field of culture and art. This is concerned especially with the

- Steady improvement of direction and planning;
- The all-round fulfillment of economic and budget plans as well as the supply of cultural performances;
- The systematic development, training and further education of cadres;
- The comprehensive development and utilization of all reserves;
- The observance and enforcement of legal regulations and the principles of order and security.

#### Article 5

(1) The minister determines the key points for the development and perfection of the citizens cultural life and looks after their realization. He ensures the planned proportional development of the cultural and artistic facilities and sectors subordinated to the ministry and assists the local councils in the discharge of their responsibilities in this field. To this end he ensures the coordination necessary with the heads of the appropriate central state organs.

(2) The minister assigns the bezirk councils mandatory topics for cultural activities. He confirms the sphere of operation and the performance profile of bezirk administered cultural and artistic facilities.

#### Article 6

(1) The minister guarantees the standardized politico-ideological work of the publishing trade and the business administration of the publishing houses

and book wholesalers and retailers subordinated to the ministry, the appropriate production of books and brochures at the highest possible ideological and artistic quality--while simultaneously developing purposeful diverse literary propaganda in accordance with the principles of the German Democratic Republic's cultural policy.

(2) The minister confirms the long-range and annual thematic plans of publishing houses and the allocated distribution of printed products on the basis of a long-range oriented literary policy; he decides the policy to be adopted with respect to licences and issues the permission to print items not subject to licence.

(3) The minister is responsible for the standardized direction and coordination of all basic principles involved in library administration.

#### Article 7

(1) The minister ensures the standardized politico-ideological and economic direction of all sections of movie production (beginning with planning and ranging via production to the distribution of movies), with the aim of encouraging the genesis of new films of all kinds in accordance with the growing ideological and artistic demands of the developed socialist society, realize the central organization of repertories, promote cooperation between the State Committee on Television and DEFA [German Film Corporation] for the benefit of the greatest possible cultural effectiveness, and ensure and develop as planned the material-technological basis for movie production and distribution.

(2) The minister confirms the production thematic planning of the DEFA studios.

(3) The minister is responsible for the national admission of all films used in movie theaters.

#### Article 8

(1) The minister safeguards cooperation with the corresponding state organs of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the benefit of the steady improvement of the internationalist content of cultural life, the further development of artistic creation and the reciprocal enrichment of the socialist national cultures.

(2) Within the framework of the guidelines established by the Council of Ministers, agreements concluded as well as working plans, the minister is responsible for the standardized direction and planning of international relations in the field of culture and art. In coordination with the Minister for Foreign Affairs he guarantees the conclusion and implementation of working plans and provisions in compliance with the obligations arising from agreements and long-range plans of cultural and scientific cooperation.

(3) The minister safeguards the fulfillment of obligations arising in the cultural field from the German Democratic Republic's membership in UNESCO. He encourages active cooperation in international cultural organizations and societies.

(4) The minister is responsible for the preparation of the German Democratic Republic's accession to multilateral international treaties concerning cultural, artistic and literary matters.

(5) The minister decides the dispatch of artists and intellectuals to other countries and ensures the appropriate preparation. He decides on the admission of artistic and cultural specialists from other countries for the purpose of training and education as well as involvement in the practical work of cultural facilities in the German Democratic Republic.

#### Article 9

(1) In realization of the standardized socialist cultural and educational policies the minister is responsible for

- Professional training in culture and art;
- The development of artistic advanced and professional schools;
- The preparation of the requirements for the training of artistic, cultural and art historical cadres.

(2) In coordination with the appropriate state organs the minister ensures the preparation and operation of the educational conception consonant with the ministry's functions. Within his competence he determines the main direction of the development of the professional and qualification structure.

(3) The minister is responsible for the direction of the advanced and professional schools subordinated to the ministry, while closely cooperating with the Minister for University and Technical School Matters.

#### Article 10

(1) The minister is responsible for the preparation of standardized principles of cadre work in the field of culture and art. He instructs the facilities and enterprises subordinated to him and, in cooperation with the bezirk councils, ensures the standardized enforcement of the principles of socialist cadre policy. He looks after the preparation, the employment and the ongoing work with the senior cadres in accordance with the nomenclatures decided by him; he especially encourages and supervises the political and specialized development of women and juveniles and the employment of women in senior positions.

(2) Together with the central executives of the Labor Union Art and the Industrial Labor Union Printing and Paper the minister agrees measures for the promotion of women and, together with the central council of the FDJ, measures for the training and education of juveniles as well as the choice of youth projects. He also ensures the direction and supervision of the enterprises and facilities subordinated to the ministry in the matter of preparing and fulfilling youth promotion plans.

#### Article 11

(1) The minister is responsible for the management of the budget, foreign exchange and finances, the planning of the supply of cultural performance and the improvement of quality exports by the enterprises and facilities subordinated to the ministry as well as for the observance of financial discipline. He ensures the orderly preparation, exact classification, fulfillment and supervision of plans, checks the establishment and use of financial and material funds and confirms quarterly cash plans.

(2) The minister is responsible for the direction, implementation and supervision of costing and pricing as well as the observance of price discipline. He issues specific calculation directives and other special price regulations, and he also confirms industrial prices for new or further developed products of importance to the economy in accordance with the state nomenclature. He ensures the analysis of price development and of the effect of prices as well as the supervision of price calculations and the observation of confirmed prices.

(3) In the area of culture and art the minister safeguards the standardized direction, enforcement and supervision of socialist labor legislation. On the basis of state quotas and plan targets he is responsible for planning the labor force, the efficient utilization of the labor time fund and the principles of national wages policies including the development of the premium, cultural and social funds and their utilization.

(4) In cooperation with the executives of the appropriate labor unions or industrial labor unions the minister provides the prerequisites for the full development of the initiative and creativity of all personnel, provides the basic orientation for the conduct of the socialist competition, the innovator and rationalizer movements as well as the preparation of enterprise collective contracts. He also safeguards the implementation of the sociopolitical measures.

(5) The minister ensures the compilation of a rationally organized and standardized information system for planning, accounting and statistics.

#### Article 12

(1) In the field of culture and art the minister is responsible for compliance as planned with the requirements of scientific labor organization. He

ensures the issue of accountable targets for the specific assignments of scientific labor organization and of key points for labor studies, the organization of work and work standards as well as for the rationalization of administrative work.

(2) The minister exerts influence on the organization of the working and living conditions of those employed in his competence, especially in connection with measures of socialist rationalization. When preparing and carrying out the principal orientation of socialist rationalization he cooperates with the local state organs and the central executives of the Labor Union Art and the Industrial Labor Union Printing and Paper. He must include in the reporting of heads of subordinate enterprises and facilities the tasks involved in the improvement of working and living conditions, order and security, discipline and neatness.

(3) The minister exerts influence on the organization of jobs and job conditions, ensures the observance of the requirements of safety and health, enforces measures to ease physical heavy and injurious work, supervises supplies for personnel, especially shift workers, and supervises the subordinated enterprises and facilities in the implementation of measures to ease conditions for working wives and mothers.

#### Article 13

(1) The minister decides the functions of enterprises and facilities subordinated to him and confirms their statutes, structural plans and tables of organization. He is responsible for the rational organization of their management and organization and for the steady perfection of their work.

(2) The minister is responsible for the instruction and supervision of managers and regularly calls them to account. The minister is authorized to instruct the heads of departments and personnel of the ministry. He alone is entitled to issue directives to the heads of subordinated enterprises and facilities. The minister is authorized to cancel the latter's orders if this is required for the better accomplishment of tasks or the enforcement of socialist legality.

(3) The minister is responsible for the selection, development, training and qualification and further education as well as the employment of cadres in the ministry and the senior cadres of enterprises and facilities in a manner consonant with the leading role of the working class and as per the nomenclature. He is equally responsible for the establishment of the cadre reserve. He appoints and dismisses senior cadres in accordance with the cadre nomenclature he has established. He is the disciplinary superior of the department heads and personnel mentioned.

(4) The council is the minister's advisory organ. It assists the minister by counseling him especially on basic matters regarding the development of the intellectual-cultural life, art and literature, long-range planning,

five-year and annual plans, the socialist competition and the rationalizer movement as well as the further improvement of the working peoples working and living conditions. The functions and modus operandi of the council are established by order of the minister. The minister is chairman of the council.

(5) The Council for Culture is a central advisory board for the minister. Its members are representatives of other central state organs and social organizations, artists, intellectuals and working people from industry and agriculture. It is designed to deal with important ideological, cultural forecasting and conceptual problems of culture and art in the development of the socialist national culture. The functions and method operandi of the Council for Culture are determined by an order issued by the minister. The minister is chairman of the Council for Culture.

(6) The state secretary is the permanent deputy to the minister. In case the minister is prevented for exercising his functions, the state secretary takes on his rights and duties.

#### Article 14

(1) To deal with its tasks the ministry is subdivided into main administrations, main departments and departments. The skeleton structure and the table of organization are confirmed by the Council of Ministers.

(2) The minister issues operational and functional plans to establish the responsibilities of his deputies, the tasks of the structural units and the ways and means of their cooperation as well as the responsibilities of heads of departments and personnel.

#### Article 15

(1) The ministry is a legal entity and budgetary organization. It is domiciled in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic.

(2) In legal matters the ministry is represented by the minister. The state secretary, deputies to the minister and heads of the main administrations, main departments and departments are authorized to represent the ministry within the scope of their competences. Personnel of the ministry or other persons may represent the ministry within the scope of authorization assigned them.

#### Article 16

(1) This statute takes effect upon publication.

(2) Losing effect at the same time is the decree of 21 November 1963 on the Statute of the Ministry for Culture (GBI II No 110 p 865).

EAST GERMANY

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF REAR SERVICES TROOPS CITED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 119, 6 Oct 77 pp 3-4

[Article by Lt Gen Helmut Poppe, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the rear services: "High Performances for the Realization of the Class Mission"]

[Text] As the struggle goes forward these days and weeks everywhere in our socialist homeland to honor Red October with further realization of the resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress, the members of the National People's Army [NVA] and the Border Troops of the GDR know that they are called upon by the party of the working class to protect and defend this great work with all their power and even at the risk of their lives. All resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress and their rich in initiative, responsible realization are class and combat missions for all members of the socialist society. Each in his place contributes with his actions to the realization of the word of the party of the working class.

The soldiers of our people take an active part in this struggle. They do justice in high quality to their specific military responsibility. Can there then be a clearer proof of the trust in the correctness of the policy of the working class than the daily and hourly deed for socialism? Our soldiers speak little but they keep their promise and carry out, as the Ninth Party Congress requires, their duty "to secure under all conditions a high fighting power and combat or operational readiness for the protection of socialism and peace as well as guaranteeing territorial integrity, inviolability of state frontiers and the state security of the GDR."

With Higher Effectiveness for Increasing Advantages

In realizing the military class mission assigned to us by the party of the working class, the significant factors in socialist industry and agriculture such as effectiveness, intensity, initiative and creativity are also in demand with us and are of decisive significance. The principle of achieving the highest efficiency with the least use of forces and means also applies without reservations to our socialist armed forces.

This requirement is realized in particular by all servicemen and civilian employees who do justice to their class missions in the units and installations of the rear services of the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR. The particular accent of these factors generally typical for the economic area results because work productivity through work of the rear services is directly transformed into combat power and exactly here the degree of dependency between timely and rapid supply as well as maintenance of technical combat equipment and weapons and combat readiness is particularly clear.

The extensive task of material, technical and medical support of troops is without dispute under the present state of the revolution in military affairs. The members of the rear services of our socialist armed forces will, with consideration of the total social development, do justice to exactly this mission so significant to combat readiness with great initiative and creativity. As in the national economy, our army also typically has warehouses, workshops and other installations in which turnover processes occur, repairs are made and other preparations for allround supply of the troops are accomplished.

If one recalls that in the course of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Union required a million tons of material for a single operation, the Berlin one, it is not difficult to imagine how much supply of the troops under conditions of modern combat requires. The members of the rear services of the NVA and Border Troops of the GDR are also aware of this responsibility and therefore they compete for the highest performances in socialist competition.

If, for example, improved technology has permitted an average turnover increase of 10 percent in the warehouses of our army this year, then this is proof that our servicemen and civilian employees work by the motto "that achieved is not yet that which can be achieved."

If this general evaluation is investigated somewhat more closely, the relationship between increasing supply performance and increasing of combat readiness becomes even clearer. Through periodic changes in ration norms there has taken place in the corresponding supply installations of our army an increased goods turnover in food and devices in the realization of measures to improve the working, service and living conditions of servicemen and civilian employees. This increased goods turnover was mastered with an unchanged number of workers. The average turnover per head increased by about 8 percent in past years.

#### Initiative and Creativity of Innovators Led to Many Improvements

If the question is posed as to how these successes were achieved with the same number of workers, the "secret" must be sought in the initiative and creativity of our people. The required work was rationalized and technologies repeatedly reinvestigated and improved with much consideration.

Equipment was put into operation particularly where it was a question of decreasing or totally eliminating hard manual labor. Considerable financial and material means have already been saved thanks to the deserving work of many innovator collectives. Many technical improvements influenced the work of the rear services to a significant degree.

It was also possible to continually increase work productivity in the workshops indispensable to our army. Vehicle maintenance specialists changed work flows and technologies. As a result of these and other improvements the shop time of vehicle equipment was decreased by 20 to 25 percent and scheduled incoming vehicles of certain types are today immediately exchanged for an already repaired vehicle of the same type and these comrades have, moreover, also assumed a six-month guarantee in the volume of work performed by them.

