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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
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BULGARIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD 'EUROCOMMUNISM' CRITIQUED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Dec 76 p 4

[Article: "OTECHESTVEN FRONT on the 'Eurocommunism' of European Parties"]

[Text] Sofia, 14 December (By telephone)

In today's issue Sofia's afternoon newspaper OTECHESTVEN FRONT discusses the significance of the term "Eurocommunism," concluding that it is a question of a bourgeois ideological diversion aimed at separating the big Western European communist parties from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communist parties of the socialist countries. As proof the newspaper cites Jimmy Carter's campaign statements to the effect that the United States would be ready to establish normal relations with a country headed by such a "Europeanized" party.

L'UNITA's Answer Ignored

As we know, the term "Eurocommunism" entered the current political terminology following the publication of the article "Year of Peace---Year of Struggle" by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee, in the theoretical periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, published in Warsaw. He stated that "Eurocommunism is an anti-Soviet concept," meaning the "negation of the objective laws of the revolutionary struggle," and that "Eurocommunism" puts Western communists within the political system of contemporary capitalism.

The press here published neither the reactions to the statement nor the answer by L'UNITA organ of the Italian communists, which noted that it is a question "twisting the truth," which could lead to "misunderstanding among the various parts of the international revolutionary movement." If it is a question of Eurocommunism, L'UNITA wrote, it does not mean the "integration within the capitalist political system" but a process of struggle towards socialism, a process through which, on the basis of specific conditions, the biggest communist parties of the European West are operating.

This statement was neglected. Instead, the comment on this topic carried by Moscow's periodical NOVOYE VREMYA was given publicity. The Soviet periodical noted that "Eurocommunism" is an old plan long concocted by imperialist forces for purposes of creating a division within the communist movement. "According to that concept," the periodical stated, "the communists in Western countries would support some kind of communism of their own, while the communists in the socialist countries would support a basically relative type of communism. The groundlessness of such stipulations," the periodical concluded, "deserves no comment."

OTECHESTVEN FRONT's Statement

The Sofia newspaper goes even farther, stating that "imperialism misinterprets the problems of the socialist world and the international communist movement, emphasizing its revisionist positions with a "humanistic basis." It is suggesting that the socialist states "democratize" their systems and adopt the traditions of Western European "free society." "It is precisely for such reasons," notes OTECHESTVEN FRONT, "that a line of Eurocommunism is being recommended to the Western European communist parties." This, according to the newspaper, means a separation from the CPSU and the communist parties of the socialist countries.

"It is an old tradition," states further the article carried by the afternoon Sofia newspaper, entitled "'Tall Tales' With 'Minor Inaccuracies'," whenever pressed imperialism emphasizes revisionism and the social democratic breakdown of the worker parties. Outlined behind big stories of free exchange of ideas, human rights, and the humanizing and Europeanizing of socialism, is the political consideration aimed at weakening the ideological and political values of the socialist society and the creation of opportunities for the penetration of an alien ideology."

On the basis of such statements OTECHESTVEN FRONT concludes that with "Eurocommunism: the bourgeoisie is trying to implement a selfish political purpose--i.e., to lower the prestige of socialism (meaning, in this case, so-called real socialism) in Western Europe and block an increase in its moral attractiveness.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IMPROVEMENT IN YUGOSLAV-ALBANIAN RELATIONS URGED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Dec 76 p 2

[Article D. Malevski: "Better Cooperation Possibilities"]

[Text] The history of relations between Yugoslavia and Albania is well known to our public. It ranges from high reciprocal trust and cooperation, through profound mistrust, to the long-term stages of neighborhood with no disputes. However, it is not noted by initiatives and undertakings. Possibilities for a richer content exist but are left semi-unused.

The joint struggle waged by Yugoslav and Albanian partisans against the fascist occupation forces left profound marks of friendship and alliance in the memories of the people of those countries. These marks were not eradicated by the familiar events of the period of pressures and blames when the nations were facing severe temptations. The age-old ties among the population of that area have always shown the joint interests displayed in maintaining more frequent contacts and cooperation, leading to an awareness of the need for a lasting and more developed cooperation.

The fact that both Yugoslavia and Albania are autonomous and independent countries unaffiliated with any of the existing unitary military-political blocs is of great significance. Even though our country is a noted member of the movement of nonaligned countries while Albania has its own view on that movement, different from ours, and even if the Yugoslav and Albanian paths to socialism are quite different and despite the unpleasant fact that, occasionally, unacceptable "ideological" judgments of Yugoslav theory and practice are voiced by Albania the field for uninterrupted and wide development of cooperation is quite broad. As was noted as the session of the Yugoslav Presidency, held two days ago, "involvement of reciprocal useful and good neighborly cooperation with the Albanian People's Republic in all areas of reciprocal interest and possibilities for total respect of the principles of equality, independence, and territorial integrity, and respect and noninterference in domestic affairs" are in the lasting interest of our country.

It is no secret however to say that as one of the two Albanian neighbors we cannot be satisfied with the level and volume of economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other cooperation. The complementary nature of our economies makes possible successful trade. Yugoslav industrial, scientific, and technical development creates prerequisites for higher forms of economic cooperation. Many other elements offer real possibilities for establishing most developed cultural contacts. Nevertheless, such cooperation is vegetating at a minimal level which does not properly reflect objective possibilities. There are no contacts among people even though, in addition to everything else, parental relations exist between the populations on both sides of the border, in both directions. The Yugoslav interest in developing such relations is well known and its good will has always been emphasized through new initiatives aimed at developing cooperation between the two countries successfully, rapidly, and in all areas. Once again, such a policy was unequivocally expressed at the session of the Yugoslav Presidency at which the desire of all our authorities and interested working and other organizations to act in this respect was stressed.

The independence of Albania and Yugoslavia is an unusually important factor in Balkan and European security and peace. The known readiness of the two countries to defend their independence in all circumstances and conditions is properly contributing to their mutual respect, opening possibilities for new understanding. With no interference whatever in domestic affairs and without prejudices and ready-made prescriptions, but with new initiatives and new incentives Albanian-Yugoslav cooperation could acquire new dimensions, both quantitative and qualitative, for the common interest of both countries and their people. Difficulties and hindrances exist. However, they are neither insurmountable nor eternal. They could be overcome with mutual good will and trust.

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BRIEFS

GDR-POLISH ATLANTIC EXPEDITION--In 1977 oceanographers of the GDR and Poland will continue their collaboration of many years with a joint oceanographic expedition in the Atlantic. According to PAP, this envisages a new research program of oceanographic institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Oceanography of the GDR Academy of Sciences. [Text] [East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 8/9 Jan 77 p 13]

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ALBANIA

GOOD PARTY LEADERSHIP NECESSARY FOR TRADE UNIONS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Sep 76 pp 45-59

[Article by Idris Dhrami, Qimo Kocani: "The Strength of the Trade Unions Lies in Continual and Effective Provision of Party Leadership"]

[Text] In the struggle to execute the program for the country's socialist construction, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend the fatherland, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always devoted special care to strengthening the mass organizations and to constantly perfecting their activity, esteeming them as living political-social levers and organisms through which the party insures and strengthens its organized ties with the masses, includes them in its sphere of influence, attends to their education in proletarian ideology, and insures their organization, mobilization and widest possible conscious participation in the socialist construction of the country. The party has concerned itself especially about the Trade Unions, which, as powerful levers of it and as "schools of management, schools of administration and schools of communism," should assist it more and more in organizing, educating and rousing the working class in the struggle to perform successfully, under the party's leadership, its own role of hegemony in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Trade Unions of Albania were created at the initiative of the party and, with its care and interest and under its constant leadership, they have grown, developed and become strong as a broad mass organization of workers and employees, extending their activity to the four corners of the country. The party has given the Trade Unions a Marxist-Leninist orientation, nurtured them with proletarian ideology and with the teachings of its own revolutionary struggle, defending them from every distortion and lighting their way in the hard class struggle whereby the process of the full construction of the socialist society and the defense of our socialist fatherland are being successfully carried on. The foundation of the activity of the Trade Unions has always been and is the party's general Marxist-Leninist line, its orientations, directives and decisions, and Comrade Enver Hoxha's orders and teachings.

We are on the eve of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Labor Party of Albania and its Seventh Congress. In these moments everyone is making an analysis and striking a balance of his activity, sees what he has done, and what he has not done, and what he can do better; he is generalizing the experience accumulated, drawing lessons and conclusions and taking measures to improve and raise his work to the level of the requirements dictated by the realization of the very great tasks which we face and which await us in the future. The Trade Unions of Albania also come with a rich balance of work and successes to this glorious anniversary of the party and its Seventh Congress.

Rich in achievements is the path of more than 30 years traveled by the Trade Unions under the party's leadership. Constantly involved in the great, difficult and heroic struggle of our people and party, they have made and are making a great contribution to the work of strengthening the unity of the working class and the other workers with the party, of defending and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and the hegemonic role of the working class under the party's direction, of building socialism and defending the fatherland. The Trade Unions have constantly striven for the ideopolitical education of their members, to mold and strengthen the class consciousness of the workers, to develop the feeling of class struggle and revolutionary vigilance, raise their combat readiness, strengthen their socialist attitude toward work and social ownership, and instill in everyone the norms of communist morality. They have helped the party to increase the conscious and effective participation of the workers in organizing and managing the economy, in governing the whole life of the country, to exercise working class control and to train cadres from the workers' ranks. They have striven and have had success in developing the initiative of the masses and socialist competition so as to carry out ever better the principle of reliance on our own forces, and in generalizing and disseminating advanced experience, and so on.

All these things and many others have been and remain important directions for the activity of the Trade Unions. And if thus far they have coped successfully with these problems, it is due to the fact that at every step of their activity they have had the orientation, care and close assistance of the party and have insured its leadership. This fundamental factor has given them the clarity of correct orientation, strength and vigor as an "organization of education, an organization of activation, of instruction" for the masses. In the further perfecting of the work to insure party leadership ever better and more effectively in all its activity and at all levels of authority, from the center to the localities, they see the fundamental factor for coping successfully with the great tasks which they now face and will have continually.