If the considerations and initiatives of members of the rear services relative to realization of their class mission are determined by the goal of guaranteeing timely and high quality supply of the troops, then, of course, problems of material economy and thriftiness also play a significant role. Thus the appropriate specialists in the diagnostic centers are casting about for an increase in oil change times. Moreover, the capture of secondary raw materials has for years been characteristic of the activity of work collectives in the most varied installations of the rear services.

In the collectives of the installations of the rear services there are also, depending on the type of work, the "notices about the plan," the "quality game" is displayed by many specialists and "60 good deeds for the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution" determine the competitive spirit in many brigades.

Also in the effort "to build the cheapest kilometer," "to drive the cheapest kilometer" or to start initiatives for regeneration of blocks and components of special equipment, soldiers, noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, officers and civilian employees of the rear services are on "Combat Course 77" and striving to be "always alert, full strength and combat ready."

Our comrades, whether servicemen or civilian employees, have the task of always intelligently and thriftily operating and employing the means made available to us by the workers with high efficiency for the further increase of combat power and combat readiness. This process does not always take place without conflict. But in every case personal interest for total acceptance of personal responsibility is essential in the realization of the military class mission. The members of the rear services of the NVA and Border Troops of the GDR have grasped exactly this, the more so as in these days an important stage in socialist competition for the celebration of Red October is approaching its end and, in the words of Army General Hoffmann, our minister for national defense, "from the highest conquered, the next peaks to be mastered will be more quickly visible."

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POLAND

JOINT POLISH-FRG DECLARATION ON MUTUAL RELATIONS ISSUED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Nov 77 p 2 AU

[Joint Polish-FRG declaration on mutual relations and international problems-- released in Warsaw on 25 November]

[Text] PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek and FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt reviewed all aspects of the relations between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG and expressed their satisfaction that crucial progress had been achieved in many areas.

Both sides stressed the fundamental role of the treaty of 7 December 1970, the great significance of the agreements of 9 October 1975 and of the joint declaration of 11 June 1976 and the full implementation of them for the successful continuation of the process of normalization and the further development of mutual relations.

Both sides stressed their determination to make more efforts on the basis of the treaty and the agreements in favor of the all-round development and deepening of mutual relations.

In this connection both sides confirmed once again the intention expressed in the joint declaration of 11 June 1976 to intensify their political dialog and mutual consultations on bilateral and multilateral issues. The sides emphasized the significance of top-level meetings for the mapping out of the main direction of and for providing new stimuli for the further development of relations and mutually advantageous cooperation. Both sides assessed positively the development to date of contacts between social organizations and people of both countries and expressed themselves in favor of continued support for these contacts. Bearing in mind the positive results of the first meeting of the forum of political and economic officials, scientists and publicists from the two countries held on 13-16 June 1977 in Bonn, both sides hailed the plan to hold a similar meeting in Poland next year. They also supported the initiative to set up a forum of the youth of both countries.

The two sides stressed once again the importance they attach to the expansion and deepening of economic and industrial cooperation, which is one of the basic pillars on which the relations between Poland and the FRG rest. They positively assessed the results achieved in the cooperation so far and emphasized their readiness to pay particular attention to the question of broadening economic relations and the intensification of industrial cooperation in the future too. They stated with satisfaction that last year and this year mutual trade has developed positively and that a more balanced turnover has been maintained. They confirmed the necessity to continue further active cooperation for the improvement of the structure of trade and the achievement of a more even trade balance between the two countries, with the trend being to raise the turnover. The two countries see the possibilities of achieving this, above all, in the complementary nature of their national economies.

The two sides highly appreciated the progress achieved in industrial cooperation since the visit paid to Germany last year by PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek, above all, the start of the implementation of the copper program as well as the progress in preparing plans for the chemical processing of coal. In this connection the sides emphasized the importance of long-term and comprehensive economic plans implemented in both countries to intensify their economic and industrial cooperation in keeping with the decisions of the accord signed on 1 November 1974 on developing economic, industrial and technical cooperation; the long-term program for economic, industrial and technical cooperation signed on 9 October 1975, and the agreement on the further development of economic cooperation signed on 11 June 1976. The two sides stressed the importance of the activities pursued in this connection by the government mixed committee and its working groups.

Assessing the present state of economic relations and prospects for their future, it was stated that, despite a favorable development of these relations, not all the possibilities available have been utilized so far. Both sides expressed great interest and readiness to support cooperation between enterprises in such domains as the machine, chemical, textile, power, automation, agricultural, food and timber industries as well as the extraction and processing of raw materials. Possibilities for cooperation exist also in the production of ship equipment and housing construction.

The two sides also intend to support the development of cooperation in third markets and, in particular, in the construction of industrial plants and undertakings in the field of economic infrastructure.

The two sides consider that the memorandum on the expansion of economic cooperation between medium-sized and small firms in Poland and the FRG signed during the visit of the FRG Chancellor will support and facilitate the participation of medium-sized and small enterprises of the two countries in cooperative undertakings.

The two sides also stressed the need for utmost efforts to support cooperative undertakings. In keeping with this, they will try to eliminate to the best of

their abilities and powers all the difficulties hindering the further development of economic cooperation.

The two sides consider that cooperation in the field of the power industry in Europe should be supported and developed. This concerns in particular the production and international transportation of power. This would be favorable to bilateral cooperation in the power industry, which aroused the interest of the PZPR first secretary and the FRG federal chancellor.

The two sides intend to achieve cooperation in the field of scientific research and technological development. They consider that the conclusion of a government agreement in this domain would be purposeful.

The two sides stressed the importance of cultural relations for mutual understanding between the two nations. They stated that these relations are developing positively. Both sides expressed their conviction that the agreement on cultural cooperation in force has set up an important basis for the further development of cultural relations.

The two sides stated with satisfaction that the efforts to promote a better mutual understanding have resulted in an increasing number of cultural functions and in an extension of the forms of the information about the cultural life of the other country. They intend to continue to support these efforts in the two countries.

Both sides expressed their conviction that the unprejudiced education of the younger generation in the spirit of mutual esteem and understanding is an essential prerequisite for the successful coexistence of the two nations. They stressed the important role played in this field by schools and teachers. Both sides praised the recently published recommendations of the Joint Commission for School Books and praised the progress achieved in both countries in school teaching as a result of these recommendations. However, they agreed that it is necessary to make further intensive efforts to achieve the common aim--the education of the young people in a manner that is free from prejudices and serves mutual understanding. They expressed their determination to do all they can to this end.

Both sides stressed the fundamental importance of the increasing understanding between the younger generations of the two nations for the future of mutual relations. They welcomed the further development of contacts between young people and their organizations in the two countries. In particular, they welcomed the already initiated cooperation between the Federation of the Socialist Unions of Polish Youth and the Federal Council of German Youth. They confirmed their intention, expressed in the declaration of 11 June 1976, to conclude an agreement on exchanges of young people and to support efforts to set up joint youth centers.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the development of a basis of legal treaties regulating the relations between Poland and the FRG can favorably

influence the further development of bilateral relations in all domains. It was, therefore, decided to hold talks in the near future between the legal and consular departments of the two ministries of foreign affairs.

Both sides stressed that they attached great importance to creating in the two countries a full and objective image of the other partner. They expressed their conviction that more objective information about mutual relations and the partner country will continue and be consolidated. They express the view that this helps create a neighborly climate and is beneficial for solving the joint tasks of the Polish People's Republic and the FRG in the area of deepening mutual relations and insuring peace and security in Europe. They expressed their readiness and resolution to determinedly utilize all the possibilities for action along these lines.

PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt discussed at length the international situation. Issues of detente and disarmament were the main subject of this exchange of views.

Both sides confirmed the strong and unchangeable resolve of the Polish People's Republic and the FRG to serve, through their actions in the international arena, the efforts to insure lasting peace, to strengthen security and comprehensively to promote an equal and mutually advantageous international cooperation.

Both sides agreed that, in accordance with the goals defined in the final act of the Helsinki Conference, the process of detente should be broadened and strengthened and should be of a progressive and lasting nature.

PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek and the FRG federal chancellor stressed the historic importance of the CSCE and its Final Act. They agreed that the strict observance of the principles of mutual relations among the CSCE states and the complete implementation of the Final Act throughout Europe constitute a foundation of lasting peace and an extensive development of cooperation. This is why they declared themselves for the implementation of the CSCE Final Act as a whole both in bilateral and multilateral relations. Both states will take action in favor of the broad development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation in Europe, which could be further served by the conclusion of a skeleton agreement on cooperation between CEMA and the Common Market.

Both sides expressed the hope that the Belgrade meeting of representatives of the CSCE states will bring positive results and will contribute to the intensification of the process of detente as well as to the further development of comprehensive cooperation among them. The two states will participate energetically in this and will cooperate to achieve this goal.

PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt emphasized the principle that political and military aspects of security must

supplement each other. Taking into consideration the increasing need to achieve progress in the field of disarmament and the limitation of arms as well as to support international efforts, the two sides, aware of their responsibility for the consolidation of peace, decided to have a further exchange of views on these issues through plenipotentiary representatives of their governments.

PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt pronounced themselves against the continuation of the arms race, which is taking the extremely dangerous and costly form of a technological race. They stressed the firm resolve of the Polish People's Republic and the FRG to act in favor of curbing and halting the arms race in the world. They stressed the indispensability of specific measures in favor of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The Polish People's Republic and the FRG stressed the particular significance of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on strategic arms limitation for the consolidation of world peace and expressed the hope that they will bring forth positive results soon.

The two sides stressed the important role played by the Vienna negotiations on mutual forces and arms reductions and the steps to be taken in central Europe in this connection for the process of detente in Europe. They are determined to contribute to the success of these negotiations, whose results should correspond to the interests of all countries and contribute to the creation of more stable relations.

The Polish People's Republic and the FRG welcome the decision to convene the special session of the UN General Assembly on the issue of disarmament and are resolved to help make it a constructive meeting which will achieve crucial results that will facilitate the intensification of negotiations and the solution of disarmament problems. They express the hope that the special UN session will favor to further disarmament talks throughout the world with the participation of all UN members.

Conscious of the danger to the cause of peace and international security and the related possibility for spreading nuclear weapons, both sides are resolved to observe strictly all the decisions of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and to promote universal observance of this treaty.

Both sides will also support further efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms, without curtailing the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Both sides stressed the great importance of a complete ban on nuclear tests. They support the efforts to this end and express the hope that the negotiations in this connection and those on a moratorium on underground nuclear blasts for peaceful purposes will be completed successfully.

The Polish People's Republic and the FRG expressed their resolute support for the aims and principles of the UN Charter and declared themselves for strengthening the United Nations and its positive role in solving conflicts and in creating foundations for a just international cooperation, one that makes allowances for the interests of all states.

Both sides expressed their intention to support the developing countries' participation in international economic cooperation on the principles of equal partnership and to contribute as far as possible to the economic and social advancement of these states.

Both sides are agreed to the need to intensify further international cooperation, especially in the United Nations and other international organizations--a cooperation facilitating the working out of effective means to guarantee the security of civil aviation and to prevent and combat air piracy and the taking of hostages.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the fact that a comprehensive exchange of views on bilateral and international matters had taken place. They are convinced that the visit paid to the Polish People's Republic by FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has substantially contributed to the development of relations between the two countries, to the deepening of their cooperation and to the growth of mutual trust as well as to the strengthening of detente and cooperation in Europe.

[Signed] Edward Gierek, PZPR first secretary; Helmut Schmidt, federal chancellor of the FRG.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

DAILY DISCUSSES TASKS OF UPCOMING PZPR CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 77 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Approaching the Second National PZPR Conference; in an Atmosphere of Work and Responsibility"]

[Text] The Second National PZPR Conference will take place at the half-way point between the Seventh and Eighth Party Congresses. It will assess the past implementation of the resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress and set tasks for the final years of the current decade. Therefore, as First Secretary Edward Gierek said at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the National Party Conference will be of "decisive importance to the implementation of the program of the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses and to translation of the vision of a modern, rich, just Poland into reality."

Preparations for the conference are an evaluation of achievements and at the same time the definition of what is before us, the utilization of analyses and determinations of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, discussions and recommendations from the report and elections campaign, and efforts aimed at the full implementation of current tasks. Each party member, every party organization, and the whole party today are asking themselves the question: "What for the conference?"

This question is socially important. It is a question which concerns the means and methods for full execution of the party's program, a program laid down for the whole decade 1971-1980. An evaluation at the half-way mark, between congresses, is a valuable element of the strategy of the 1970's, a permanent method of party work, and is undertaken to grasp all the strong and weak points of operation, in order on the basis of it to point up the most effective means for further action under the current conditions. We want to fully carry out the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses, and wherever socially necessary we want to even exceed the indices projected.

Today we have the same goals as we had at the beginning of the 1970's. We are inculcating the same strategy: We want to break through the country's ages old backwardness and make up for lost time, to strengthen the power of

Poland, and to raise our standard of living. Within the framework of this same strategy, which is oriented to the good of the country and its citizens, we are seeking the best ways, under the present circumstances, of accomplishing our ambitious goals. The goals have remained the same, but the conditions have not. Toward the end of the last five-year period there occurred complications and tensions which were difficult to predict. Hence, the economic maneuver was undertaken, in order to implement the most important socioeconomic goals, despite the more difficult internal and external conditions and in the face of the existing tensions and difficulties. Hence, the regrouping of forces and resources and the transformation of the economy, because it is a question of matters which are very important to the society: of more apartments and of more items on the market and for export, of eliminating tensions and evening out the economic front, of stabilizing social life.

The conference, in January 1978, will be the next stage in the evaluation of the maneuver, and at the same time an evaluation of the past implementation of the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses. We must come to the conference with not only a full understanding of its importance but also an analysis of the first results, a concept of the further deepening of it. We must come with the internal conviction that the regrouping of forces and resources in the economy, which is always difficult, often painful, and sometimes requires wise resignation and incessant selection, is the one way to carry out the party's program. Under the present conditions there is no other way, and the program, a concrete, material program oriented towards people, despite all sorts of difficulties, must be carried out. We are undertaking the maneuver on behalf of the implementation of the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses, in the name of our strategy. Could we talk about continuing it without, through the regrouping of resources, a realized concept of improving the market situation, or without the dynamic development of housing construction, inasmuch as both of these problems are presently among the most significant social issues?

The success of the maneuver depends on the committed, active attitude of the whole party and of all patriotically-minded citizens, on a consistent assessment and control of the course of it wherever it is being accomplished.

An important element in the preparations to the Second National PZPR Conference therefore is the deepening of the party's control function in both this and other areas of socioeconomic and political life.

The question: "What for the Second Party Conference?" is also a question of how the party is discharging its control function, how it drafts concepts and how it carries them out.

We are bringing to the conference a substantial contribution in this regard. Let us recall that the essence of the preparations for the Ninth Party Plenum was a general assessment and evaluation of the resolutions of the Fifth and Sixth Party Plenums. The effect of the plenum work is a full, honest

evaluation of the current conditions and developmental tendencies in the economy. On the basis of this certain actions are taken, and corrections are made in practical applications. Many important evaluations and concepts include past results of the work of party-government groups created at the Fourth Central Committee Plenum last September. The report and elections campaign is an important element of preparations by the party for the National PZPR Conference. Its past course shows that there has been an increase in activity in the party ranks. Lively critical discussion brings new accents into the existing analyses and aspirations and makes it possible to note and eliminate things which stand in the way of the country's development and which are a nuisance in daily life.

The strategy of the 1970's, which tied economic growth in with an active social policy and a rapid rise in the standard of living, has become a source for the acceleration of development, and it has brought our economy up to a qualitatively higher level. There is no way to miss this. At the same time, if we look at certain areas of our life, there is no way to miss phenomena and matters which are difficult, often disturbing, often irritating, open to opposition, phenomena which go along with our life at work and after work. For example, let us mention the problem of the market and tensions in the supply of certain items. Let us mention the phenomenon of speculation, bribery, and corruption. Let us take the economy in work establishments and institutions, and the still too frequent lack of elementary thrift and order, violation of work and wage discipline, the low level of work organization, and ordinary carelessness and disregard for economic theory. Let us take the sphere of human relations and asocial attitudes noticeable here and there: the desire to fix oneself up at all costs, even at somebody else's expense, log-rolling, favoritism, the use of "pull" and personal connections.

The First Secretary said at the party conference in the Katowice steel mill: "Honest people expect us, expect the party, to be decisive in combatting all manner of injustice. It is in just these honest people that we should seek support... Refusal to compromise with evil is the first step toward active, constructive action, provided that it enjoys the support of organized strength, party organizations, the workers' self-government, trade unions, youth organization, or vocational group."

Socioeconomic progress means many things. It also concerns the whole very complicated and complex sphere of human relations. This is a tremendously important realm in party work. How do we take advantage of the virtue we find existing in the society, the refusal to compromise with evil, the virtue of fighting all evil, all sort of impropriety and injustice, all sorts of phenomena inimical to socialist human relations? How do we use it in the current situation, when it is a question of combatting the present difficulties and tensions in the economy? This problem, which was strongly emphasized at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and also during the report and elections campaign, should be concretely reflected in the course of the deliberations of the Second National PZPR Conference.

Our party answers not only for the general concept of the country's socio-economic development but also for the achievement of it, for the choice of means and the people insuring the implementation of the goals, methods, and means of operation. This is the reason for the rank of the party's organizing role in its daily operations.

The question "What for the conference?" therefore also pertains to the effects of this year's plan and the concept of next year's.

Every day and every hour count. The industrial production achieved during the 10 months of this year represent 83.2 percent of the annual tasks of the national plan. Compared to the same period last year, we are 1.2 percent ahead, but we must not be satisfied with this. It is worth remembering, and we must remember, that these generally favorable results are accompanied by certain production shortages keenly felt throughout the economy, especially on the market. During the period discussed, 160 enterprises failed to carry out the operating production plans, and production shortages of this sort total 4.9 billion zlotys. In certain regions the housing construction plan is in danger. Behind this state of affairs are various factors, many of which are very complicated and to a certain extent objective. On the other hand, we must make every effort to reduce these shortages to the greatest possible extent and to equal the plan wherever possible and carry out the plan. Above all, the question is that of housing construction and the production of foodstuffs and industrial market commodities. Even now, in December, the final month of the year, we can and must do a great deal. What is needed is the full mobilization of the workers, redoubled dedicated work on the part of each of us, at each work station. In terms of production, each day is essential to us, to the society. Members of the party and party organizations bear special responsibility.

Execution of the tasks this year should be a good point of departure for the difficult task of next year's plan.

The conference will be held right at the beginning, in the first month of its implementation, and it is a question of coming to execute the plan without anything on our backs to stop us, of making a proper assessment of the degree of difficulty and of evaluating its significance in accomplishing the tasks of the whole decade 1971-1980.

What concretely does this mean? Let us mention, for example, the following: We must bolster the rank of the plan, as Lenin put it. We must treat the economic plan as the "party's program translated into the language of numbers," and at the same time build up social initiative for its complete execution and, where it is justified, for exceeding it. We must monitor wage and income discipline, fiercely combat all excesses in this area, and at the same time create conditions for raising the standard of living. We must watch costs, strengthen the power of the zloty by reducing the social costs of manufacturing, combat conspicuous consumption, and require of producers

first of all that they acquit themselves of deliveries of so-called standard goods, of good quality, products needed by the most numerous groups of the society.

It is also a question of introducing the targets of next year's plan into every workshop, and place of employment, of making people aware of the direct relationship between work quality and reliability at a given work station and the rate at which social needs are met, between social effort and effect, in the form of commodities, goods, and services which are needed and desired.

These people and their actions determine the extent of the improvement in the market situation and of the projected implementation of the concept for improving supply as provided for in the plan. These people and the consequent behavior determine the inculcation of the concept of reducing increases in the cost of living and the concept of wage and price discipline, as contained in the resolutions of the Ninth Party Plenum and in the plan. The operating effects, after all, depend not only on financial outlays, techniques, and technology, but also on how each of us behaves, on the way in which we do what is assigned to us, and on how we work in our own area.

Hence, the evaluation of our joint contribution must contain an element of self-evaluation on the part of each party member. This is one more important task facing the Second National PZPR Conference.

A final excerpt from the First Secretary's address to the Ninth Central Committee Plenum: "...So, then, on with the work, still better, more effective work. Without putting off till tomorrow what we can do today."

Work and conference, conference and work: better, more efficient, more effective. This is the mandate authorizing participation, the answer to the question: "What for the Second National PZPR Conference?"

10790  
CSO: 2600

JOURNAL VIEWS DECLINE OF COOPERATIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 47, 20 Nov 77 p 5

[Article by Franciszek Nasinski: "Cooperative Self-Government Is Not a Topic of the Past"]

[Text] Let us bring back to mind the once popular slogan: cooperatives are a school of socialism. Reality, regrettably, does not indicate that the level of schooling is adequate in this respect. Trends leading toward alienation of the cooperatives from their own environment have been coming into view for a fairly long time, particularly in the urban cooperatives. In due time, they reached the countryside and encompassed a part of the agricultural cooperative structure and the social and economic organizations functioning there.

As concerns the supply-and-sales cooperative structure, this appeared to be so energetic and dynamic an organization, economically powerful and deeply rooted in the villages' life and traditions, that "transforming" it was bound to be difficult. By skillfully adjusting to the requirements of a prevailing situation, gmina cooperatives endured nearly 30 years with a basically unchanged form and organizational structure, and under a single leadership. They even survived the earlier organizational reform of the 1950s and the division of the country into village units [gromada], retaining the adjective gmina in their name. Firmly based on self-government under whose control and supervision they operated, they accurately and flexibly adapted the scope and forms of action to meet the needs of the environment they were supposed to serve.

Yet the communal cooperatives were unable similarly to resist detrimental transformations, which resulted in a substantial decline of their self-government. What were the reasons for this development? While trends toward concentration and centralization of decision making were being strengthened in the supply-and-sales cooperative organization, at the same time the role and significance of self-government were forgotten. To make matters worse, even the recent reform of the country's administrative division did more harm than good to the rural cooperatives, contrary to expectations. This was

avored by the fact that many persons active in self-government were transferred from one cooperative to another according to distribution lists with merely formal compliance to the requirements of the statute.

The legal situation has basically remained unchanged. After all, the same law on cooperatives is still in effect. The practice, however, has changed. Self-government, therefore, was not liquidated. It passed away on its own.

Why did that happen? This question will perhaps be answered at some time by experts who will examine the facts and draw conclusions from them. Yet even now it is useful to offer a tentative evaluation of this phenomenon.

Although the trends observed in the cooperative movement are broader in character, it is worth taking a look at these modifications as reflected in the rural self-government, since it displayed exceptional vitality in the organizations and institutions serving the countryside.

In principle, the role of self-government consisted in persuading the management of organizations and institutions to execute the guidelines and directives of their superiors in a manner that would heed the interests of the members contracting with them. Thus, self-government acted preventively, and its role in this area, more significant than one could have expected, is now even more clearly visible than in years past. After all, it used to be impossible for a chairman taking operational decisions to be looking only to the top to authorities superior over him. One-man or collective management represented by the board had to expect that their failure to seek a golden mean and skilfully reconcile the tasks assigned from the "top" with the desires of the "bottom," in other words, the members and clients, would be more or less harshly "reviewed" at the nearest session of the council, or--if the council proved to be too "soft" during its fast-flying year term--they would have to confront a general membership meeting. Indeed, the boards were elective, and though in practice chairmen performed their duties uninterruptedly for a dozen years or decades, nevertheless they were obligated to renew their mandate in a way. In effect, they had to watch their step in order to combine skilfully the possible with the necessary under the threat of losing, or at least undermining, the community's trust and their own personal prestige. Maintaining this delicate balance was of far-reaching practical importance. The chairman of a GS [gmina cooperative] could not allow the feeds in the warehouse to get spoiled. He had to sell them to the farmers even if this was not altogether in accordance with the regulations. In case of need a self-government body would authorize him by a resolution to make a decision of this kind, protecting him from possible consequences as well.

It is an intriguing question why, despite so extensive a sphere of activity and its vital role, self-government has actually lost its importance and the area of influence although its formal status has not changed. Why do

hopelessness and resignation loom up even in the ranks of old and tried activists?

There are many reasons. However, the fundamental one was that, on the one hand, self-government was incapacitated and deprived of the sphere of influence it formerly enjoyed, and on the other hand, the managing bodies and institutions became independent of the influence of self-government and the membership opinion. Slowly but consistently and, where needed, bluntly--self-government was forcibly reduced to an insignificant fixture, though one provided for in the script. This led to pseudo-activity. Such a situation is acceptable for full-time salaried employees of a cooperative, but it cannot be accepted in good faith by persons who work as volunteers. The latter, once they have found out that their work is futile, pick up their hats off the rack, pull them over their eyes and set off for more fruitful pursuits.

Perhaps the weakening of the role of self-government was also due to the gradual biological loss of the old corps of cooperative activists who habitually treasured self-government on all levels from a store committee to a communal cooperative, formerly PZGS [County Administration of Rural Commune Cooperatives], to WZGS [Voivodship Association of Rural Commune Cooperatives] up to, and including, the central organ. At times, even extreme opinions were voiced, e.g. that Tadeusz Janczyk, for many years chairman of the CRS "Samopomoc Chlopska" [Central Agricultural Union of Peasant Self-Aid Cooperatives] exaggeratedly "solemnified" self-government, creating--from the standpoint of the proponents of more efficient, managerial methods of operation--a fair amount of unnecessary difficulties in carrying out certain schemes or implementing some decisions.

In retrospect, it can be said that it was purposeful action. In fact, self-government "handled" a much more important issue. In the course of frequently heated discussions solutions were born, permitting optimal--under a given set of conditions--linking of the interests of members with the interests of the organization and, to put it in broader terms, the interests of the individual with those of the community, or social interests.

Recently, attempts were made to explain to me that the trends towards resource concentration and decision centralization, including the cooperative movement, are becoming increasingly visible all over the world, in the Western countries among others. My interlocutor was polite enough not to declare that I was downright underinformed, far from being in the swim of things, and unaware of what was going on in the world. For good measure, he just tried to prove that I was old-fashioned.

Well, he was right, as far as the facts were concerned, although he forgot that "over there" there are different mechanisms of self-regulation, such as competition, as well as numerous organizations, professional and social

associations that balance the "pressures." In the first place, the mechanisms of decision-making are different: the laws governing the market operate in a somewhat different way as well.

Each society must develop social mechanisms specific for itself under the threat of upsetting the balance and in effect disrupting the process of its harmonious development.

Under our system, cooperative self-government performs an important role as a factor of society's supervision over the activities of many cooperative and governmental institutions, liberating a creative initiative in the people that enables the citizens to manage the country.

I dwell on the arguments allegedly bearing out a trend toward modernization since they are becoming fairly common in some circles. It is my belief that such claims are misguided: no such comparisons can simply be made between a socialist and a capitalist society, first of all, because of principal differences in the fundamental objectives of these political systems. Progressing democratization of the political, social, and professional life is a fundamental principle in our country, and it is indispensable for the development of the country, the society, and the state.