Very important documents concerning the formation of deep theoretical convictions and practical action in this respect are the conclusions of the

Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of October 1975 about the report "On Certain Problems of Party Leadership in the Trade Unions." Analyzing with a critical eye their activity on the basis of those documents, the directing organizations and organs of the Trade Unions have set tasks and taken concrete measures to improve their work in this field. But going deeply into these and other documents of the party, assimilating the profound ideological and political content of their ideas and applying them at every step of their activity remains the task of every organ and organization of the Trade Unions, and of every activist and member of them for today and for the future.

Above all, it is necessary for us to possess the clearest and deepest possible concepts of the important Marxist-Leninist principle that the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party in revolution and socialist construction is one of the main general laws on the establishment, preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the realization, in the fire of the hard class struggle, of profound revolutionary transformations, on the successful construction of socialism, and that its indivisible leading role, which embraces all fields of activity, is growing along with the forward march of socialist construction.

From this general law derive the demands for the continual strengthening and perfection of the party's leading role, in the Trade Unions as everywhere else, as well as the demand that the latter shall insure that leadership in the most effective manner possible. The need to assimilate these Marxist-Leninist concepts as thoroughly as possible is dictated, among other things, by the known fact that a hard ideological and political, theoretical and practical struggle has been going on for decades and is continuing today on an international scale between the revolutionary proletariat, its revolutionary political party and the Marxist-Leninist ideology on the one hand and the bourgeoisie, opportunists and revisionists, their political parties and their reactionary ideology on the other hand.

It has now been not only argued theoretically, but also proved practically that without the leadership of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the working class there can be no triumphant socialist revolution or construction of socialism. It is the Marxist-Leninist party that by its correct general line and by the all-around activity of its organizations, organs and members inspires, organizes and arouses the masses to realize their aspirations synthesized in its program. The line and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party are the source of orientation and the basis of the organization, compactness and discipline of the masses, which are so necessary for struggle, for the revolutionary transformation of the whole society on a socialist basis.

But it is precisely because this is so that the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of the revolution and socialism, the ideologues of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the ranks of the proletariat, from the reformists, liquidators

and Trotskyites to the revisionists of today, have always directed their blows primarily at the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, in order to weaken it and liquidate its leading role. In this respect, they have always used and widely activated the various currents of syndicalism, anarcho-syndicalism and so forth, which have aimed and are aiming, under the slogan of independence of the workers' movement from the Marxist-Leninist political party of the proletariat, to isolate this party from the masses and leave the latter without their faithful and effective leadership, without a leading staff.

The slogan of independence of the "syndicates" [sindikata]* from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party aims at masking in fact the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the worker aristocracy to subordinate the workers' movement to their aims, since, as is known, at a time when the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in all countries is being waged intensely, one cannot speak of any independence from political parties. No social group or person can today stand aside from politics. Every social group or individual represents either the policy of the proletariat and its party or that of the bourgeoisie and its parties. There has been and is no middle road. Therefore, the slogan of independence of the "syndicates" from the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class really aims to bring about the subordination of the worker movement to the policy of the bourgeoisie.

These are the aims also pursued by our internal and external enemies in their undermining activity toward our country. The party's enemies have tried in various ways and forms to separate the masses from the party, to weaken the unity of the masses with the party. This has been the mode of operation from Anastas Lulo and Sadik Premte down to Koci Xoxe, Tuk Jakoya, Bedri Spahiu, Liri Belishova, the antiparty group of Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja, and others. And this all-around pressure of our enemies, and especially of their bourgeois-revisionist ideology, on us must not be underestimated for a moment. Therefore, the plenums of the Party Central Committee in the last few years have also posed the necessity for vigilance and uncompromising struggle against every manifestation that impairs in the least the party's leading role in the whole life of the country, and hence also in the activity of the Trade Unions.

"Syndicalism" as a trend has not existed among us. In the revolutionary atmosphere which has enflamed the party since the first days of its foundation and with the great educating job that it has done, the working class and the other workers have gained ideological maturity and much political experience, which leave no room or occasion for alien "syndicalist," anarchistic and other tendencies. Therefore, our Trade Unions, from the center to the localities, have always striven with all their might to insure the effective leadership of the party in all their activity, valuing that leadership as the decisive factor in fulfilling the role that belongs to them in our socialist society.

* Translator's note: Contrasted to the Albanian "Bashkime Profesionale," here translated "Trade Unions."

But we are not allowed to forget the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, its all-around pressure, especially the ideological, on us, as well as the petty-bourgeois pressure within the country. We must not forget that the correct Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary line of our party regarding the work in the Trade Unions too has always been applied and developed in the hard fight against every alien manifestation or influence of revisionist theories and practices. Defending and applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our party has risen up resolutely against every influence of anarchistic theses and practices regarding worker self-administration, against every notion about seeing in the Trade Unions a purely demanding and cultural organization, remote from the class struggle, an organization which, allegedly in the name of participation by the masses in the management of the economy, duplicates the state organs and forms an appendage to them; and also against any other concept or manifestation characteristic of the "syndicates" of the revisionist and capitalist countries. But it cannot be said that such concepts do not exert any pressure or influence on the work of our Trade Unions too.

The theses, teachings and important measures of our party concerning the revolutionization of the whole life of the country have greatly increased the role of the Trade Unions as levers of the party and as schools of communism. But from the documents of the last few plenums of the Party Central Committee we learn that in the work of the Trade Unions, as in every other sector of activity, the party's line and directives are being understood, assimilated and put into effect in the fight against the old, against alien concepts, against erroneous opinions and practices, for the preservation and development of which the class enemies, open or masked, internal or external, also show themselves to be active. Therefore, the thorough study of the party's documents and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, the raising of the ideopolitical level and of revolutionary vigilance in defending and correctly applying the party's principles and policy are an important and continuous task of the directing organs, the cadres and the activists of the Trade Unions. This is the course that gives a deep ideological and political content to the insurance of the party's leadership in the Trade Unions in the fight against every concept and practice that regards and treats the insurance of that leadership in a narrow and superficial manner, as a mainly organizational problem. Going deeply into the party's documents, orientations and decisions and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works is a necessary condition also for bringing the party line to the masses of workers and to other employees, always in a complete, well analyzed and argued manner and without any distortion.

The problems posed by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, especially during these last few years, are of great importance in principle and in practice. They have to do with the most fundamental questions of our socialist construction, the development of our socialist order, of its preservation from any bourgeois-revisionist deformation, of the strengthening of the defensive capability of the fatherland and the readiness to crush

any possible imperialist-revisionist aggression against our country. The problems raised in the decisions of the last few plenums of the Party Central Committee and in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches are very important also for the further improvement of the activity of the Trade Unions. The better they are known and assimilated, and the more thoroughly the activity of the organizations and organs of the Trade Unions are analyzed in the light of them, the better will the party's ideological and political leadership be insured by them and the more possibilities will be created for those broad mass organizations of the working class to play still better their role as powerful and loyal assistants of the party, to increase daily its leadership role in our society and to make the dictatorship of the proletariat still more invincible. The whole activity of the Trade Union organs and organizations rests upon the party's orientations and decisions and is carried on with the purpose of understanding, concretizing and realizing them.

The party has always drawn the attention of the directing organs and cadres of the Trade Unions to the need to guard against manifestations of conceit and self-complacency. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the leaders of the mass organizations must take great care not to let themselves be filled with arrogance, the tendency toward sickly independence, and forget and underestimate the party's role or consider it as just a symbol, while considering their organizations as a "party." And manifestations of such tendencies may also arise in the activity of some organ or organization of the Trade Unions whenever and wherever the specifics of their work are exaggerated and their cadre or activist thinks that the work of the Trade Unions is his exclusive territory, that he alone is competent to deal with and resolve the affairs of the organization.

It is superfluous for us to say how dangerous such concepts and tendencies are, however slight they may be. They lead one to seek formally to be in proper order as to insurance of party leadership whereas in practice one opens the way to removal from the effective direction and control of the party. It is, therefore, imperative to combat every such manifestation in embryo and to instill deeply in the conscience of every cadre and activist of the Trade Unions the idea that solely within the framework of the party line, orientations and directives and only under its effective leadership can all the problems of the work of the Trade Unions be correctly solved, since everyone of their cadres or activists can work well only when he acts in conformity with the party's line and under its direction.

It is likewise important to combat the tendency manifested here and there by some cadre to identify the Trade Unions with the working class. It sometimes happens that the achievements, victories and heroisms in the deeds of the working class are taken as achievements in the deeds of the Trade Unions, their cadres. Such misapprehensions, which are harmful, come from a misconception of the problem, as well as from the tendency to self-complacency noted now and then in cadres and members of the directing forums of the Trade Unions, which like to identify the achievements of

the masses with their own work and abilities, to palliate or cover up the shortcomings and weaknesses in their own work behind the achievements of the working masses.

The task of the leading organs of the Trade Unions is to make it clear that the victories and achievements of the working class are closely linked to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party and are the fruit of the mobilization and struggle of the working masses to apply that line, the colossal job being done by the party for the communist education and mobilization of the masses. The Trade Unions help the party to educate and mobilize the masses to the degree to which they apply the line, teachings and tasks set by the party. Therefore, it is necessary that the Trade Union organizations widely develop, in their ranks and especially among the cadres themselves, the spirit of modesty which characterizes the working class, which talks little and works much, so that every cadre and activist may make an objective judgment of what he has done and what he has not done; of the merits and the shortcomings and weaknesses of his own work, so as not to embellish the situation but to report to the party the true state of affairs, both the positive phenomena and the negative manifestations.

Economism has been and remains an opportunistic current on an international scale, aiming to draw the worker movement away from its revolutionary path. The old reformists and the new revisionists are attempting even now to limit the "syndical" movement to the framework of the economic requirements, demands for some small improvement in wages and other things, as well as to placing the principle of material stimulus and profit at all cost above everything else. They use these refined means for the purpose of disrupting the working class politically, making it lose its own hegemonic role and weakening and displacing the leading role of its true Marxist-Leninist party.