Therefore cooperative movement has not outlived its day. This statement is by no means a consequence of an irrational world outlook and a penchant for succumbing to entrancing, though outdated, concepts. This view is simply dictated by reality. Experience has proven that excessive centralization of decisions and absence of the society's control are not conducive to their optimization.

It can be said that conclusions have already been drawn from these negative experiences. Switches have been shunted. There was an impassioned discussion of self-government on the forum of the National United Front Committee. A nationwide conference at the Office of the Council of Ministers was devoted to this problem. The role and tasks of self-government in the life of villages were deliberated at the plenary session of the Chief Committee of the ZSL [United Peasant Party]. The role of self-government and its development were recently repeatedly commented on in plenary party sessions.

Self-government activities are by no means a subject of the past.

8795  
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## JOURNAL DISCUSSES SCHMIDT VISIT, RECENT FRG EVENTS

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 48, 27 Nov 77 p 2

[Article by Dominik Horodynski: "Chancellor Schmidt's Visit"]

[Text] FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has been in Poland on an official visit since 21 November at the invitation of Comrade Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. This is an important visit for Poland and the FRG as well as for the entire process of strengthening peaceful collaboration in Europe. It was to have taken place at the end of September 1977, but it was postponed then on the chancellor's decision on account of the memorable dramatic events taking place in the FRG and the political tensions connected with these events in Poland. The Polish quarter demonstrated total understanding of the situation surrounding the chancellor, who--it turned out before long--had to wage an exceptionally difficult political battle to protect the FRG from the violent pressure applied by dangerous reactionary forces. Helmut Schmidt exhibited calm, composure, and consistency in this struggle. Acting jointly with the leaders of the SPD and the FDP, he got the best of the confrontation with Strauss and his allies, which at least for a time is strengthening the position of the coalition government. The chancellor came to Warsaw almost directly from the SPD congress in Hamburg, where--when it comes to the foreign policy of the FRG--the line symbolized by the names Willy Brandt, Schmidt, Wehner, Bahr and, from the FDP, the names of President Scheel and Minister Genscher was fully confirmed.

Poland's relations with the German states were never an issue concerning these interested parties exclusively, since too much in Europe depended upon these relations. They can be traced throughout the entire millennium, but it is sufficient to be familiar with the past several scores of years, during which this dependence was revealed the most distinctly. The aggression of Hitler's Germany against Poland produced not only a European but also a world war. The revisionist policy of the FRG towards Poland, among other countries, was for long years one of the more important elements of the Cold War and the tension of Europe and the world. And the friendly

relations between Poland and the GDR were, in turn, a factor counterbalancing that tension. At present, Poland's relations with both German states are essential elements of the state of affairs defined as Europe following Helsinki, a state whose essence depends upon the arduous, not uncomplicated, but nevertheless effective building of a climate of collaboration and trust.

Therefore, Helmut Schmidt's visit is an event on a European scale, since the development of rapprochement and collaboration in a zone where tension reigned not so long ago affects the situation in Europe to a considerable degree.

This follows from the role which our countries play within their own political groups and in the international arena in general. And this role is comprised of such factors as political activism, a system of alliances, military potential, the range and degree of economic development, and the significance of the economy beyond our own borders.

Poland and the FRG are aware of the roles which they play in Europe and the world and are conscious of the importance of their mutual relations. If nothing else, the plan and course of talks between Helmut Schmidt and Edward Gierek and of the plenary sessions of both delegations attest to this awareness. Aside from the essential issues concerning our bilateral relations, matters from the sphere of world policy and European policy occupy an unusually large place in these relations. What is involved here is not merely a routine review of problems, called an "overview" in diplomatic parlance; it also serves to clarify mutual positions. In matters in which both countries succeed in taking a joint position or in bringing their attitudes closer together, it will be possible for them to work towards a positive resolution of these matters either jointly or in a parallel fashion. As greater and greater progress is made in normalizing relations between our countries, the plane of understanding becomes ever broader.

It is clear that the effectiveness of this action on behalf of peace and detente depends upon the quality of the bilateral relations between Poland and the FRG and upon the progress made in normalizing them, which was begun with the agreement of December 1970. The FRG chancellor's visit comes slightly less than 7 years after the conclusion of this already historic agreement. It allows a certain summation to be made which transcends the viewpoint designated by the fickle moods of current events. Now, even if we get away from those 7 difficult years for a moment, it is enough to compare the state of our present relations with the point from which we started in 1970 for our evaluation to come out on the plus side. We have made decided progress, and we are working towards further progress.

It was difficult to anticipate that the normalization process would be entirely a chain of successes, an unceasing march forward. Too many obstacles still stand in its path. To a large extent they are understandable feelings

on both sides, feelings and resentments which sometimes are manifested in spite of rational reasons, and it would be unwise not to perceive them and to proceed as if they did not exist. In examining Poland's relations with the FRG, it is impossible for us not to observe that defined political forces exist there which are opposed to the process of gradual rapprochement implemented by our countries and governments. These forces are actively hindering this process. The ruling coalition and the government led by Helmut Schmidt must consider them when actions are taken.

Anyone who has visited western Europe in the past months and weeks or who has followed the French, Italian, or English press lately knows what harsh criticism the FRG has come under from the mass media means of countries which are its allies. It began with the matter of Kappler's escape from an Italian prison, and other events came later. Some of these voices of criticism were one-sided, and others were inconsistent, since they were seeking in the terrorist groups values which these groups do not represent. With this reservation in mind--it refers only to some opinions, and Social Democratic writers and FRG journalists have disputed it aggressively--it should be stated that the throwing off of its disguises by the extreme West German right simply horrified Europe, left-wing forces, and the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. The Polish mass media means appeared more composed during this period. This followed both from our greater confidence in the durability of the coalition government in Bonn and from our awareness that those Germans in the FRG who wanted to listen to us knew well the principles according to which we could and wanted to normalize our mutual relations. On the other hand, this circumspection on our part had nothing to do either with the indulgence of the threats of the right in the FRG or with the underestimation of the danger which they could pose to peace in Europe. These threats come from the same incurably sick and arrogant forces of Great German chauvinism which made it impossible after the war to have a thorough accounting for the past in West Germany--for which that country is still paying a high price--and which, coming alive every now and then and obtaining broader social support again and again, weigh heavily upon the political and moral position of the FRG. It was precisely in a clash with them that the coalition government of Helmut Schmidt won its particularly difficult duel.

Please allow me a personal note here. A couple of days ago there fell into my hands a book published recently, in which, not without amazement on my part, I found a mention of my article from nearly 30 years ago. In this article I made an appeal that a friendly hand be extended to progressive German political and culture-promoting forces. Poland was different then, and the whole world was different. I remember that, for the first time in my life, I received a huge avalanche of indignant letters then. I was young, a beginning journalist; like most Poles I had endured very tragic war experiences, and many of the people who condemned me in their letters knew about that fact. I endured these letters with difficulty. For although I was sure that political reason was on my side, I began to have doubts as to

whether or not it was I who should come forward with it publicly. For in Polish-German matters, the connection between reason and political evaluations, on the one hand, and moral evaluations, on the other, possesses singular force. And when after many years in the company of Polish and West German journalists I saw then-Chancellor Willy Brandt place his signature, in the hall of the Palace of the Council of Ministers in suburban Krakow, on a document opening a new chapter in history between Poland and the FRG, it was not only a moment of political satisfaction, but something even more, something of another order. I had a similar feeling--of course I have learned that politics, and especially international politics, is not fond of feelings--in Helsinki, when late at night after a long talk Edward Gierek and Helmut Schmidt clasped hands on the threshold of the Polish embassy. Later came the momentous visit of the Polish leader to the FRG and the important provisions connected with it. Of course, when the first Polish-FRG forum took place this year, we clashed bitterly in Bonn; it was a positive quarrel, for it was aimed at constructive conclusions, but it was not devoid of difficult and painful elements.

Helmut Schmidt knows the dossier of Polish-FRG matters well. He knows how delicate these matters are. Above all, he knows--he expressed himself on this subject several times in words worth bearing in mind--that the past cannot be rubbed out or forgotten, but that it has to be conquered with joint, consistent effort. This truth is understood by the peaceful forces in the FRG, which include various social circles and also some of the CDU workers and part of the electorate of this party. Therefore, it was good that the chancellor included a stop at Auschwitz and at Westerplatte in his visit despite a tight schedule.

Edward Gierek and Helmut Schmidt know each other well already; they have held many frank and long talks, and they recognize and respect each other. The Polish leader is receiving the chancellor of the FRG seriously and openly. Broad public opinion in Poland sees in this visit an important moment for both of our peoples and for the peaceful future of Europe.

8729  
CSO: 2600

NATURE OF FUTURE ARMED CONFLICT FORECAST

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 77 p 20

[Article, unsigned: "If an Armed Conflict, What Kind?"]

[Text] ... The rocket motors will start buzzing and the missiles with nuclear warheads will lift off towards the attacked country. From the other side the anti-missile missiles will take off to meet them and the no less threatening intercontinental missiles will be on their way too. Already during the first nuclear missile exchange the strategic attack will penetrate the rear area to a greater or lesser depth and the war actions will cover the total territory of countries involved in the conflict. During the first nuclear missile attacks, both the aggressors' and the retaliatory ones, the important industrial, administrative and political centers of the one side and of the other will be destroyed. The transportation and communication systems will be paralyzed, hundreds of cities destroyed, thousands of villages burned, millions of people killed and wounded and there will be smell of burning and ominous emptiness over enormous areas to complement the scene of the first strikes...\*

This is a vision of a possible modern war. The basic characteristics of such wars are fully covered in the defense readiness manual. Therefore, to conform to our principle of not repeating of the contents of the manual, today's "lesson" is devoted to answering the questions which are usually asked in class (we obtained these questions from the defense readiness instructors).

First a caveat: there is no clairvoyant who can define precisely the character of the future war. There are, however, some matters on which, if not all then almost all, experts in the field are in agreement. An example is the universal opinion that a war in Europe, which is at the point of contact of the two main military groupings, would become a world conflict that would develop into a nuclear war. But let us return to our questions:

1. How long would a modern war last?

\*H. Michalski, "The First 100 Hours of the Nuclear War", Warsaw 1969

It is generally believed that the era of longlasting wars, such as World Wars I and II, is over and that a modern armed conflict would be short. For instance, the NATO strategists are of the opinion that a conflict in Europe would last up to 30 days if conventional weapons were used and a few days if there was a massive use of nuclear weapons. This does not apply to some local wars as exemplified by the Vietnam war.

2. Why is the defense of civilian population of special importance?

Each successive war increases the losses of civilian population. Namely:

in World War I, 9,8 million persons died out of which the civilian population losses amounted to 5 percent;

World War II consumed 52 million victims out of which the civilian population constituted 48 percent;

in the Korean war (a local war) 9.4 million persons perished (that is almost as many as in World War I) and the civilian population amounted to 84 percent of the losses;

in the Vietnam war the disproportion of losses was even greater, the civilian population constituted 90 percent of the killed. These figures speak for themselves.

3. A related question: Why is the modern armed conflict not limited to clashes of armed forces alone?

Obviously, it is a truism to state that the modern war overflows the confines of armed forces clashes. This is the result of the objective and the nature of the war. In the past wars, the objective was to defeat the enemy's armed forces because this sufficed to occupy his territory or to impose political concessions. The rear areas far away from the front were excluded from the combat zone also because of the limited capabilities of the means of destruction in those times.

Now the situation has changed radically. The war aims are extreme and the modern total war would be a struggle of life and death between two opposing social systems; imperialism would do everything not only to weaken but to destroy the socialist system. This means not only the effort to crush the armed forces but also the destruction of the rear areas with their population and industrial base. Implementation of such an aim is made possible by the modern means of destruction.

4. What is decisive for victory -- man or technology?

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of technology on the modern battlefield but the visions of wars run by pressing buttons are simply embarrassing. There is only one answer: victory will be decided by the man having at his disposal modern weapons and able to use them skillfully.

The character of modern war demands from man the greatest sacrifices, great courage and enormous physical and psychological toughness. This is a subject by itself, so here we will note only that the modern battlefield affects human psyche to a still unknown degree. The war in the Middle East provided an example: almost every tenth Israeli wounded soldier required psychiatric care because of battle shock. And after all, it was a war where the nuclear weapons were not used.

Until recently, some futurologists suggested that on the modern battlefield the commander will be replaced by a computer. Today, even those most fascinated by technology back away from such opinions because, yes, the computer can perform complex operations with the speed of lightning but it cannot pose a new problem or a new task in the changing situation and is devoid of imagination, intuition and initiative, characteristics possessed only by man. Thus, to sum up: the computer is indispensable because the man needs its help but decisions can be made by men only.

Considering that the level of battle technology is about even in the most advanced countries of the world, it must be emphasized that the final success in the armed conflict will be decided by men.

5. Which types of weapons will play the decisive role? Modern forecasts give their due to the nuclear weapons but at the same time they do not treat lightly the other means of war. In a sense, the nuclear weapons increase the importance of other weapons for instance of armor, without which it would be impossible to occupy the terrain where an atomic attack was made.

The switch to rockets in all armies of the world indicates that the rockets will be the "queen" of the modern battlefield inasmuch as all branches of armed forces are equipped with them. At the same time, it turns out that the rockets did not make obsolete the air power or even the tube artillery as demonstrated by the wars in the Far and the Middle East.

While discussing war experiences it should be noted that, for instance, the Far Eastern conflict made visible the importance of air defense, especially the army air defense. In the Vietnam war, the Americans bet on the helicopters. The numbers speak for themselves: from 1961 to 1965 the US helicopters flew over one million sorties. There were operations in which the involvement of helicopters was exceptionally great (for instance in the operation Attleboro 250 helicopters flew about 40,000 sorties and moved, among other things, 40 battalions of soldiers). At the same time, the same war brought the renaissance of the "poor man's weapon" -- the guerilla which proved to be unexpectedly effective in the clash with the modern war machine.

Of course, the experiences from these conflicts cannot be considered definitive because, first, they were local wars and, second, the environment in which they were conducted was completely different from the European environment. Nevertheless, it can be said with assurance that the modern war cannot be won with one type of weapon even if that weapon is the most powerful one.

ROLE OF CULTURE IN SOCIALIST POLAND DISCUSSED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 46, 12 Nov 77 pp 1, 9

[Expanded version of a speech by Jozef Tejchma at the awarding of diplomas to laureates of prizes at the Ministry of Culture and Art, 26 October 1977: "Culture Enhances Poland"]

[Text] The leadership of the PZPR and the government of Poland invariably place culture among the overriding concerns and objectives of their programs. This position is subsumed in the system of values constituting the foundation of the Polish and socialist way of life. In our resolutions and pronouncements we usually mention such guiding ideas of our actions and strivings as building a strong economy, raising the living standards, promoting equitable social relationships, perfecting democracy, elevating education and enriching culture. Yet if one of these goals could be chosen as ultimate, it would undoubtedly be a high cultural level.

Of course, we do not view culture as an escape from real and often all too elementary human needs that should be better satisfied. When speaking about culture, we do not assume a condescending attitude toward the economy. To the contrary, it continues to be our vital need to mobilize the society's energies by all accessible means, including those of culture and art, in order to gain greater objectivity of our efforts and activities in the socioeconomic advancement. However, we are able to picture to ourselves the boundaries of rational and justified satisfaction of people's material needs, whereas no boundaries of this kind can be traced out in the spiritual development.

During intermission of a performance of "King Lear" I once heard a writer say, in connection with the events on the stage, that literature or art do not transform life, but merely reflect it as if in a mirror, and the major problems continue to remain valid, including the problem of evil. However, one could ask: what would our life look like without the ageless, untiring labor of art crying out against the domination of the baser aspect of the human nature and social systems.

Even here let us affirm our conviction that socialism is and can always be an optimal combination of all forces that improve our life--political and artistic, those of the workers' as well as intellectuals, governmental and social. Through proper consensus and alliance we can work a lot of good for our country.

In this connection, particular importance would be taken on by the authorities' and political elements' retaining a continued and permanent understanding of the point of view represented by the intellectuals, authors and artists, and conversely: those groups of our society should understand the complex long-range problems as well as the current ones that dominate the exercise of the function of government. Such attitudes will prevent excessive differences in people's approach to the society's life, often reduced to some persons' thinking in terms of everyday matters, while others lock themselves up within the sphere of so-called eternal problems, valid in our entire future.

In the present situation this can be illustrated by opinions currently voiced in publications, discussions and conversations: removal of the immediate difficulties in our life is a precondition for moral progress, or conversely, moral progress will become a source of increased economic efficiency. It is fairly certain that both contentions jointly, rather than one of them, are true, which leads to the conclusion that there should exist a joint platform of responsibility of the political sphere and cultural sphere for our domestic advances in all areas, for joint campaigning against the evil, rather than blaming its existence on the other side, which is a fruitless practice, though one that excessively burdens human minds and attitudes at this time.

Socialism as a social movement has grown out of the working class, whereas socialism as a science was formulated by the outstanding minds of the 19th and 20th centuries. This cannot be regarded as a mere historical fact for it is also an important clue for the present and the future as well. Our party continually reaffirms in [omission, top line p 9] not only as a beautiful tradition, but foremost as a great developmental force of socialism, particularly under the conditions of a revolutionary change in the educational level of the entire society.

All the necessary conditions are available for the separate social functions--the exercise of authority, cultural, artistic and scientific creativity--were performed in an alliance with concomittant understanding of specific ways of fulfilling their calling by diverse groups and forces in our society provided, however, that actions contradicting the fundamental goals of our system and foremost interests of our state are abandoned.

The classical and still valid slogan of the worker-peasant alliance has been in practice supplemented with an alliance with the intellectual forces, broadly understood as human creativity.

The 1977 prizes for artistic creativity are important as insight into the information about the current status of cultural life in Poland.

This can be synthetically defined in several points. The first phenomenon is the creative vigor of our communities generating events of substance in all domains of culture and the arts--literature, theater, film, music and graphic arts. It is a source of satisfaction that the past period brought outstanding creations--and significant statements--from all generations of our culture, including those whose names had gained prominence decades ago as well as those who won recognition fairly recently.

Secondly, emphasis must be placed on a trend, shared in the output of this year's laureates, represented by their concern for human destiny and matters of this nation in the spirit of supreme humanistic, civic and social traditions of Polish culture. Thus conceived, this shared trend in the creative output constitutes a general course of our cultural policy, guaranteeing the authors the liberties and freedom that are a prerequisite to progress in culture and art. This statement can be reversed to say that the condition of our current creative activity proves that it enjoys an atmosphere favoring its development. To maintain and perfect this climate is a joint responsibility of all those who occupy themselves with cultural matters, creators as well as activists. With due respect to the paramount complexity of cultural creativity, the concept of this responsibility must comprise the rejection of whatever oversteps the bounds of our policy and ceases to be culture and art to become instead destructive politicking directed against our political and legal institutions.

Finally, it should be stressed that along with the formulated cultural policy our creativity is characterized by a strong bond with the cultural heritage and pioneering explorations, multiplicity of form and richness of substance, as well as varied philosophical inspirations.

Among those receiving the awards are teams and individual activists who have made great contributions to local cultural activities, expanding the readership, arranging contacts between artists and the worker communities, or enhancing music appreciation. This work is particularly important from the viewpoint of a cultural policy whose self-imposed task is to have the peak achievements of art shared increasingly by all, rather than function in an elitist manner. Let me use here a comment of one musician who remarked that, as in the past, only a few people know that Chopin or Beethoven were geniuses and a method must be found for wider audiences to continue discovering them for themselves. This pertains to culture in its entirety.

Let us again jointly recognize that culture constitutes a powerful force participating in the overall effort to build our life, in the spirit of the only program that has real and actual existence, formulated by the Polish United Workers Party of which I am a member and activist.

An observation can also be offered that whenever we receive foreign visitors, not excluding prominent persons, in Poland we invariably feel during our meetings and talks with them like representatives of a cultural superpower, if this term can be applied to culture. It is precisely for this that appreciation is due to all those who safeguard our cultural values, enrich our culture with their creativity, and promote its universal character.

Culture enhances Poland in the most appropriate manner for the times in which we live, at the same time enriching our international contacts, participates in developing Poland's friendly coexistence with all of her neighbors, and strengthens the solidarity and energy of the forces of progress and peace in Europe and the world.

8795

CSO: 2600

JOURNAL SCORES CULTURAL POLICY SHORTCOMINGS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 49, 3 Dec 77 p 7

[Article by Jozef Konarski: "We Are Counting Without Demagoguery"]

[Text] In the letter of condemnation published in POLITYKA No 44, Tadeusz Marczyński asks that we stop throwing money away on culture. Throwing such phenomena of contemporary culture as the observance of vocational holidays (teachers' day, business day, foresters' day, and so on), days of culture, education, and the book and press, festivals and small celebrations into one bag, the author sums up all these things together as the same, saying: "We are looking for untapped reserves. We are holding down expenses. We are drawing in our capacity and looking at our capabilities with a stewardly eye. How much is this growing mass entertainment in the country costing us? How is it interfering with our work? These are the very uncontrolled channels through which our money is flowing like water out of a faucet, and we must finally cut off these leaks," he ends his prosecutorial remarks to the reader.

On the subject of the financing of culture, there are more or less two "schools of thought" which continue to come into conflict with one another openly and consciously.

The first school of thought uses the following line of reasoning: culture is a simple function of the basic of the economic, objective determinants of societies' life. Successes or difficulties in this area directly or indirectly effect in the superstructure. This is therefore thinking with which nothing can interfere, with the exception of excessive generalization and inexactitude.

The second school of thought starts with similar reasoning, and goes into detail, usually so-called selected ones, and on the basis of them expresses trivialities and simplifies the relations between the economy and culture, portraying the latter as its own special "freebie," the exaggerated aesthete which bows and scrapes for the public penny, the result of which somehow are not needed by anyone and do not serve anyone. Presentations and shows which culture puts on, according to advocates of this school of thought, are something on the order of expensive knick-knacks.

Tight economism in the realm of culture blurs and disturbs the evaluation of cultural activity in our country. The posing of questions of the "What is it all for" type, why we should put on a festival or celebration which costs 10,000 zlotys and "doesn't bring in a dime," must sometimes be replaced, if we want to talk about things and discuss them seriously, with questions concerning the meritorical value of these presentations, their scope, and their social effect. We must ask about the relationship between the expenditures incurred and the real needs.

Of course there is demagoguery in the accusations I sometimes receive that "a preschool could have been built with this money." True, if we had not built a house of culture, we could have built a preschool or housing, but, for example, instead of a reciting contest or a national graphics competition we would not have been able to build new shops or dwelling units with even the best of intentions.

But, demagoguery aside, we must say that the "vulgarizers'" accusations created out of "civic concern" were not formulated out of whole cloth, and surely are not always the result of ill will or created solely out of malice. They stem from the following phenomena which accompany the processes of the popularization of culture and have for some time, phenomena which I would boil down to the following:

Pseudosplendor and the special sort of sham brilliance given to many of our cultural deeds, often judged as some sort of waste of resources and human effort.

Improper social focal point to which various actions and drives are directed, outdated or on the other hand overly novel techniques for projecting them. The latter are often judged as "stupid" from the border of the happening and frauds, when in many groups there is, sometimes unconsciously, an attitude toward art as though it were something sacred.

Underdevelopment of complex thinking causing efforts to be dispersed over various drives which seem to happen separately; for special holidays they are located in more important places, closer to the administration, but for everyday, they are farther away. In the field even the most genuine, mass-oriented social needs are often left without support or interest.

Failure to consider the negative social assessment of phenomena which, although they are peripheral, do exist in cultural activity, poor work organization, unjustified material and prestige benefits obtained by units and groups, the encroachment of subcultural behaviors (toasts, banquets on the side, pursuit of support and fine careers) to important valuable major currents related to the popularization of culture.

Of course, this list above is not exhaustive, because it is not a question here of scrupulousness and scruples. Every professional, and even every observer on the sidelines, can add to the list.

The principles in effect throughout the economy, like the principles of thrift, careful management, deliberateness, and responsibility in decision-making, must not be foreign to the people who provide answers daily to question of how to achieve the established goal of cultural policy under the specific conditions of the national economy, and it is just this that implies the necessity for responsible thinking concerning economic relations in the area of the popularization of culture, thinking, and decisionmaking in the properly conceived interests of both the artists and, perhaps above all, the recipients, for combatting the phenomena of waste, volunteerism, and the squandering of limited resources. Let us refer here to practical examples, of course, those which uses a model situation.

Jubilees. Institution A is celebrating an anniversary. In order to commemorate it and add luster to it, many actions are taken. Some of them are at least unnecessary if not grotesque, and they are not the result of needs for really grounding in the social mind the contribution, moral authority, and prestige of the institution. There is a program for special guests, for the rather important people, and for the so-called "yeomen." Participation of the latter is limited to attending a general assembly and to the artistic part. Guests who hold more elite invitations attend sumptuous programs which often last several days (and nights). These people often have a loose contact with the institution, not a binding one. The group of expensive gestures towards them, however, has the characteristic of winning over the guests for their support and influence, the actual scope of which nobody really knows exactly. Places are reserved in hotels, whose reception desks suspend operations for a few days owing to "lack of rooms." The elaboration of jubilee (commonly called "jubles") with many unnecessary, costly activities has grown as a custom. On these occasions medals are struck and the celebration of the occasion takes several kilograms of the energy of people of which the plant does not have a surplus. Dissertations are printed, books for "internal use," and the purpose of them basically is to give the most exhaustive possible list of people who "made their contribution." "The Republic will pay" for all the rooms that went unused in the hotel, for the halls that were rented, for the presentations to the small elite groups, for the surrounding arrangements of exhibitions, and so on.

It is not just today that festivals are a subject of criticism concerning cultural activity. At festivals the costliness proves to outweigh the real (and not the alleged) cultural functions. The issues are complicated. Contemporary cultural policy not only in Poland but in most of the highly advanced countries is giving priority not without reason to mass-oriented activities, presentations with large impact and an audience of many thousands, but whatever matters are like in the realm of real needs and the artistic level, we must agree that most of the presentations called festivals are accepted by the public. Festivals have their permanent rather broad circle of patrons, some rank in professional criticism and milieus of artists. It would go down badly if they were eliminated, as degrading the contribution and rank of the facility which hosts and puts on the festival, sometimes year after year.

On the other hand, the "map of festivals" represents for me an example of a sort of conservatism and organizational inertia. About 10-15 years ago various festivals grew up out of the inventiveness and genuine initiative of various elements which took on the responsibility for them. At the time there were festivals with relatively cheap events. They exploited, in the good sense of the word, the enthusiasm and commitment of concrete groups and used their social enthusiasm and ambitions.