Our party, drawing lessons from the tragedy that has happened in the Soviet Union, has taken very important measures on the basis of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings to avoid manifestations of economism and insure the ideopolitical annealing and revolutionization of all workers. The Trade Unions too have been mobilized and have striven to put into effect all the measures taken by the party, including those having to do with the perfecting of the relationships of distribution according to work, with the harmonization and coordination of material and moral stimuli, and so forth. The working class and the Trade Unions, as well as all our people, have unanimously approved and supported without reservation the important decision of April of this year by the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania concerning the reduction of high salaries, certain improvements in the wage system and the narrowing of the essential differences between town and country. They have taken an active part in discussing the draft directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan to be approved by the Sixth Party Congress, presenting many useful proposals and making improvements in that plan.

But in treating the problem of the danger of economism, the party has likewise made it clear that when the Trade Unions interest themselves in economic problems, this does not mean that they slide into positions of economism, especially since they have also engaged and are engaging in the ideopolitical education of the workers. It has made it clear that the Trade Unions, as its important lever, through which it is linked in an organized manner to the working class primarily in the production field, have also engaged and must engage more fully in solving the economic problems of the enterprise and the country, constantly increasing the consciousness of the workers so that they will everywhere and at all times place the general interest above the personal, increase their mobilization and ardor in work, and fulfill and exceed the plan tasks. The party has likewise stressed that, in order for the working class to understand fully and to acquit itself adequately of its directing role in society, it is necessary for it to take an active part also in the management of the economy, to draft, familiarize itself well with, and carry out the plans, since, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the working masses "must be taught to direct not just wind and smoke, but all sectors of life." Therefore, it is necessary that the Trade Union organizations strive more and better to have the thinking and proposals of the workers properly reflected in the plans drafted and to get them to know to the last detail how the tasks are performed, what the difficulties and obstacles are, so as to permit no manifestation of bureaucratism, technocratism or liberalism, no erroneous action contrary to the party's line and directives. Only bureaucrats and technocrats who aim to draw the working class away from management of the economy and to decide things according to their own judgment say: "let the workers give up their say." (!) The organs and organizations of the Trade Unions have the duty to aid the party better every day in its struggle to have the working class and masses pass judgment on every important thing everywhere, discuss and decide, in accordance with the party line and under its leadership, combating every manifestation aimed at stifling the voice of the masses and undervaluing their great experience and aptitudes for managing the economy and the whole life of the country on the basis of democratic centralism.

Of course, the Trade Unions must also not underestimate the danger of falling into positions of economism. This danger remains continuous and real for them. It is a fact that some administrations of enterprises exert a constant pressure on the Trade Union organizations, pressing them to concern themselves more with the purely vocational, technical and administrative problems of production. It is necessary to combat this pressure and tendency with due force, since any underestimation of the ideological and educational activity of the organizations and overestimation of the technical-economic side of problems of production in their activity may lead to economism. Therefore, it is also imperative, in examining and solving problems, to display the greatest care and attention to having a proper relationship and the right linkage of political tasks with the economic ones, and to treat the latter primarily from the political and ideological viewpoint, as well as to eliminate any formalism and superficiality in educational work, without sticking merely to the organized forms or some talk or lecture, but conducting the work in an all-around manner, daily and as concretely as possible.

The party teaches us that every problem of production or of the economy has more than just its technical or administrative side. It has, above all, a political-technical side; it has the party's proletarian policy as its basis. It is precisely by grappling still better with this point, recording the political side of the problem and explaining the party's policy on each question of production, that the Trade Unions help to raise the political consciousness of the masses and the directing role of the working class and its party in the economy and the other sectors of life.

The exposition and transmission of the party's directives to the masses, the strengthening of convictions about its correctness and the mobilization of the workers to perform the tasks deriving therefrom are the most important task of the Trade Union Organizations. This task is properly performed wherever the organization, combating every bureaucratic method of treating problems in a restricted circle of "specialists," does an extensive, thorough and well argued and organized job with the whole mass of members in clarifying the content and purpose of the party's decisions. The task of the managing organs and the organizations of the Trade Unions is to organize mass discussion of the party's decisions and directives, give a political-ideological explanation of them, so that the workers will constantly increase their political self-knowledge and rise up to fight and launch into drives to put the party's directives into effect.

But the Trade Union organs and organizations are especially required to improve their work further, particularly to bring to the party the voice and experience of the masses, the problems posed by life and the activity of the workers. This engenders the need for a resolute and persistent struggle to educate the cadres and activists of the organization in simplicity, frankness, mutual respect and a social spirit in their relations with the workers, to maintain lively and sound ties with the masses everywhere and at all times, to live their life, to know well their spiritual and mental state, the difficulties and obstacles which they encounter, and to make the respective generalizations and conclusions and bring them to the party. In this process of educating and reeducating the cadres and activists of the organization it is necessary to combat manifestations of arrogance and self-complacency, the inflation of successes and the minimization of shortcomings, mistakes and negative phenomena, euphoria, work for sensational effect and mere show, which create favorable terrain for formalism, the withering of the thought and initiative of the masses, indifference and the development of other dangerous ailments. The Trade Unions have a great responsibility in bringing the party the true voice of the masses, the true state of affairs, tackling carefully the questions raised by the workers, refraining from underestimating and passing over without consideration even anything that at first may seem small and unimportant, and in informing the party correctly and in due time. And this needs to be done constantly everywhere, at work and away from it; it must be done systematically by all the cadres and activists of the organization, which should not content themselves with the thought that

"they have the situation in the palm of their hand" through the figures and opinions that they get from the workers in the administrative organs; but, blending with the masses, they should listen with care to their opinions, their correct judgments, their requests and proposals, and make them known to the party.

The party has stressed several times the great danger of bureaucratism and liberalism, making it clear to us that they are expressions of the class struggle which is going on and will continue until communism; that bureaucratism and liberalism consist of hostile concepts toward the people and are brought about by abominable practices aimed at creating a privileged caste seeking to subdue and oppress the masses, eliminate and liquidate the party's leading role, obstruct and sabotage the enforcement of its directives, and so create the danger of degeneration of our socialist order. Therefore, the party has also continually demanded of the Trade Unions that they rise up resolutely against every manifestation of bureaucratism and liberalism, bearing in mind, when carrying out that directive, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha that wherever the class speaks bureaucratism has no place, whereas wherever the class is silent bureaucratism rears its head.

To carry on successfully the fight against bureaucratism and liberalism it is necessary that the cadres and the aktiv of the Trade Unions shall not stick to general phrases and slogans, but learn and also teach all the members of the organization to discern, to evaluate and to dare to rise up and give the alarm against any action by anyone who seeks to eliminate the party's leadership, distort its line, oppose the line of the masses, stifle the voice of the workers, replace live work with people by orders and writings, and inflate the administrative apparatuses. Bureaucratism and liberalism are to be found wherever there are manifestations of routine, arbitrariness, imperiousness, arrogance, concessions, technocratism and intellectualism, an easygoing attitude, tendencies to abuse an official position, violation of the laws, insurance of privileges and personal profit, the sowing of indifference, conformism, a feeling of fear, and other things. Without taking a firm stand toward these manifestations and submitting them to the masses for discussion so that they may scourge them with all their revolutionary pathos, the Trade Unions cannot do a good job of giving a sound education to the masses and performing their own role as levers of the party.

To defend the party line from every deformation, give a sound education to the working class and teach it to govern the life of the country under the party's leadership, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have underscored the necessity of developing working class control. The Trade Unions play an important role in this matter. They must strive to have working class control properly understood, to see to it that it is not exercised by campaigns and that there shall be no misunderstandings or uncontrolled and irresponsible actions in this matter. Working class control is guided,

inspired and organized by the party. The Trade Unions have the duty to aid the party in carrying it out, by raising problems, making proposals, and assisting in organizing and developing it in such a way as to serve most efficiently the defense and exact enforcement of the party line. But this is achieved only to the extent that the workers know concretely and make their own the party line, its policy and principles, and the laws, regulations and orders of the state. The duty of the Trade Unions is to help the party to acquaint the working class with them, to have it assimilate their ideopolitical content and, by its inflexible attitude and struggle, to prevent them from being violated.

The party has always stressed that the fundamental duty of the Trade Unions is the ideopolitical education of the masses. In this matter it proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist principle that socialism is built by the masses and they are made conscious by the party. The task of the Trade Unions, as schools of communism and assistants of the party, is to educate the masses in the party's line and principles. And it must be stated that appreciable results have been obtained in this respect. Particularly the establishment of the organized system of ideopolitical education of the workers has further increased the responsibility of the Trade Unions in this field.

But the growing tasks of socialist construction, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the sharpness of the class struggle render still more urgent the task of strengthening the educational work with the workers to give them a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist class annealment. This requires, above all, that the educational work of the Trade Unions be grounded on the documents of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, which contain Marxism-Leninism as applied under our country's conditions. The assimilation of their ideopolitical gist is of colossal importance in educating the masses. For this purpose it is necessary to do a better job, not only of consolidating the system of ideological education of the workers, but particularly to improve the content, raise the level of the lectures, intensify the study of the literature, conduct debates, and persistently fight every manifestation of formalism, scholasticism, practicalism; to tie the ideological work more closely to the workers' concrete problems, and to explain the principles underlying the party's policy in close conjunction with the tasks of every worker.

Broadening and intensifying the educational work of the Trade Unions poses the task of combating the notion of reducing that education to a mere organized system. It must be made clearer every day that the whole activity of the Trade Unions is persuasion and education; that their entire work has the purpose of educating the masses. On this basis and for this purpose we must combat every manifestation of onesidedness, superficiality, and formalism in the work of the Trade Unions, constantly intensifying the political-ideological life of the organizations, organizing and developing better the daily political work through individual agitation, reading of the press, conduct of debates, confrontations, the posting of fliers and through many other forms and means of propaganda.

The entire activity of the Trade Unions must serve more and better for the political education of the masses, so that they may understand and bear in mind, in every attitude and action, the development of the internal and international situation and the tasks deriving therefrom. It is important and a task of the day for the Trade Unions to persuade every worker not only of the real dangers represented by the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country, but also of the need to rise up all together to fight for the enforcement of the great principle of reliance on our own forces and to put the sacrifice of thrift on the order of the day, to sharpen revolutionary vigilance, carry on the class struggle, defend socialist property, raise production and put a stop to waste, stockpiling and poor-quality production, increase exports and reduce imports; and so on.

The education of the workers in a socialist attitude toward work and socialist property and in the norms of communist morality has been and remains always one of the most important directions of the educational work of the Trade Unions. The achievements in the development of the economy and the construction of socialism clearly indicate the moral figure of our new man. The Trade Unions have rendered their assistance in this respect. But in the field of the socialist attitude toward work and property, in the enforcement of the norms of behavior and living there are still not a few problems which must not be underestimated. It would be a mistake to view them as things apart and as isolated manifestations. The alien manifestations encountered in a good many cases, such as breaches of discipline at work, the misuse of work time and socialist property, the chase after quantity to the detriment of quality, the keeping of low work norms and other actions of this sort to insure illegal income, unseemly behavior at work, in society or in the family show that the Trade Unions are not doing their educational work with their members as they should.

Important in this respect is also the position taken in some cases by the cadres and activists of the organization. In certain cases some cadres and activists fall into the position of uninstructed groups or individual workers inclined toward their own narrow economic interests and making unfair demands. Of course, it is necessary to understand properly that the Trade Unions will always come out in support of the workers whenever bureaucratic and arbitrary actions harm their interests, but it is up to them also to rise up with the same strength against every case in which some workers seek to take from society more than is due to them, and to educate every worker not only to demand his rights but also to perform his duties to the last one. And no theorizings with readymade slogans are needed to give that education. The party has stressed that educating the workers in a socialist attitude toward work and property and in the norms of communist morality requires above all that people be taught concretely, in a simple and very understandable manner, those principles and laws that make them work well, produce more, better and more cheaply, and that the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism which find their reflection in the party's directives and in the laws of our socialist state be explained to them concretely in close conjunction with the problems which preoccupy the enterprise or work center.

Improvement in the educational work of the Trade Unions in these directions requires first of all a thorough knowledge of the problems affecting the economy of the country, the district or the enterprise. Only on the basis of such a knowledge can educational and political work be tied to those problems, their ideological and political content be explained and concrete tasks be deduced for the worker collective and for each worker in particular. Of course, such an education cannot be achieved by relying on the propagandists alone, but by including all the cadres and the aktiv of the Trade Unions in the educational work. Experience has shown also that the revolutionary movements, initiatives and drives of the masses are a powerful means of educating and mobilizing the masses. The task of the Trade Unions is to further perfect their work in stimulating and supporting socialist competition and the mass movements and drives of the workers to perform all tasks, all the items and indicators in the state plan in every enterprise, in every district and in every branch of the economy and primarily in agriculture, the oil industry, the great industrial projects. Their task is to stimulate especially the initiatives of the workers to improve the quality of production, raise labor productivity and save raw and other materials and fuels, and to make fully efficient use of machinery and equipment.

The educational work of the Trade Unions tackles a wide range of problems. It must also serve better in seeing to it that every worker is fully aware that the defense of the fatherland is a first duty, that participation in and precise performance of military training, physical-combat hardening, and drives to strengthen defense are and must remain inseparable matters in all the work and daily struggle of the workers.

It is likewise necessary that the Trade Unions understand more fully their responsibility for the attitude and behavior of every worker, not only in the enterprise but outside of it, in society and in the family. The question is for them to do away with backwardness in their work in this field, to wage an uncompromising fight against every alien liberal and modernistic manifestation in behavior, dress, esthetic tastes and way of living on the one hand, and against every manifestation of vestiges of the past, patriarchal customs and religious prejudices on the other hand. And in order that such alien attitudes and manifestations in these two respects may not be revived and that the ground for their existence may be reduced more and more, a continuous, differentiated and all-around struggle is required in the ranks of the members of the Trade Unions.

Life has confirmed the great communicative force of cultural and artistic activity, its great effect in the revolutionary education of the workers, the enrichment of their spiritual world. The Trade Unions have done a great job with visible results in developing the amateur artistic movement in the ranks of the working class, in the successful development of important drives in this field. But in view of the orders given by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech of 20 December 1974, they are faced with still greater tasks in vitalizing the cultural-artistic life in the ranks of the workers, further developing the wonderful artistic creativity of the

masses, supporting the multiplication and development of new talents from the ranks of the amateur movement, so that culture and the arts may beautify more and more every day the revolutionary life of the masses and the moral figure of our new man.

The deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution for communist education, for perfecting the moral-political figure of our new man under the conditions of the hard ideological class struggle requires that a united front be created and operate everywhere and at all times in the fight against alien manifestations and antisocialist attitudes. This gives rise to the necessity for closer, more concrete and effective collaboration between the mass organizations, under the party's leadership, in all links. Without such collaboration, without uniting forces and energies, without striking all together in one specific direction and without overcoming the shortcomings and weaknesses noted in the practice of that collaboration and the realization of that united front for the revolutionary class education of the workers, the required results in educating and mobilizing the workers to perform the tasks cannot be achieved. Within the framework of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party and its Seventh Congress, all the mass organizations have undertaken a common ideological drive to view, treat and resolve every opinion, attitude and action of each worker from the standpoint of the working class and the conduct of the class struggle, to enforce the party's policy and directives and the norms of communist morality everywhere and at all times, and to see to it that a revolutionary class stand is held in every case and on every problem. The best possible organization of this collaboration, the insurance of its continuity, and the generalization and dissemination of the experience to be gained must necessarily raise to a higher degree the work of the mass organizations under the party's leadership in the communist education of the workers.

The successful performance of the great tasks set by the party for the Trade Unions requires the further revolutionization of the internal life of the organizations by deepening the work for the ideological understanding and revolutionary application of the norms and rules of their life and activity. Of prime importance is particularly the strengthening and vitalization of the life of the local Trade Union organizations for it is there that the members are and it is there that the fight is being waged to execute the tasks and anneal people. The Trade Unions are now gathering into their ranks hundreds and thousands of members. It is very important that every one of their members should develop the feeling of a social militant, of organized involvement in social life, of exact execution of the tasks and norms regulating the internal life and activity of the Trade Unions.

The achievement of the desired results in this respect requires that the life and activity of the Trade Unions become pervaded more and more by the spirit of the class struggle; that the figure of the member of the organization and of the Trade Union be kept pure; that the class consciousness of the members be strengthened; that their interest should grow and a sound

revolutionary situation should be developed everywhere--an environment of combat uncompromising toward any alien attitude or manifestation. For this it is necessary, among other things, that the trade committees not only propose for examination in the organization those problems which constitute the main points, but also do everything to make the life of the organization effervesce with the thought of the workers, the conduct of debate on the basis of the party line, its documents and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Formalism and officialism are enemies that sow indifference, conformism and other harmful ailments. The Trade Union organizations need a vigorous life, a warm social environment characterized by mutual trust, by a desire to help one another, a frank atmosphere without etiquette or hierarchy, in which everyone can express his opinion freely and without fear, and in which there is no toleration of pressure from administrations, bureaucratic influences or tendencies toward tutelage of the organization by the apparatuses, but where sound revolutionary criticism and self-criticism may be exercised without restriction, especially criticism from below to the top, and parallel criticism.

But for this it is necessary that the members of the directing organs of the Trade Unions be the first to set an example--the cadres and activists upon whom it is incumbent to show in practice their readiness to render an accounting to those who have entrusted the direction to them, to listen to their voice and remarks and to fulfill their orders, always taking a self-critical attitude toward their work, recognizing their own shortcomings and mistakes, accepting criticism from below in a conscientious manner and mobilizing to correct their shortcomings by useful work. Above all, it is required of the Trade Union cadres that they view, assess and combat as repugnant every manifestation of haughtiness, every tendency to embellish the situation, polish things up, conceal shortcomings; every manifestation of imperiousness, arrogance, arbitrariness, revenge, and so forth, which sow indifference and apathy among the masses.

Strengthening the local organizations requires improvement in the method and style of work of the Trade Union directing organs themselves, in such a way that they will do well qualified work in the spirit of collegiality, a sense of responsibility, a sense of militancy, and will give the localities more effective assistance in analyzing the party's directives, in the practical organization of the work for their execution, in the ideological education and qualification of the cadres and the aktiv of the organization to perform the tasks assigned to them.

The Trade Unions will perform ever better their role as levers of the party and as schools of communism in the degree to which their directing organs and organizations know how to fight to insure the party's leadership at all levels of authority, and primarily in the local organizations. This requires that all realize, in principle and practice, that it is necessary to combine more adequately the vertical leadership within the Trade Union system with the horizontal leadership of the party at every level of

authority. While insuring the party's leadership in their whole activity and at all levels of authority, especially in the local organizations, and rendering an accounting to the party on the execution of the decisions and tasks set by it, the Trade Unions organs and organizations must at the same time display broad initiative and self-action, and assume more responsibility for the tasks entrusted to them. Of course, this requires that the local party committees and organizations too in their work for the leadership in the activity of the Trade Unions shall not proceed from the belief that those organizations may act according to the guidelines adopted by them because they have their own forums. The party Central Committee has stressed that the party committees and organizations must feel fully their responsibility for using all the mass organizations, and hence also the Trade Unions, as levers of the party, for helping and controlling them, especially on the main questions; at the same time they must not permit any manifestation of tutelage over them, but must fight to carry out their initiative on the basis of the party line and to enforce it.