For several years I have been observing the organizational monotony and special convergence of all the festivals. I would perceive the transfer of decisionmaking elements to auspices outside the festival, a factor which bears the fruit of a very inflated budget for all these productions. Around our great Polish national festivals there have developed certain groups of professionals with various specialties, professionals who are not related to any local facility but earn a constant income from these presentations. Local organizers have fallen into subordinate roles under this system, their opinions being regarded rather negatively as examples of provincial thinking, and responsibility for the ongoing operations of the festivals has been dispersed among so many outside decisionmakers that in this state of affairs nobody is responsible for setbacks or reverses. We can only reward success. Festivals done by these same people, often attracting the same people to carry them out, have lost their originality. Instead, they gain ever greater propaganda effects.

The issue is a little paradoxical. In the period when the various festivals were new and just getting into swing, propaganda was not very important. When the affair had already become known, became recognized, and tickets were hard to come by for the most interesting events, then advertising and propaganda, which represent a very large item of the budget, took on dimensions befitting the U.S. presidential elections. Advertising is now put up in even distant places and on weed-infested lawns. Special newspapers, brochures, hand-outs, folders, information leaflets, and so on are run off. It often seems as though the festival itself is something of secondary importance, merely serving as an occasion for spectacles in this area.

Books. The next area where economics could fundamentally come in and have substantial success, not so much immediately as strategically, I think, is the complex, confused group of issues related to publishing policy. In order to avoid falling into repetitions and boring statements already known I will restrict myself to listing the following suggestions:

In the end we must get to the point where the book trade always has the basic items, if only the most elementary canons of our national and world literature. This issue has already been brought up, so many times and justified -- this has been with little result -- that we must find a solution in the name of economic principles. The fact of the bookstores' continual lack of supply of items like "Pan Tadeusz" and the "Trilogy," for which editions of thousands do not suffice, is really distressing.

As soon as possible, being guided by the very principles of economics, we must resolve the problem of the inhibited production of so-called "glued books," or paperbacks, a factor which the library system even now is feeling to be heavenly dispensation which creates losses and makes the shortage of paper worse. Owing to its very short life, the glued book is an unsuitable item for a book collection designated for many years of public use. These books must be replaced by books which appear more expensive, those with permanent bindings, printed on papers which will not fall apart after a little while.

Alongside the broadly proclaimed sporadic drives, like the Decade of Socio-Political Books, we must look at the question of popularizing this type of literature from more than the standpoint of formal statistical results. Things have been going badly for the popularization of so-called "socio-political" books for some time. The extended timeframes of the publishing cycles, the absence of rapid printing, and the burdened distribution system have been creating a situation in which the book shops have shelves of many different items, but the titles are often out of date, and they disappear slowly, mainly through institutional buying, which does not serve anyone or help to do anything but "fulfill the plan."

"And this would be all," but I think it would be enough to bring the sphere of culture dissemination organizations into the scope of reflections also concerning the effectiveness of our economy. We must treat culture as an integral component of our socioeconomic system, a component without which our development could not be accomplished and the effects of this development could become incomprehensible and foreign to a person. Remembering these facts, the organizers of culture must be particularly careful in monitoring things to eliminate from daily practice not only what is bad also what is for show, what is calculated just to look good.

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ROMANIA

CHIEF RABBI ROSEN HAILS SADAT-BEGIN MEETING

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Dec 77 p 1

[Article by Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen: "What Characterizes Hanukkah 5738?"]

[Excerpts] Sometimes we forget, when speaking about Hanukkah, to speak about the great predecessor of Antiochus, Alexander of Macedonia, who gave a splendid example of harmonious coexistence between Judaism and Hellenism.

We forget that, according to the Talmud, Alexander met with Simon Hatzadek and prostrated himself before him. The conqueror of the world embraced the aged scholar.

The essence of the miracle of Hanukkah--the fact that the oil lasted, thus representing the victory of quality over quantity--has sometimes been overshadowed by recollections of the battles.

We have forgotten that we cannot find security for our existence in force and that only in the triumph of the great ideas of peaceful coexistence can one find the explanation for the eternity of Israel.

This year, Hanukkah follows some days during which we relived the great moment of the meeting between Alexander and Simon. In 1977 they have other names but they have succeeded in lighting in the souls of millions of Jews and Arabs and in the conscience of all mankind the most brilliant Menorah of reason and of the right of all peoples to a peaceful life.

The real miracle of Hanukkah is happening before our eyes!

Yes. Hanukkah 5738 is different from all others.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW BUCHAREST MILITIA CHIEF--We reported that after the bloody clashes at the 23 August Stadium the chief of the Bucharest militia was fired. Now we have learned that Securitate Colonel Dumitru Batlan has been appointed to replace him. [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Dec 77 p 9]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

DJILAS DISCUSSES EUROCOMMUNISM IN WEST GERMAN PAPER

Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 Nov 77 p 7

[Article by Milovan Djilas: "Eurocommunism--Danger or Opportunity?"]

[Text] I do not think--for several reasons--that it is justified to believe that "Eurocommunism" is nothing but a tactical maneuver to help the Soviets to conquer Western Europe. I do not mean that there are no grounds whatever for vigilance vis-a-vis Eurocommunism or for a certain concern, but I regard Eurocommunism as a generally positive democratic phenomenon in Europe.

On the other hand, I also must register my criticism of Eurocommunism. Above all, I think that one must not regard it basically as a uniform movement. Primarily we have to do here with three parties--the Spanish, French and Italian communist parties--as well as, to a certain extent, the Portuguese Communist Party. The other West European communist parties are either insignificant or have not become sufficiently pronounced as far as Eurocommunism is concerned.

Because the parties I have named differ greatly from one another, they must be dealt with in a differentiated manner. Generally speaking, however, Eurocommunism as a phenomenon of disassociation from Moscow and as a search for one's own national ways is to be assessed positively. It is encouraging for Europe because it weakens Soviet influence in Europe and makes it more difficult for the Soviets to pursue their political game in Europe.

But let us turn to the individual parties. The Portuguese Communist Party patently rests on Leninist positions, or even on a basis which is popularly described as Stalinism today. In my opinion, however, there is no difference between Leninism and Stalinism. One has sprung from the other.

The Spanish Communist Party, on the other hand, has taken a radical turn toward democracy and toward a clear separation from Moscow. Of all European communist parties, it has drawn the clearest line of separation. It is the only party in which a radical change has occurred--to an even greater extent even than in the case of the Yugoslav Communist Party, particularly as regards the attitude toward pluralism and the Spanish democratic institutions.

There is of course no doubt but that the French Communist Party has taken a very large step in the way of national separation from Moscow--i.e., in the question of an independent decision about its own policy. Nevertheless the French communists, as regards the French institutions and domestic policy, have remained the same old Leninists they have always been--without major changes.

There probably exist in the French Communist Party trends which are more democratic than the orientation which party head Marchais has concentrated around himself. Moreover, there likewise exists a pure Stalinist trend in the party. But as regards French domestic developments, there has been no radical change within the party. Having studied the materials of the last French Communist Party Congress, I have reached the opinion that Marchais cannot realize his program of "socialism with a French complexion" without civil war.

For this is the key question: Either one proceeds in the direction of class war, ideological war, or one accepts the democratic institutions such as exist in France and elsewhere.

In Italy the situation is different again. The Italian communists have gone through a considerable democratic evolution in the structure of their party and as regards the institutions of the Italian state. Here can be seen the extent to which the leading group, consisting of Berlinguer, Napolitano and Amendola in the PCI Central Committee, has gone. But at the same time there still exist in the Italian party very alive conservative, Leninist, groups. Nor has the Italian party disassociated itself decisively from Moscow.

Consequently the positions have not yet quite clarified in the PCI, but generally the process is taking a positive course. One must therefore regard the whole Eurocommunism as a trend which has only just begun. In these Eurocommunist parties there will still occur many conflicts and splits between the Leninist and Stalinist groups on the one hand and democratic groups on the other--trends which will develop in the direction of a kind of democratic socialism.

I therefore consider Eurocommunism a deep going process which, all variances notwithstanding, contains a fundamental factor, namely, that these forces want to integrate into European culture and European democracy.

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CSO: 2300

CHANGES IN MILITARY REGULATIONS HIGHLIGHTED

Explanations by Potocar

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 77 p 3

[Interview of Gen Col Stane Potocar, chief of the General Staff of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] by Aca Zivkovic: "Humanization of Relations Is Strengthening Military Organization"]

[Text] On Wednesday the 5th of October Gen Col Stane Potocar, YPA chief of staff, Gen Lt Col Veljko Kadijevic and Col Blazo Buric, who participated in drafting the new Service Regulations in the SFRY Armed Forces, talked with the editor in chief and editors of our newspaper about the new code regulating mutual relations of military personnel, work and discipline and internal organization in units, commands and institutions of the armed forces. We are publishing the most important parts of that conversation.

First we must say that the drafting of the new Service Regulations was a very long and complicated task lasting almost 3 years. The decision to prepare them was made in late 1973, when criticism of the existing YPA Service Regulations was invited (it was published in 1969 by the Administration for the Arts of War). Over those 8 years there have been important changes in our society, and therefore in the armed forces as well, changes which particularly have to do with transformation along the lines of self-management, socialism and democracy. That is why it was in a sense a social necessity to draft the new Service Regulations.

In 1974 the YPA General Staff received a large number of critical remarks and suggestions concerning the Service Regulations then in effect. This material was studied, systematized and collated, and then it was presented in the form of a full study for the evaluation and opinion of the commands of the army districts, the naval district, the air force and air defense, the Titograd Military Region, republic and provincial territorial defense staffs and certain administrations of the Federal Secretariat for National

Defense. On the basis of the comments and suggestions assembled, the draft of the new Service Regulations of the SFRY Armed Forces was prepared in 1975 and submitted to all commands and institutions in the armed forces down to and including the independent battalions for their opinions and comments.

#### The New Service Regulations Were Required by the Times

This brief historical sketch of the preparation of the new Service Regulations of the SFRY Armed Forces was presented by the comrades from the General Staff so as to give the most general idea of its genesis. This "small constitution" of the armed forces is the fruit of a great deal of work and an extensive and critical exchange of opinions, and it represents an expression of the views of a majority of the officers in our armed forces. We can therefore say that there is hardly a case when our Service Regulations have been the subject of so many consultations and reconciliation of views. Almost every officer from company commanders on upward participated in their preparation.

The provisions contained in the new Service Regulations are basically an adaptation of the relations, discipline and operation to the new SFRY Constitution, and it represents our keeping pace with our society's transformation. In recent years the armed forces themselves have been developing faster than in any other period since the war, since the socialization of nationwide defense has entered into every pore of Yugoslavia as a self-managed community. Nationwide defense, that is, has become a domain in which all sociopolitical communities, organizations of associated labor and other public entities, as well as individuals, are involved. That is why the need for new Service Regulations covering not only the YPA, but the armed forces as a whole, became more and more pronounced.

"Time has had its effect, and the new Service Regulations had to be prepared and enforced. Which does not mean that the old ones were not good. They were good for their time and the level of development of our relations at that time," said Gen Col Stane Potocar, chief of the YPA General Staff. "Certain provisions in the old Service Regulations have been carried over into the new ones, since it was not possible to change everything. But the new Service Regulations have been adapted to present conditions and to the man who is now entering our armed forces."

Gen Potocar then stressed the fact that most young men are prepared to make every effort to prepare themselves to defend society, and the regulations have indeed been written for good soldiers, for young men ready to work selflessly every day. The innovations in the new Service Regulations make it possible for the most favorable possible conditions to be created for members of the armed forces so that they can make those efforts as easily as possible and achieve the best possible results in training and indoctrination. The generations which will be entering the armed forces acquire greater rights under the new Service Regulations, but they are also given greater responsibility and greater obligations.

"Practical enforcement of any rule still depends on human beings," Gen Potocar stressed. "It depends, first of all, on his skillfulness and readiness to apply it creatively. If our officers have a proper understanding of the innovations in the new Service Regulations, if they accept its provisions and apply them creatively in the everyday training and indoctrination of their subordinates, this will be a great step forward in the humanization of the life and operation of the armed forces, and it will also mean constant improvement of the moral-political situation and improvement of combat readiness as a whole.

[Contents of box]

Old and New in Numerical Terms--The old Service Regulations of the YPA contained 436 pages, 1,045 paragraphs, 20 chapters, 96 sections and 15 appendices, while the new Service Regulations of the SFRY Armed Forces has only 274 pages, 744 paragraphs, 12 chapters, 51 sections and 9 appendices.

The new Service Regulations of the armed forces have as a matter of principle eliminated excessive formality and rigidity in everyday life and work which have been a burden in the soldier's everyday life. First of all, it does not contain the previous provisions which have become out of date. We should first mention that there is an essential reduction in the number of periods of duty detail and fire control duty, that formation of units has been reduced to the minimum, that now there exists official conference in addition to report [as disciplinary measures--translator's note], and so on. Probably it might have been possible to go even further, but in the judgment of the General Staff and its chief, the new provisions create favorable conditions for proper performance of all tasks and for a further strengthening of conscious and firm military discipline in the military organization and of military organization as a whole.

"The basic feature of the new Service Regulations of the SFRY Armed Forces and of all its provisions is that along with the humanization of relations in society, in line with society's development, there is insistence on strengthening military organization and especially discipline within it. These are actually two narrowly related and independent processes," Gen Potocar said.

In short, the new Service Regulations of the SFRY Armed Forces have in their innovations created conditions for further humanization of human relations in the armed forces and for a further strengthening of military organization. They thereby are making it more and more possible for members of the armed forces to achieve high results in performance of their duties, above all in their training to wage combat.

## More Favorable Conditions for Performance of Sentry Duty

The provisions concerning sentry duty give the best idea of the thrust of the new Service Regulations of the armed forces toward creation of the most favorable conditions for best possible performance of the tasks of the military organization. Sentries are no longer posted to pay homage to anyone. This is done by other units designated for this purpose, and there is no more excessively long sentry duty. Every man in a sentry detail who remains on duty for more than 24 hours is entitled to 7 hours of continuous rest, and if he belongs to a sentry detail which remains on duty more than 7 days, he is also entitled to 24 hours of continuous rest in the week. In principle three sentries are assigned to every sentry post. In exceptional cases, for purposes of protecting particularly important structures and in order to ensure 7 hours of continuous rest during 24 hours, four sentries may be assigned to each sentry post. When sentry details are on duty for more than 7 days, its members are guaranteed passes to leave the post and regular baths along with other soldiers. Everyone in a sentry detail sleeps in pajamas and in a separate bed. The practice of the palace (wooden cot), in which several men alternately used a single bed without a change of linen, has been abolished. Finally, provision is made for specific rules and duties to be prescribed for every sentry post, and they will state whether the soldiers can sit down, smoke and so on at the sentry post. More favorable conditions are thereby created for better performance of sentry duty.

Formation has been reduced to the minimum. In practical terms there is only one formation during training, at the beginning of the day's activities. There are also formations for meals, but only within the lower units--up to the company level. However, there is no formation at all where the mess consists of only shift. Military discipline is not weakened by reducing the number of formations to the minimum; on the contrary, there is explicit insistence that the formations which have remained be performed strictly according to regulations. Which means that there will be fewer and fewer formations, but they must be the best possible formations, highly functional and done to perfection.

## Two Weekends for Soldiers

Soldiers will certainly be happy about the new arrangement concerning passes to leave the post. In addition to Saturday, Sunday and holidays, the new Service Regulations provide for one other pass during the week on a workday and a pass from Friday afternoon to Sunday at 2400 hours. This is the so-called weekend. This time cannot be linked to holidays, but then also passes to leave the post are issued. Soldiers can use this leave to go home, but they travel at their own expense. Every soldier is entitled to two weekends while doing his period of required military service. This is a right, and not a mere possibility. Finally, the question of which soldiers shall have weekend leave and when they shall depart is decided by the company commander on the basis of the soldiers' needs and in response to the recommendations of the soldiers themselves. We should also say that

on the basis of percentages a soldier must every month be regularly granted two passes to leave the post.

Introduction of the official conference in addition to the penalty of report and the provision that these two proceedings be conducted individually and in the officer's office has humanized these proceedings to the maximum possible degree. No longer is everyone to be heard on the problems of individuals, about personal difficulties. In the conference the conversation with the man is man-to-man and comradely and covers both his mistakes as well as everything else leading to his being reported or summoned for an official conference.

We should also mention one other very important innovation which is based on the principles of our new constitution. The Service Regulations are printed in Serbo-Croatian and Croato-Serbian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Hungarian and Albanian. This is the first time in Yugoslavia that the official service regulations have been printed in the languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. All the other service regulations concerning the armed forces as a whole will also be published in the languages of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

Certain other innovations, of which there are 41 in all, were also mentioned in the conversation. We have tried to catch the purport of the most important of them and to suggest the essential nature of the new Service Regulations of the SFRY Armed Forces. An effort was obviously made, wherever and whenever possible, to do away with formalism, rigidity, narrowness and stereotypes and to do as much as possible to break up the monotony of everyday life. It can confidently be said that this has been achieved. One thing is certain: the fact that there is much less formalism now or none at all in work and in relations has created conditions for a more cheerful atmosphere in the armed forces, and this makes it possible for people to respect one another still more and to live in comradeship and concord.

The old Service Regulations have been withdrawn, but this does not mean that the new ones have altogether taken effect in practice. Time will understandably be necessary for that. For that reason Gen Col Stane Potocar, chief of the YPA General Staff, has made it a duty of officers to include practical implementation of the new Service Regulations in their plans as an exceptionally important task. The officer must immediately study the new regulations as soon as they reach the units and prepare himself to present the regulations to all personnel of the unit or institution. The Service Regulations have not been written solely for enlisted men: they are the basis for the work of officers and civilian employees in the SFRY Armed Forces. At the same time political bodies and organizations of the League of Communists and all collectives also have an important task and obligation to do everything during preparation for the 11th LCY Congress so that the "military constitution in the small" becomes the rule of behavior of all members of the armed forces as soon as possible.

## More Details

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 77 pp 8-9

[Article by M. Vlastic: "Left Standing 'At Attention' and More Discipline"]

[Text] The New Service Regulations of the SFRY Armed Forces, Which Contain Important Innovations Concerning the Rights and Duties of Military Personnel and Civilian Employees in the Armed Forces, Have Just Taken Effect in Recent Days

Capt 1st Class Jovica Maslac, commanding officer of the unit which received military trainees for exercises, recently found himself in a dilemma: before him was standing a young man with mustaches and rather long beard. Although he was in a soldier's uniform and had a weapon in his hand, his appearance distinguished him considerably from his comrades in the ranks. Capt Maslac hesitated: should he order the bearded soldier to shave or leave him alone! The regulations had nothing precise to say about this, and it seemed to the captain ticklish and risky from the moral-political standpoint to make a hasty decision. Capt Maslac said nothing to the bearded trainee, attempting to obtain an official interpretation as to how he should proceed in this specific situation.

Thus the exercise came to an end, and the beard remained intact.

There have also been other officers in our armed forces in similar situations who had to make a decision not about a beard, but a decision that concerned other acts of decency. Usually when there was reason to allow a soldier to go home or to grant him a pass to go into town at a time which was not allowed by the regulations.

An officer who was bold and decent, who was resourceful and liked to act on his own, was quite easily able to resolve any dilemma to mutual satisfaction without violating the provisions of the regulations. But when the officer did not have those personal characteristics, the dilemmas remained. Life went on and the wait continued for official interpretations as how to act in a particular situation.

Now the interpretations have come, the new Service Regulations in the SFRY Armed Forces have been enacted, and many details in the life and work of soldiers, officers and civilian employees in the YPA have been differently arranged, all with the purpose of undertaking to strengthen discipline and mutual relations in the armed forces on a more humanistic basis.

### The Service Regulations Are a Contribution to Combat Training

It is a known fact: young men go into the YPA so as to equip and prepare themselves as much as possible for armed combat in a nationwide defensive war. Everything is subordinated to that goal--from the syllabi and curricula, cultural activities and athletics, and soldiers' leisure activities to

sentry duty, target practice with live ammunition and the simpler and more complicated exercises in the field.

Looking at the time young men spend in the YPA from this angle, one cannot avoid the conclusion about their life that they should be given the chance in 12 or 15 months to master to perfection the combat equipment and tactics of the unit of their arm and to faultlessly perform the duties which are daily performed in the unit of the YPA. The new Service Regulations have been aimed at that goal, and all those precepts which might have caused any dilemmas whatsoever for officers and men concerning the scope and manner of performance of particular procedures and activities have now been eliminated. In other words, it is left to people, to the officers, to see that the provisions of the regulations are enforced and to implement them in detail and completely.

The regulations themselves are the result of long work and study involving numerous consultations on the part of all interested parties, a contest of opinions, and a respect for those provisions in the previous YPA Service Regulations (issued in 1969) which could remain in the new regulations because they had been tested and found to be good.

The most important innovations, but not the only ones, pertain to the performance of certain very important duties in the armed forces. These are above all combat training, sentry duty, duty details, fire control duty, the disciplinary penalties of report and official conferences, the leisure time of soldiers and leave and passes to leave the post.

In the past soldiers on sentry duty have slept on wooden beds, but in future they will sleep on soft mattresses. When a superior officer made the rounds, the sentry detail had to assemble in formation to receive him and greet him ceremoniously, which meant waking people up, sometimes even disrupting the ordinary schedule of sentry duty, so that instead of making the guard and sentries more vigilant, it had the opposite effect, since the men were less well rested.

Much the same case was true of training. If an officer came by, the company commander, the platoon commander and even the squad commander would report to him. All the while the minutes were passing, and time scheduled for combat training was irretrievably lost.

On the post much the same thing happened when an officer came by. First the officer would be reported to by the commanding officer of the post, then by the commanding officer of the unit the officer was visiting, and then one after the other all the lower officers to the squad commander. Now the senior officer in the garrison reports, and the others go on with their work.

All of this, we were told in a conversation with Gen Col Stane Potocar, chief of the YPA General Staff, has now been regulated so that principal tasks, and that includes training, are performed without outside disruption and without losing time in reporting and assembling.

"Officers need to study the new regulations thoroughly," the chief of the General Staff emphasized, "and to provide an interpretation of its principles in terms of politics and indoctrination, since a flexible officer will enforce the new regulations flexibly, and a rigid officer will remain rigid in his interpretation of the various provisions in the regulations. The soldier should be furnished as much knowledge as possible for defense of the country, and he should be relieved of rigidity and formalism, since these have been a hindrance to the service and have been making the soldier's life more difficult. The new Service Regulations allow officers a broader freedom of action, and all of this creates conditions for strict adherence to regulations, since they are a reflection of the overall development of relations in society and in the armed forces.

Report, Official Conference, Passes and "Weekend" Leave

Anyone who has been on report even once in the past knows how this is done. Soldiers who had done something wrong and those who had personal requests or simply wanted to make confidence, to tell their troubles or to complain about something to someone they trusted assembled together before the superior officer. Thus while they stood at ease, 10 minutes or more would pass while soldiers with quite delicate problems of a personal nature suffered agonies in stating them out loud. And what would happen? The issues were left unresolved, the problems thereby increased and multiplied, and all this could have an adverse effect on the disposition of soldiers during training, on their work and effort, and on the success of the entire unit.

From now on report will be replaced by two forms of conversation between the officer and the soldier. Report has still been retained as an official form of proceeding, but now there is also the so-called official conference for those who want to talk with the officer alone. There is no doubt that this will help to resolve certain entangled situations and to reduce problems to a minimum or even eliminate them, since the officer can bring all his influence to bear in achieving rapid and proper resolution of misunderstandings, problems and difficulties.

Also, in future when a subordinate approaches a superior he will no longer stand "at attention" waiting for the superior's permission to stand "at ease," but after saluting "at attention" he will himself stand "at ease."

The new regulations provide that soldiers will go to town on one workday as well as Saturday, Sunday and holidays. Another important innovation is that while serving their period of required military service soldiers have the right to two "weekends" of leave which will begin on Friday afternoon and will end on Sunday midnight, the soldiers themselves to pay traveling expenses. This can even be linked up with holidays. The percentage of soldiers to go on "weekend" leave at a particular time is established by the commander of the brigade (regiment) on the basis of the needs of combat readiness, and which soldiers shall take that leave at what time shall be decided by the company commander on the basis of the needs of the soldiers and on the recommendation of the body of soldiers.

The new Service Regulations pertain both to soldiers doing regular military service and reservists participating in training exercises. When reservists participate in military exercises less than 5 days, they may have long hair, though it must be neat, and a short beard, which must also be neat, provided that before reporting for the exercise they so arrange that the gas mask will fit tightly to their face.

Other provisions of the Service Regulations make it possible for military personnel to exercise their civil rights in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, but they also oblige them to strictly and consistently enforce all the provisions of the regulations, since those provisions were enacted so that professional military training and moral-political training and indoctrination be raised to the highest possible level in conformity with the development of relations in society and in the armed forces. The new Service Regulations, then, do not water down and loosen military discipline and training. On the contrary, all these provisions of the regulations create the necessary preconditions for still more iron discipline and still greater personal responsibility in performance of the tasks of defense.

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LAW ON RIGHTS OF OFFICIALS AFTER TERMINATION OF THEIR OFFICIAL FUNCTION

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 54, 11 Nov 77 pp 1917-1919

[Text] Law on the Work and Rights of Delegates in the Yugoslav Federal Assembly and of Federal Officials After They Terminate Their Official Functions

Article 1

This law will regulate conditions of the work and rights of delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials after they have terminated their official functions in order to implement the constitutional principle of restricting reelection of delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials and to create the possibility that, after the passage of the specific time for which the person was elected or appointed, that person may return to his normal employment or may continue to perform sociopolitical assignments. This law will also create conditions to strengthen the responsibilities of such persons.

Article 2

After the termination of their official function, delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials shall have the right, in accordance with the law, to return to the organization of associated labor or other self-management organization or association, or an agency of a sociopolitical association, in which they had been employed, at the same position or a suitable corresponding position or work assignment.

Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials who have ceased their official functions, but who have not established rights under point one of this article, have a right to a personal income, and can earn same by performing certain assignments in the Yugoslav Assembly, according to conditions and for the time period indicated in this law.

Article 3

When after the termination of their official functions, delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly or federal officials continue to work in the Yugoslav

Assembly, the appropriate body of the Yugoslav Assembly shall assign them definite tasks or work assignments, bearing in mind their particular experience.

In performing tasks or work assignments assigned to them, delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials have rights and responsibilities as established by a general act of the proper body of the Yugoslav Assembly as indicated in point one of this article.

For their work, delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials described in point one of this article have a right to a personal income.

#### Article 4

Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials acquire rights under this law on the basis of a personal request.

#### Article 5

After terminating his official functioning, the President of the Republic is assured a lifetime personal income as to the President of the Republic.