The Trade Unions are a broad organization of the working class masses. They have a great deal of experience and unlimited possibilities for improving their activity. Under the party's direction, in accordance with Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the Trade Unions will certainly perform ever better their role as levers of the party and as its helpers in the socialist education and mobilization of the masses in the struggle to fulfill the great tasks of socialist construction and defense of the fatherland.

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ALBANIA

UNDERESTIMATION OF IMPORTANCE OF GEOLOGY DECRIED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Sep 76 pp 22-31

[Article by Kostaq Lazri: "Geological Exploration and Discovery Should Lead the Rapid Development of the Extractive and Processing Industry"]

[Text] In its policy of socialist industrialization our party has always devoted special attention to the exploration and discovery of subsoil resources as a great and inexhaustible source for the rapid development of the extractive and processing industry and our whole economy at a rapid rate. By its orientations and directives, its special decisions on developing and expanding the work in the geology sector, the party has aimed to have this sector perform ever better the tasks set in taking the lead in the extractive and processing industry.

The geology workers, aware of their high mission, and relying on their own forces, have striven courageously and have heroically overcome the most varied difficulties and obstacles and added to their successes from year to year and from one five-year plan to another. They have added to their successes by providing the country with ever larger reserves of minerals. In the last five-year period too, with the exception of petroleum and gas, all the geologic exploration branches in general fulfilled well the tasks set by the Sixth Party Congress. However, if we take into account the conditions created and the tasks for the future, which stem objectively from the demands of the present stage of socialist construction under the conditions of imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its all-around pressure, there is no room for self-complacency.

The draft directives of the Seventh Party Congress for the Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for a rapid growth of coal, chrome, copper, iron-nickel, petroleum and gas extraction, and so forth. But the realization of those tasks requires, above all, an acceleration of the rate of exploration and discovery in order to evaluate more correctly and broadly all the resources of our subsoil, provide sufficient geological and industrial reserves, establish optimum relationships between them, enlarge the existing deposits and discover new deposits, thus placing the geological service on an ever more scientific basis. But the best performance of those tasks, the

successful solution of the problems and the overcoming of the difficulties arising in the process of searching for and discovering subsoil resources requires that the party organizations, the mass organizations and the economic and state organs concentrate their attention and work better than heretofore upon certain important links in the method and style of work which are the keys to ever better results.

Above all, it is necessary to further intensify the effort to have the party's decisions, orientations and directives known, understood and enforced in practice.

In its orientations and decisions the party has constantly drawn the attention of the geology workers to the need to speed up the rate of exploration and discovery of subsoil resources, moving step by step from the known to the unknown; to raise their scientific level, by carrying on exploration on the basis of integrated and coordinated studies based on our experience and world experience, with the greatest possible effectiveness and the least expenditure. Knowledge, an understanding of the deep content and precise execution of those orientations and decisions, have been and remain a permanent task, but they are especially urgent under the present conditions.

Our country is surrounded by enemies as it works and struggles. The economic blockade, in open or more camouflaged forms, is becoming fiercer from year to year. The economic-financial crises in the imperialist and revisionist countries exert their pressure on us too through trade relations with those countries. The ideological pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world on our country, which is continuous in the field of geological exploration as in every other, tries to sow alien and antisocialist ideas to impede our forward march. All these circumstances constitute conditions for the appearance of very negative phenomena unless understood and evaluated as they should be to cope concretely with them at every step of our practical activity.

A critical analysis from the class struggle standpoint which has been made of certain non-performances in the geology field shows that there are still workers and cadres who do not properly understand the situation and circumstances under which we are building socialism. Therefore, the party directs that these conditions and circumstances be made clear to the geology workers through intense persuasive and clarifying work in order that they may be fully aware that the way to resist all those hostile pressures is to heighten revolutionary vigilance and persist in the mobilization of all forces to perform and surpass the tasks set them in every year of the five-year plan. In this manner they will make each day a better contribution toward enforcing our party's consistent economic policy of ever rapid and sure development toward the full construction of the socialist society in reliance on our own forces, in order to increase and strengthen the country's independence, insure expanded socialist reproduction, to fill ever better the material and cultural needs of the working masses, and also to remove a few negative phenomena in cases where the tasks in the material

production field are not being fulfilled in all the indicators and where alien antisocialist viewpoints and tendencies are not properly combated in time.

The party has constantly demanded that our whole development be based on our own forces, on our people's creative energy, on the country's reserves and possibilities, on the material and technical base which we possess and which is being strengthened every day. The struggle for the intensive development of the economy, to increase accumulation, augment the national revenue and save in every respect, has to do precisely with the enforcement of this fundamental orientation of the management of our socialist economy. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "...under the conditions of the sharpening of the class struggle from the internal and international standpoints, it is imperative in this five-year plan to bear in mind still more firmly, in principle and practice, our party's basic orientation of reliance on our own forces." The geology workers must also be guided by this principle in all their activity.

But in practice this principle is not always correctly analyzed, understood and enforced. In a good many cases the local party organizations and the managing cadres of the geological enterprises and expeditions treat this very important problem in a narrow framework, principally to provide within the country some equipment and spare parts and certain material that can replace those brought from abroad. Of course, this is an important aspect of the struggle to apply the principle of reliance on our own forces, a task that must be performed still better than heretofore. But it is not everything, much less the main thing, especially for geology.

The application of the principle of reliance on our own forces in the geological sector finds its full incarnation primarily in our discovering reserves of petroleum, gas, chrome, copper, coal, iron, and so forth, according to the plans and assigned tasks, always under the guidance of the party policy and orientations, on the basis of the conscientious work of the people involved, their revolutionary experience, on the material-technical base which we possess, on the perfection of the organization of labor and on the application of scientific achievements. All work must serve to attain that object. Therefore, the communists, cadres and specialists, acquainting themselves thoroughly with the party's policy and striving at every step to apply it exactly, must make the right use of advanced experience, devote special attention to applying scientific achievements and methods in accordance with our geological and prospecting conditions in order to exploit most efficiently the reserves and possibilities that exist for discovering our country's subsoil resources.

Life shows that the application of the party's economic policy depends largely on the degree of the acquaintance of all workers with the party's decisions, directives and orientations, in which that policy finds its expression, analysis and concretization. Hence, the job of acquainting the geology workers too with the party's materials is one of the principal tasks of the local organizations in the enterprises, the expeditions, at the geological prospecting drill sites, as well as in the scientific research

institutions, always bearing in mind that this is an extensive and continuous job demanding the highest qualifications. It begins with the most thorough posing and comprehension of the party's decisions in general and of those on geological exploration in particular, and continuous with a constant explanation of their ideo-theoretical basis, the evolution and adoption of organizational and technical measures to put them into practice in accordance with the concrete conditions in every work center, with the systematic and all-around control of that enforcement and with a generalization of the lessons and conclusions drawn from that control and from the analysis of things, so that revolutionary experience may be continually enriched. Improvement in the method of work of the party organizations in the geology sectors in this field is the principal direction for achieving an increase in their leading role.

We stress this because there are also local party organizations in the geology sectors which still do not concern themselves properly with analyzing the party's directives and orientations, do not work systematically with them and do not properly organize the control of their enforcement. Some consider them to be "known and analyzed long ago"; some others regard them as concerning only the cadres, under the pretext that they have a "secret" character, while some consider their job done with the setting of a directive or the elaboration of a decision and the drafting of some program of measures for its enforcement, which not infrequently remains in the files of the chiefs and responsible officials of the enterprises and sections, with all the negative consequences.

For example, the 1967 decision of the Politburo on speedy and good-quality preparation of the prospective structures for drilling clearly sets the task of getting the fullest possible data in order to increase efficiency in exploration and drilling, and of performing the whole set of geological, geophysical, paleontological, geochemical, hydrogeological and other operations and to raise scientific geological generalization to a higher level, involving the thinking of the workers, technicians and specialists widely and continually in all these preparations. But, although this decision was gone over with the communists and the workers at the time it was issued, and programs of technical-organizational measures for its enforcement were also drafted, it has in fact nowhere been fully carried out even today, even in exploring for petroleum, for which this decree was issued. Similarly, they are not working everywhere with the same concern either to insure industrial reserves or geological ones, either for today or for the prospective future. But, in order for geology to take the lead, it is necessary not only to respect the planned relationships between industrial reserves and the geological ones, but also to improve them continually, so that the party orientation on the integrated preparation of the structures to be subjected to prospect drilling may be fully implemented.

This is why it is necessary that the local party organizations, within the framework of advancing the tasks of the draft plan for the Sixth Five-Year Plan period return to those decisions and that new concrete measures be

adopted to apply them in all the sectors where they work. Positive experience is also to be found both in the oil industry and in the mining industry. Thus, as a result of the careful work to put into effect the party's directives and decisions, the workers of the geological enterprise for gas exploration in Lushnje have obtained good results in the last few years; likewise those in the geological enterprises in Peshkopi, Mirdite and elsewhere have obtained good results in chrome, copper, and so forth. It is important to generalize their positive experience and disseminate it everywhere in order to extricate from their backwardness also the geological enterprises in Shkoder, Tropoje and Qyteti Stalin, which have not fulfilled their tasks as they should.

The performance of the great tasks set for the rapid development of geological exploration and discovery at low cost requires that work with people occupy a larger place than heretofore in the activity of the party organizations and in the state and economic organs.

It is a fact that relatively less work is done with the geology people and particularly with the specialists and workers on expeditions and at the test drillings than with the workers in the other sectors of the economy both in ideological class education and in elevating them technically and vocationally, in getting them to know and apply advanced experience, involving them in experimentation and applying scientific data, and so on. The Party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally have drawn attention to this matter and have given concrete orientations for improving not only the working conditions and life of the geology workers, but also the ideological work of clarification with them by the party organizations and the mass organizations and state organs. But in spite of the achievements in this respect, one still notes shortcomings and weaknesses which must be overcome as quickly as possible. The analyses of the work in the past year show that on the expedition to Cukal by the Shkoder geological enterprise, on that to Alpe in Tropoje, and on that to Batra in Mat, at some drillings in remote regions outside of their district, and so forth, the workers had not only not been familiarized with certain important party documents, but even the press rarely got to them. It goes without saying that under such conditions the work of the party organizations with people cannot meet the requirements for the performance of the tasks set, and this burdens with a heavy load of responsibility not only the local party organizations in the geological exploration enterprises, but also the party committees themselves in the districts, the forums and mass organizations, as well as the economic and state organs up to the government departments.

The excuses for these weaknesses and shortcomings on the grounds of the difficulties arising from the distribution of the expeditions, the distance, the terrain, and so forth, which are not infrequently heard, are quite without foundation and express a mistaken position, which impedes the taking of serious measures to improve the situation. As such, they must be combated. All-around educational work with people under the leadership of the local party organizations is the most important task under every circumstance

and any sort of conditions. But it cannot be carried on in the same way and in a stereotyped manner in every work and production sector. When the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha direct us to do so in a differentiated manner, they also bear in mind the specifics of the work in each sector. This is also required of the local party organizations in the geological enterprises and expeditions which guide the educational work. They must build a method of work fitting the conditions of the geology, the work specifics of the people in that sector. There is positive experience in this aspect too, but it has to be discovered, generalized and disseminated everywhere.

The broad popular discussion of the draft directives of the Seventh Party Congress with the geology workers has become a great political drive serving not only to discover internal reserves and advance the draft plan figures, but also to raise to a higher degree the persuasive and clarifying work of the party organizations and its levers to create the necessary convictions about the fulfillment of the plan at the least possible cost. Within this framework, an important place has been and must be occupied by the fight against certain alien concepts and practices which impede the rapid and effective development of the geological service, such as, for example, the "globalistic" tendency toward "metromania," which in some cases has led to realizing and exceeding the meterage of prospect drilling without yielding the desired result in the discovery of geological reserves. The task of the geological expeditions is the discovery of new deposits, the clarification and expansion of the existing deposits, the raising of the geological reserves into the category of industrial reserves, the precise determination of the useful accompanying components, and so forth, and not just to cover areas with sonic probes and seismic operations or to drill thousands of meters deep. Unless reserves have been discovered, the task cannot be considered to have been done regardless of the drillings or sonic probes performed. At the same time, it is necessary to combat every opinion and theory that narrows the perspective, such as erroneous notions and various theorizings about the so-called "yellow lines" of the existing deposits, about the existence of structures in the form of lenses, pockets and isolated blocks, about "uncertainty" in exploration, because allegedly "that is the way geology is," or because "there is no drilling without waste," and so on.

In the matter of exploration, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "we must do as in the army, with 'the first shot on the target': any other course is harmful." This is the motto of our work in geological exploration and discovery, and it is the password of the day for the revolutionary education of the geology workers.

One of the objects of the ideopolitical work of the party organizations in geology is to raise the conscience of the workers in this sector to a still higher degree, to inculcate in them a spirit of readiness, mobilization and sacrifice to confront and overcome the difficulties connected with the nature of their work. It is a known fact that the geology workers contend with more difficult conditions than many workers in a good many other branches of the economy. But when the political and economic

importance of their tasks is explained to them, that is, the fact that they occupy a very important combat post on the front of socialist construction, that they shed light on the secrets of our rich subsoil and place them at the service of the fatherland, its all-around development and defense, they find opportunities and great strength to perform their tasks as revolutionaries without flinching before the difficulties. This is attested by the work and heroic acts of many workers in that sector. However, there are still communists and party organizations that do not properly appreciate this colossal force of revolutionary education and therefore neglect it and concern themselves with petty matters of administrative routine, with material-technical supply, and so forth, for which they should set in motion the respective organs charged with those tasks and demand an accounting from them down to the last detail with regard to their execution.

The lack of sufficient ideological training also accounts for the fact that in some cases one notes a kind of reluctance and hesitation on the part of a good many specialists to give courageous opinions in exploring prospective structures and areas, to undertake and perform quick operations that have been responsibly studied. Of course, such attitudes indicate the inadequate work done by them themselves in creating deep revolutionary concepts and convictions, so as to be fully aware that their work and opinion have an important place in performing the tasks, and that the party and people care and spend for their training, so that they, whether geologists, geophysicists, drillers or economists, may make their maximum valuable contribution to discovering the natural wealth of our subsoil. But it is precisely here that we have to demand responsibility of the party organizations, which have the duty to stimulate and encourage them, to organize and help them to work persistently to raise their ideopolitical level, to develop and increase their revolutionary courage and a feeling of responsibility with a scientific and a practical basis.

It is known that the data obtained from geological, seismic and geophysical probes, from electrometry or paleontology, from geochemistry, or from the samples extracted are orienting data that facilitate the work of the specialists and workers in judging and deciding about the extension of explorations and the determination of drilling sites. But this task is neither simple nor devoid of responsibility, since it is connected with no small investment for exploration, and especially with the length of time taken by the drilling expedition to reach a productive stratum. Here, a special role belongs to the theoretical and practical processing and generalization of those data, their correlation on the basis of the scientific laws and the drawing of exact conclusions determining the fate of the exploration operations. In this matter, the mature and revolutionary opinion of the specialists must be evaluated and supported by the party organizations, the workers and the economic and state organs, whereas groundless, technocratic and irresponsible opinion must be rejected and forcefully criticized so that it will not be repeated. Precisely such a treatment of technical opinion will help to overcome those cases where the specialists, afraid of falling into technocratism, remain silent and passive, retire and refuse to take responsibility upon themselves.

A broad systematic job is being done, under the constant leadership of the party, to prepare capable cadres and specialists, whose qualified and creative work is highly valued by the party and the people. But at the same time and with the same care, the party is endeavoring to see to it that those cadres are not infected with technocratism, with bureaucratism, with the bossing spirit, which isolate them from the masses, from revolutionary life, and put them in danger of entering upon the path of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. Enforcement of the line of the masses, the involvement of the creative thinking of the broad working masses, does not mean a denial of the role of the specialists. On the contrary, the meshing of the workers' long experience with the data of the scientific studies made by the specialists is the surest way to perform the tasks in the geological prospecting enterprises as well. But understanding and achieving that meshing as properly as possible requires vigorous and continual work with people, a well organized and programmed job of revolutionary class education as well as vocational education, to anneal the revolutionary conscience of the geology workers, employees and specialists, and to raise the theoretical and practical qualifications for a quick and correct solution of the complicated technical and scientific problems of geological exploration.

The most highly efficient use of the existing material and technical base is one of the main tasks of the geology workers, being connected with the application of the principle of reliance on our own forces.

With the constant care of the party and our state, the material and technical base for geologic exploration has been expanded from year to year, and equipped with a high order of means and apparatus for exploration, with accessory materials and with those which are consumed daily during the performance of the tasks. Thus, for the conditions in our country, the geology workers have the use of a material-technical base adequate in quantity and quality to perform fully the tasks set.

But in practice this powerful base is not being exploited everywhere in a rational manner. The planned technical-economic and financial indicators have not yet been attained. For example, in spite of the progress made, shortcomings and weaknesses are still noted in the rational use of the drilling probes, beginning with the delays in transporting them from one drilling site to another, and in setting them up and putting them into operation, and continuing with the weaknesses and shortcomings relating to the insurance of speed in drilling, to the elimination of breakdowns, to extracting samples, and so forth. Thus, the big and important problem remains the correct use, with full capacity and high efficiency, of the probes that we have in operation, as well as of all the equipment, machinery, materials, apparatus, laboratories, means of transportation, and so forth. These are prime questions in the struggle by all geology workers to fulfill the tasks set while relying on our own forces.

We emphasize this because in practice one encounters erroneous ideas and practices which become obstacles to the highly efficient use of the existing material-technical base. Thus, the shortcomings and weaknesses in the rational use of probes are excused by the conditions of the terrain or the strata penetrated. Similarly, all kinds of groundless excuses are deduced for the failure to make full and proper use of measuring and exploring devices, including the coring and electronic computer equipment that we have in the petroleum industry, as well as cases of inaccuracy in the seismic, gravimetric, geochemical analysis, electrometric and other data. It is a fact that all these things are connected with the organization of work, the ability of the cadres, specialists and geology workers to make rational use of all these technical means which have been placed at the disposal of the geology sector. On the other hand, they are also connected with erroneous handicraft notions and with the lack of experience in making highly efficient use of those means and in interpreting them and drawing the right conclusions from the data provided by them. It is inadmissible that anyone, under the conditions created, when the most modern of devices are available, should operate wholly on the basis of empirical knowledge without utilizing them correctly and without properly combining all the data given us by these modern means for whose provision society has invested a great deal.

These are acute problems that should concern the party organizations, the state and economic organs, and they should work incessantly to eliminate entirely all the obstacles and causes that reduce the efficiency of use of the existing material and technical base. The dissemination of good experience in this field is a powerful means, which must be used more widely by the party organizations and its levers to insure the best possible results. Practice shows that those party organizations which apply themselves vigorously to this endeavor have always achieved good results. Thus, the Mirdite Geological Enterprise has concentrated its attention on disseminating the positive experience of geological expeditions Nos 1, 2 and 3, which have achieved good results. Although the working conditions are relatively comparable as between the expeditions of that enterprise, expedition No 1 has thus far fulfilled its annual tasks of increasing reserves, and expedition No 2 has tested the most advanced methods of drilling and overcome its backwardness, whereas expedition No 3 has increased its drilling speed by 26 percent over the average for the enterprise. A concrete knowledge of all the factors which have brought positive results, and their application in the other brigades and expeditions as well, are creating conditions for increasing the efficiency of exploration in the whole enterprise.

Three powerful "profiled" geophysical enterprises are operating in our country: two for petroleum and gas and the other for solid minerals and coal. These enterprises, in addition to the extensive equipment at their disposal, also have a large number of workers, specialists and experienced cadres. The progress made in their work is good, but the very fact that they do not take the lead everywhere with their operations shows that the

volume of their operations in quantity and especially their qualitative level does not meet the requirements made upon them by the geological enterprises. The situation is similar with the geological institutes for petroleum and other minerals.