#### Article 6

Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly, members of the Yugoslav Presidium and officials who are selected or appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly, who receive a personal income or supplemental income for performing those functions, shall continue to perform their work according to provisions of this law for the period of 1 year after cessation of that function.

Rights granted under point 1 of this article shall be granted also to the president and judges of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and to the Federal Court judges, as well as to officials whose official function has been terminated and who had been appointed by the President of the Republic if before assuming that function, they performed one of the functions specified in point one of this article.

#### Article 7

Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly, members of the Yugoslav Presidium, officials of the Yugoslav Assembly, the general secretary of the Yugoslav Assembly, the president, members and general secretary of the Federal Executive Council, members of the Federal Council and members of the National Defense Council, federal secretaries, and presidents of federal committees, who during the performance of those functions received supplemental personal income in a regular monthly amount, and who spent 12 years or more in those positions, shall continue their work according to provisions of this law for a period of 3 years after termination of those functions, and if they spent 20 or more years in those positions, they shall continue their work for a period of 6 years after the termination of those functions.

Rights indicated under point one of this article are also extended to the president and judges of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, the president of the Federal Court, the federal public prosecutor, the federal public self-management defender and the federal public defender, and other officials whose official functions have been terminated and who were appointed by the President of the Republic, if prior to the positions indicated they performed one of the functions indicated in point one of this article.

#### Article 8

In establishing the time according to which the provisions of article seven of this law are to be applied to determine the period for which delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly, members of the Yugoslav Presidium and federal officials are to continue their work, all time spent performing any of the functions indicated in article seven are to be counted, as well as time spent as delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly or as representatives of the Yugoslav Assembly, members of the Yugoslav Presidium, or delegates or representatives of republic or provincial assemblies from previous sessions, if said officials received supplemental income or personal income for performing specified elective functions, and also the time spent in performing corresponding sociopolitical functions in federal, republic, provincial and other agencies or organizations, or in the positions of high-ranking leaders of the Yugoslav National Army, as authorized by a decision of the Administrative Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly.

#### Article 9

A delegate to the Yugoslav Assembly, a member of the Yugoslav Presidium or a federal official who has resigned or been dismissed from his responsibilities prior to the conclusion of the time for which he was elected or appointed, has all the rights granted by this law that he would have had if he had remained in his official function until the end of the period for which he was elected or appointed.

#### Article 10

Elected officials of the highest agencies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, and the League of Associations of Veterans of the War of National Liberation, have rights under this law after the termination of their official duties in such organizations, if for performing their functions in those organizations they received supplemental personal income in a regular monthly amount and if before assuming those duties they performed one of the functions specified in article seven of this law.

At the recommendation of the organizations specified in point one of this article, the Administrative Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly shall by resolution determine the highest official functions in those organizations, for which performance rights are granted under point one of this article.

#### Article 11

Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials specified by this law shall continue their work in the Yugoslav Assembly.

With the agreement of delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials, the Administrative Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly can determine that such a person shall continue work in another agency or organization with the agreement of that agency or organization.

#### Article 12

The amount of personal income of a delegate to the Yugoslav Assembly or an official who continues work in accordance with provisions of this law shall be determined according to the suitable provisions of the Law on Personal Incomes for Officials Elected or Appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly, and on Supplemental Personal Income of Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly.

Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials indicated in point one of this article also have additional rights according to the Law on Personal Incomes of Officials Selected or Appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly and on Supplemental Personal Income of Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly, in addition to reimbursement for expenses incurred in the performance of their duties and rights to free transportation.

#### Article 13

The Administrative Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly shall make resolutions concerning the continuation of work allowed by provisions of this law.

By its resolutions, the Administrative Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly shall also establish the amounts of personal income to be received by delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly or federal officials who continue their work.

#### Article 14

Rights to personal income and other rights allowed by provisions of this law shall begin on the first day of the month following the month in which a request for such rights was submitted.

#### Article 15

Personal income as established by provisions of this law shall serve as a basis for determining pension entitlement level in keeping with currently valid regulations.

The amount of personal income established by provisions of this law shall be utilized to set the amounts of contributions to social security and other contributions according to current valid regulations, and the time during which such personal income is received shall be used to extend social security entitlement.

#### Article 16

Personal income established under provisions of this law shall be paid out of the accounts for the work of the agency in which the delegate to the Yugoslav Assembly or federal official continues his work.

#### Article 17

For delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials who have begun to receive benefits under this law, such benefits and rights shall be suspended if they obtain other employment or if they are elected or appointed to another official function through which they receive a personal income or a supplemental personal income.

The granting of the rights indicated in point one of this article shall continue on the basis of the personal request of the recipient, submitted in written form, and such rights shall continue for a maximum period equal to the period determined in the resolution under which those rights commenced.

If a delegate to the Yugoslav Assembly or a federal official does not submit a request as specified under point two of this article within 3 months from the day on which his employment or official function terminated, on the basis of which he received a personal income or supplemental personal income, he cannot receive such benefits after the expiration of that time period (for which they were originally granted).

#### Article 18

The work and the rights based on this law shall terminate for delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly and federal officials:

1. when they so request;
2. when they obtain pension rights according to existing valid regulations; or
3. when they reach age 65.

A delegate to the Yugoslav Assembly or a federal official does not have entitlement to the rights granted under this law, or his entitlement to such rights ceases, if he is duly convicted of a criminal act against the people or of a criminal act committed for personal benefit.

#### Article 19

Provisions of this law also related to federal representatives and officials whose official functions have terminated, but whose rights were established by provisions of the Law on the Work and Rights of Federal Representatives and Officials, and whose functions had terminated prior to the time established by that law.

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On the basis of article 31 of the Law on Changes and Additions to the Law on Personal Incomes of Officials Selected or Appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly and on Supplemental Personal Income of Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ No 16/77), the Legislative-Legal Commission of the Federal Council of the Yugoslav Assembly, at its 49th session on 20 October 1977, has adopted the corrected text of the Law on Personal Incomes of Officials Selected or Appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly and on Supplemental Personal Incomes of Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly.

The corrected text of the Law on Personal Income of Officials Selected or Appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly and on Supplemental Personal Income of Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly includes: The Law on Personal Income of Officials Selected or Appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly and on Supplemental Income of Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ No 30/75), and the Law on Changes and Additions to the Law on Personal Income of Officials Selected or Appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly and on Supplemental Personal Income of Delegates to the Yugoslav Assembly (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ No 16/77); these sources indicate the day upon which those laws took effect.

No 479, in Belgrade, 20 October 1977

President of the Legislative-Legal  
Commission of the Federal Council  
of the Yugoslav Assembly

Professor Dr Miodrag Zecevic (signed)

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YUGOSLAVIA

SUVAR, BILANDZIC, OTHERS DISCUSS CROATIAN NATIONALITY QUESTION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 77 p 4

[Excerpt from report on conference entitled "Four Decades of the Communist Party of Croatia" by Zvonko Gajski and Branimir Kovacevic: "The National Liberation Committees Have Remained the Foundations of Our People's Government"]

[Excerpt] The Main Theme of the Two-Day Conference Is That Revolutionary Developments and the Activity of the League of Communists in Them Should Be Studied More Comprehensively and Analytically

The Decision on the Nationality Question Was Made During the National Liberation Struggle

Dr Stipe Suvar spoke on the topic "Continuity and Types of Confrontation Between the League of Communists of Croatia and Civil and Antisocialist Forces and Tendencies in Croatia." Up until the very eve of World War II the working class movement in Croatia was not a factor substantially or essentially affecting development of nationalities, said Dr Suvar. Many matters related to the nationality question have remained unstudied and less than fully explained even today. There is indication of this both in the abuses that have occurred in the writing of history and also in the nationalistic and unitaristic syndromes that still exist even in the ranks of the League of Communists of Croatia.

The nationality was thoroughly differentiated in Yugoslavia during the National Liberation Struggle, and that is when the decision was made on the nationality question. In the study of those events less attention is being paid to the principal fact, i.e., that the Croatian Peasant Party and its conception were shattered during the National Liberation Struggle. As a consequence of that fierce class struggle (the kind of struggle which no one else in Yugoslavia had) quite a few things are still felt even today, and we have, for example, the thesis that the Croatian nationality was not Partisan. The question of why the Croatian nation had to become Partisan and why it did indeed become Partisan in its large majority in the course of the National Liberation Struggle is one we still have not sufficiently treated in the field of history, Suvar said.

There are some uncertainties in drawing the line between the national and the nationalistic, Suvar noted, illustrating this with a "small" datum: if a store selling textiles in Croatia were to call itself "Croatian Woman," this would represent a political incident. However, in Sumadija there are many such stores called "Serbian Woman." This is a reflection of an uncertainty because the distinction between the national and the nationalistic has not been made precisely enough. These are small things, but they have a definite political weight, Dr Suvar noted.

Certain of Stipe Suvar's definitions and judgments were found to be imprecise or incomplete by some of the participants in the conference, Vlado Ostric, Gordana Vljajcic and Anka Berus among them.

Mata Rajkovic spoke on the topic "Remnants of the Occupier's and Quisling Forces, Especially Ustasha Elements in Croatia and the Showdown With Them After the Liberation." France Filipic gave an account of the genesis of the Communist Party of Slovenia, while Nikola Sekulic spoke about the revolutionary strategy of the Communist Party of Croatia and of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, mentioning the fact of the liberation and unification of Istria, Zadar and other regions, the role of the Serbs in Croatia during the National Liberation Struggle, and aspects of our revolution in the international working class movement and the nonaligned world.

Dr Dusan Bilandzic called attention to the need for a more detailed examination of the postwar period, especially from the standpoint of the state and development of government power. He spoke about two tendencies which have been evident in the postwar years: one seeking a stronger state, and the other advocating a withering away of the state and its functions. Zlatko Cepo reiterated the caution that quite a long period in development of the League of Communists of Croatia has not been treated by historians. Unconsciously we still take the view, he said, that a movement which has triumphed has not had errors along the way. However, most of the road that has been traveled is not measured merely by successes and by explaining the way in which we have managed to pull the masses of people with us, but by an objective analysis of a number of errors which were made along that road. The road to positive achievements is never along a straight line; it is crooked and affected by a number of circumstances.

#### Discussion

New knowledge and approaches in presentation of the characteristics of the period in which the Communist Party of Croatia was founded aroused a lively discussion in which opinions were exchanged in a polemical way among participants in the conference.

In this discussion Dr Ljubo Boban presented his view concerning the role of the liberal bourgeoisie in the period when the Communist Party of Croatia was founded, and he pointed out certain elements of the dispute between Miroslav Krleza and the party. Zorica Stipetic spoke in the discussion about the reasons for the party's participation in the bourgeois democratic

revolution, and she presented her views on the disagreements between Krleza and the party on certain issues. Marijan Zulic spoke about development of the communist movement in the Zadar region, and Gorde Ivanovski dealt with some of the theses in the previous papers.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SARAJEVO DIALOG AIRS POLEMIC ON MOSLEM NATIONAL HERITAGE

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 77 p 4

[Excerpt from article by Abid Budimlic]

[Excerpt] The third issue of the Sarajevo journal for philosophy and social theory DIJALOG has as usual taken up several topical issues concerning our contemporary philosophical thought and social theory and practice. The journal contains essays on the following topics: "The Freedom to Create" (Jovan Djordjevic), "Sociopolitical Organizations as an Integral Part of the Political System of Self-Management" (Mico Rakic) and "Philosophy and Self-Management" (Vojan Rus).

Its regular feature "Confrontations" carries an article by Prof Dr Muhamed Filipovic, the journal's editor in chief, entitled "Intellectuals and the Moral Profile of a Criticism (The Hard Fate of Hasan Pruscak)" in which he takes exception to Ivan Primorec and certain other critics who, according to the author, have in their writings given shabby treatment to the value of the cultural legacy of the Moslem people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In this context Filipovic especially cites tendencies to play down the importance of the work of Hasan Pruscak, outstanding 16th century scholarly thinker and creator who wrote in the Oriental languages and who is regarded in many countries as an important thinker of the Oriental period in development of Moslem culture and of our culture in general. For the first time Filipovic mentions in this debate the writings of a certain Aleksandar Popovic, who is living and working in Paris, because of an article he published in the Paris journal JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, in which he denies the very existence of the Moslem people and therefore of its culture and cultural legacy as well.

Another polemical article published in DIJALOG has to do with an article by Predrag Matvejevic entitled "The Fate of a Book," which was published in the journal of the philosophy and sociology students of Zagreb University ALLJENACIJA, whose topic is "the case" of a book by Dr Esad Camic entitled "Covjek na raskrscu" [Man at the Crossroads], which was banned by decision of the District Court in Sarajevo in late 1975. Referring to this article by Matvejevic and similar "distorted portrayals of cultural and scholarly

occurrences in Bosnia-Hercegovina," which can be found in his well-known book "Te vjetrenjace" [Those Windmills], Sadudin Husabegovic, editor in chief of OPREDJELENJA, journal for the theory and practice of the self-managed socialist society, asks: "What does Predrag Matvejevic offer from the standpoint of critical consciousness in this entire matter?" Analyzing certain quotations from Matvejevic's text, including the one given as a postscript, Husabegovic says that "the thrust of the things which amaze him and which he cannot grasp" goes to such a point that one gets the idea that "in this entire matter" the dominant factor was arbitrariness, someone's intervention, though Predrag Matvejevic does not wish to make any sort of conjectures, and so on. There are also a number of formal arguments to impart some dignity to his amazement, including an alleged letter from Marko Ristic, who privately said to Matvejevic himself that "Cimic did not have a chance to present his own defense of the book before the court, but only his publisher was allowed, and he did not defend it...."

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