The great tasks of this five-year plan cannot be realized with full success in all geological exploration unless a perceptible improvement is insured in the work of those exploring enterprises and institutes. The party's orders call for making timely integrated geological and geophysical studies of high quality, for strengthening the geophysical service and extending it not only to known regions and minerals that are being mined or that occur in outcrops, but also to undiscovered regions and areas, to other new minerals located at greater depth, and for recovering and exploiting not only the basic mineral, but also the accompanying ones. All this work requires a coordination of tasks, a high degree of organization of the work and continual assistance and control by the work of every enterprise and institution by the Ministry of Industry and Mines, which must do better in managing and controlling the work done, especially in the geophysical enterprises and the geological institutes.

If we strive continually and with a lofty revolutionary spirit to apply everywhere and at all times the party's revolutionary principle of reliance on our own forces, there is every possibility that the tasks for geology in the five-year plan will be successfully performed and will give the fatherland new oil and gas, copper and chrome, coal and iron deposits and will increase the range of useful minerals extracted from our subsoil.

10002

CSO: 2100

'LISTY' COMMENTS ON FEUD BETWEEN 'L'UNITA' AND 'RUDE PRAVO'

Rome LISTY in Czech No 5, Oct 76 pp 8-9

[Article: "Polemics Between 'RUDE PRAVO' and 'L'UNITA'"]

[Text] For 2 whole months RUDE PRAVO tried to convince its readers that the Berlin Conference of the European Communist Parties "strengthened the unity of views and action" of the communist movement, under the CPSU leadership, naturally. Therefore, it had to suppress the content of the speeches by Berlinguer, Carillo, Marchais, Tito and others whose conception of socialism did not fit the Moscow line. It also concealed the different evaluation of the conference by the Yugoslav party, which very seriously accused Moscow and Prague of misrepresenting the entire proceedings and insisting on "proletarian internationalism," "Marxism-Leninism" and similar rhetoric which were not accepted at the conference.

This entire structure of lies fell suddenly apart when RUDE PRAVO decided to counterattack, obviously in agreement with Moscow, which remained silent for the time being. In an article by Karel Doudera, RUDE PRAVO of 2 September accused the L'UNITA editors of "interfering in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs," and still living back in the period of 1968, with their heads full of slogans of those days. It also accused them "of being partial, since they do not see the positive development of the national economy" and especially, of ignoring the fact that the so-called socialist reformers became "renegades" of the communist movement and even direct "agents of anticommunist propaganda centers." The article further alleges that L'UNITA's editors protect "antisocialist elements" and would like to dictate to the CPCZ who can be a communist and who cannot, and who should be elected as a member of the Central Committee.

RUDE PRAVO thus characterized editors of the central organ of the Italian Communist Party as allies of renegades, and we know very well how they would treat them in our country if they could get hold of them. Doudera and those who inspired him surely did not realize to what extent they are aiding Italian public opinion by this approach, and especially the left, to understand the nature of the present-day CPCZ leadership and normalization better. But maybe they feel honored by it. Perhaps Bilak and Moscow

praised them, but that does not matter. What is essential is the standpoint taken by the Italian Communist Party after the Berlin conference and what is it that caused such anger on the part of the guardians of orthodoxy.

We have already written that L'UNITA recently published several statements by the representatives of the "Prague Spring" from 1968, including the letter to the Berlin conference. It also gave information about the arrest of the members of the "underground" group and the protests it caused in Prague. RUDE PRAVO remained silent about all this; partly because it found it unpleasant to admit that these manifestations are finding a response within the Italian and Western left and with public opinion, because, according to our propaganda, "this has been, of course, of no interest to anyone for a long time," since it has to do with events and persons rotting "on the garbage heap of history."

An Open Wound

On the day of the eighth anniversary of the Soviet intervention, 21 September 1976, L'UNITA published an editorial entitled "Eight Years Since the Intervention in Czechoslovakia." Among other things it says: "Our party immediately expressed its profound disagreement with the military intervention in 1968, which has been repeated on every occasion and at every meeting--most recently the Italian Communist Party delegation referred to it at the Conference of European Communist Parties in Berlin. Very clearly, this has been and still is our attitude."

After characterizing "the new course" in 1968 as a democratic process whose "legality and political legitimacy can never be questioned," the article continues: "The changes which occurred in the party leadership and measures adopted during those few months when the new political course was able to develop, were received in Czechoslovakia with great approval and generated a great flourishing of democracy, mainly due to the creation of new organs capable of representing the workers, and also due to the decentralization of power. All this created a new, positive relationship between the citizens, the party and the socialist state.

"As always when new ways are being explored, unknown results and risks appear. However, the leading role of the CPCZ was in no way threatened: this important experiment should have received encouragement and support of the European socialist movement, which, in fact, the leaders of the European communist parties have expressed. The CPI clearly stated its position to that effect."

After again expressing regret about the intervention, the article continues: "The subsequent removal of Comrades Dubcek and Smrkovsky and additional comrades opened the way to eliminating many gains of 'the new course' and to expulsion of thousands of communists. Many of these left the country, many were deprived of citizenship. Those who stayed have

been prevented from working in their professions. Trials took place, in which prison sentences were passed, and many persons are still serving them."

The article then ends: "We cannot but state with sorrow that the events of 8 years ago have not contributed at all to a solution of Czechoslovakia's problems. On the contrary, it opened a wound which is not going to heal for a long time. The question of autonomy and independence of every party and country, their right to choose their own way of building a new society remains today more than ever a cardinal problem. We shall not cease repeating: the 'Yalta legacy' of Comrade Togliatti--whose anniversary we also commemorate today--is our starting point."

It is only natural that RUDE PRAVO did not quote this article, which caused great indignation of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat. Of course, it is not easy to pick a quarrel with the Italian Communist Party. It is the strongest Western party, and Brezhnev himself showed in Berlin how anxious he was not to cause a split with it. Therefore, feverish consultations between Prague and Moscow, and within the CPCZ leadership itself, took place first. On 2 September RUDE PRAVO finally decided to launch a counterattack, whose content we have already described (we advise our readers, however, to familiarize themselves with the Doudera article in its entirety!).

We Refuse To Consider Them as Renegades

On the very next day, 3 September, L'UNITA's editor in chief, Luca Pavolini, answered for the newspaper. He first objectively summarized all RUDE PRAVO accusations against L'UNITA's editors and then commented: "It is true that we have not changed our mind about the development in Prague which is called the 'new course,' its chief representatives and the events of 1968. We have followed all the subsequent steps leading to Czechoslovakia's stabilization and economic development; we have never ignored or denied them. Nevertheless, we believe that the important political problems closely connected with the manner in which this 'new course' was interrupted and halted are still critical. Among those problems there is also the manner of treatment of Czechoslovakia's citizens and communists who took an important part in this experience, many of whom were elected to party and government leadership, not on the basis of our command, certainly, but by a proper decision of the party and state organs. The attitudes which they represented were often not uniform. However, we refuse to consider 'renegades' those--whether in their country or as emigres--who have remained faithful to the ideas of socialism, despite the fact that they were deprived of the party membership card, excluded from their professions, and in some cases deprived of citizenship.

"As for the accusation of interference, we must frankly say that this is not a very good opportunity for our critics, in view of the case under discussion. Furthermore, we have no intention of interfering. However,

in this as in other problems, we consider it our right as well as duty to express our opinion about the facts and events in any country, in the same manner as we have never refused to listen to and consider the opinions of others about our party and policy."

Beginning of Confrontation

The Italian press, radio and TV paid great attention to this polemic, describing it widely as the first public confrontation between the two trends of European communism since the Berlin conference. On 5 September, the socialist daily AVANTI published a statement on this topic by Jiri Pelikan, who appreciated the attitude of L'UNITA and the Italian Communist Party, thanked the Italian Socialist Party for its continued support, and appealed to the Italian public for every possible assistance in the effort to have Milan Hubl, Jaroslav Sabata, Jiri Muller, Jan Tesar, Antonin Rusk and all Czechoslovak political prisoners released from prison.

The daily STAMPA in this connection pointed out RUDE PRAVO's absence at the annual L'UNITA festival, which took place this year in September in Naples. The Italian Communist Party delegation which went to Czechoslovakia to negotiate participation in this festival was allegedly received with great coolness. It was able to meet only with an administrative worker from RUDE PRAVO, while at a lunch, to which the delegation was invited by a Central Committee member, the host allegedly did not appear, arriving only when coffee was served to inform the Italian guests that they would be invited to discuss the matter with the CPCZ Central Committee. After waiting in their hotel for a message in vain, the three-member delegation decided to return to Rome. However, this was not the only incident at the Naples L'UNITA festival. The Soviet Novosti press agency sent the festival a large amount of propaganda material for distribution. However, when the Italian organizers discovered that most of the brochures were directed against the Chinese Communist Party and others explained Garaudy's "treason" and still others extolled the "leading role of the USSR," etc., they refused to accept the material, arguing that the festival was "not a suitable place for polemics." STAMPA reports that the Novosti press agency representatives accepted this decision. It does not say, however, how they felt. They probably realized that Italy is not--at least for the time being--Czechoslovakia.

6314

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRESENT TRENDS IN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: ITS ANTI-CZECHOSLOVAK REPRESENTATIVES

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 24, Nov 76 pp 43-47

[Article by Milan Matous: "The Crisis of Social Reformist Ideology"]

[Text] Rightist and "Leftist" Opportunism

Social democratic ideology has traditionally been rightist and liberalistic in nature. And its nature remains basically the same today. However, a certain new and noteworthy characteristic is now beginning to emerge in this regard, namely, a more explicit combination of rightist and leftist opportunism. The rightist nature of social democratic politics and ideology is expressed most clearly by the reformist compromise with the bourgeois social and political system and by the refusal to take a class-oriented approach in gaining an understanding of social phenomena and conflicts. As V. I. Lenin put it: "The main idea behind opportunism is the integration or rapprochement (or in some cases the formation of ententes, blocs, and so on) of the bourgeoisie with its antipodes."¹

The leftist elements of social democratic ideology are reflected especially in the criticism of real socialism and partly even capitalism from anarcho-syndicalist positions.

Already in the case of Karl Kautsky and his followers we encounter the pseudosocialist rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia and the argument, purportedly that of true and dedicated revolutionaries, which condemns the "bureaucratization" and "inconsistency" of the Soviet social system. This aspect of anti-Sovietism has, to a considerable extent, been a common feature of rightist and leftist revisionism and opportunism since the very beginnings of the Soviet state, and it has served to distinguish the anti-Sovietism propagated within the workers movement from the anti-Sovietism preached by bourgeois circles. Bourgeois anti-Sovietism condemned the Soviet Union because it overthrew the capitalist system and is establishing a socialist social system. The anti-Sovietism of leftist and rightist opportunists and revisionists condemned the Soviet

Union supposedly from a socialist or even Marxist standpoint and tried to prove that the Soviet Union was not consistent enough in the practice of socialism and that it was betraying the principles of proletarian politics and the interests of the workers.

This position continues to be a characteristic feature of current social democratic ideology, of course with the obvious difference that its spreading campaign of vilification and indictments is now directed against all countries practicing real socialism and that it is growing in intensity in proportion to the growth in the prestige and influence of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist countries on a worldwide scale, as well as in proportion to the constantly decreasing effectiveness and constantly deepening crisis of overt anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The combination of the rightist and leftist approaches was already apparent in the limited social democratic definition of socialism. For example, the West German Godesberg Program [of the Social Democratic Party of Germany adopted at the SPD Congress held in Bad Godesberg in 1959], defines democratic socialism in terms of the so-called fundamental values of liberty, justice, and solidarity. Its ideological antecedents are cited as being the Christian ethic, humanism, and classical philosophy. Special emphasis is placed on the classical philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. The object of all this is to provide for the continuity of the neo-Kantian idealistic tradition of so-called ethical socialism as some kind of higher moral postulate --as opposed to the historical materialist, socio-economic analysis of the laws of social development, which scientifically defines socialism as an inevitable stage in the evolution of human society and as a consequence of the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The counterpart of idealistic, ethical socialism in contemporary social democratic ideology is neopositivist, grossly pragmatic in contradiction to Marxist-Leninist theory which it characterizes as being "mere ideology" in the sense that it is false consciousness deformed by "class subjectivism." Nor is there anything original or exceptional about the social democratic amalgamation of the idealistic ethic and neopositivist empiricism. It is merely an extension of the two aspects of neo-Kantism which V. I. Lenin subjected to such trenchant criticism in his book "Materialism and Empirical Criticism." It is only one of several manifestation of contemporary bourgeois ideology which vacillates between idealistic speculations and simple, vulgar empiricism.

Both aspects of the pseudosocialist ideology of the social democrats are closely interrelated and interdependent. Idealistic speculations make it possible to construct arbitrary criteria for the empirical appraisal of reality and lend a capricious interpretation and evaluation to empirical findings.

Ethical socialism as an abstract, idealized model of absolute perfection has been transformed by social democratic propaganda into a criterion for

the skeptical assessment and deplorable condemnation of specific socialist revolutionary processes and real socialism. No judgments are made as to the process of the class and socio-economic emancipation of the proletariat and the actual development of economic, political, and cultural conditions, rather the reproaches that are made are directed against a "lamentable reality," which is naturally miles away from the chimerical castles in the air created by the ideologists of ethical socialism. In their speculations these ideologists forget to add that they themselves have so far never succeeded in establishing an ethical socialist paradise even in those countries, such as Sweden, where they or their leaders have been in power for several decades. Not only have they failed to put ideal, ethical socialism into practice, but they have also failed to bring about any fundamental changes in the system of capitalist exploitation and private property ownership. This is also one aspect of the crisis of social democracy, one of the major manifestations of this crisis, and its symptoms and at the same time one of its attendant causes. The credit of trust in social reformist promises among the ranks of the workers is, from a historical standpoint, not unlimited, even though the nature of these promises is deliberately and frequently changed.

Social democratic "socialism," whether it is called democratic, ethical, libertarian or humanistic, is in fact nothing more than an instrument of the idealization and preservation of capitalism, a tool for renouncing the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and real socialism. Rightist tendencies to idealize capitalist entrepreneurship, private ownership of the means of production, and bourgeois democracy are in this respect allied to the fabrication of absolute and divinely consummate standards to which the socialist countries ideally ought to conform.

Social democratic ideology has confirmed the description given in a statement made by the general secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S., Gus Hall: "A close affinity has always existed and still exists between right and 'left' opportunism. This is because they share the same class attitudes, because they are a form of opportunism, and because they stand for capitulation in the face of pressure from the class enemy. The right variant and the 'left' variant of opportunism can coexist, and they very often exist in a single person or group; at the same time they face no major problems in changing from one into the other. Side by side they bow down before the class enemy, in spite of having reached the conciliatory position in different ways."²

Social democratic ideology responds to the interests of various social classes, including the working class, but it reflects these interests in a distorted and basically false, spurious manner. The class basis of this ideology is only a form, a variant of bourgeois ideology. It champions the objective interests of the bourgeoisie and serves to deceive the working class and all working people as to the intentions behind bourgeois political goals and efforts. In most cases this does not have anything to do with making

demands that are harmful or contrary to the wishes or interest of the working people. This is an ideology that espouses social justice, the right of everyone to participate in decision-making processes, fair wages, free worker training, decent social welfare conditions, and so on. But the attractive slogans that advertise these goals remain nothing more than pious wishes, and any temporary improvement in the social position of the workers quickly breaks down again as long as private ownership of the means of production continues and as long as political power--especially the state apparatus--remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Social reformism is the embodiment of the irresolvable contradiction between much longed-for wonderful goals and the unreal, false road that ever and again confronts the working class and the working masses with a morass of illusions leading them down the garden path of bourgeois political manipulation. The bourgeois reign of terror and the reformist propaganda of social compromises complement each other as instruments used to counter the growing revolutionary activity of the masses.

From the "Decline of Ideology" to the "Resurgence of Ideology"

In connection with the intensifying crisis of bourgeois ideology and the escalating of the crisis of capitalism in all areas of social life, social democracy outwardly appears to be shifting somewhat more sharply away from bourgeois ideology. It is raising the level of its polemic with bourgeois ideology, and it is stressing its reservations and disagreement concerning openly bourgeois positions. It is striving more to create the impression that it offers a "third road" or a "new alternative." Social democracy is supposed to be an alternative both to a "Marxist class party" and to "political conservatism." More is being said and written about the autonomous ideological base of social democratic politics. However, the views of individual social democratic parties and of groups within those parties differ as to precisely what this ideological base consists of.

Slogans about the "decline of ideology" and "neutrality of world views" not only have constituted an outward and explicit rejection of Marxism, but they also signified an outright integration into the mainstreams of bourgeois ideology without any particular formal reservations. This happened at the time of the bourgeois economic upswing and when bourgeois social demagoguery was correspondingly optimistic. Social democracy assimilated bourgeois theories concerning social welfare, social partnership, the decisive roles of managers and technocrats in the production process, class harmony, and even ideas about the modernization of capitalism and the advent of humane socialism in western countries. The intensification of the capitalist crisis in the middle of the 1970's is shattering these illusions, and social democracy feels compelled to keep its ideological distance from crisis-ridden capitalism and to a certain extent--for appearances sake--from some features of capitalism in general. This is both a tactic and a consequence of internal contradictions and of the pressure being applied by the working masses on the social democratic leaders and ideologists.

Divergent opinions are being voiced by bourgeois politicians and ideologists in response to these pro forma mutations of social democratic ideology. Some accept these changes with understanding, regarding them as necessary rules of the game in capitalist society, while others appear to be disturbed. All of this is connected with the differentiation in political and ideological trends within the bourgeoisie itself. On the one hand there are the more tactical minded, more realistic, and more flexible politicians and ideologists, while on the other hand there are the militant forces tending toward neofascism.

Bruno Pittermann, president of the Socialist International, wrote a front page editorial for the first issue of the bi-monthly journal SOCIALIST AFFAIRS that appeared in 1975 in which he put together a characteristic speculative scheme: "There are forces in Western Europe which are aware of the fact that the political system which prevails here is based on the capitalist mode of production and is incapable of resolving the contradictions of Western European society that have been magnified by the developments of the post-industrial age. These forces, tending toward the socialist reconstruction of society, are rejecting the Stalinist model of the political system that has been introduced in the Eastern European countries.

"Conversely, there are forces in these countries of Eastern Europe which are aware of the fact that the political system which prevails there is based on a one-party monopoly of power and is incapable of resolving the contradictions of Eastern European society. The socialist opposition forming the predominant part of these forces rejects the restoration of the capitalist system; instead it prefers the democratization of the existing system and its transformation into a system of democratic socialism. Both of these movements, the socialist forces in Western Europe and the socialist opposition in Eastern Europe, are working to achieve the same goal.

"....As a result of the Czechoslovak experience, the socialist opposition in Eastern Europe is beginning to realize that evolution toward democratic socialism without the intervention of Western European socialists and progressive influences is practically impossible.

"On the other hand, Western European socialists are beginning to realize that owing to the present power structure in Europe any autonomous socialist development in any of the Western countries is not only threatened by the opposition of the ruling classes, but also by the opposition of forces acting in the name of what they call proletarian internationalism."³

This is a long quote, but it is consequently also comprehensive. It expresses in concise form the basic designs of the pseudosocialist variant of anticommunism, a set of designs that have, moreover, been adjusted to the current crisis situation of capitalism.

It starts off by displaying a critical attitude toward contemporary European capitalism, and it then goes on to say that--and it is hard not to be aware of this nowadays--this system is incapable of resolving the contradictions of Western European society. However, the entire problem is explicitly reduced to a question of the political system, while the question of the social economic system is disregarded altogether. Real socialism is resolutely renounced, and an effort is made to create the impression that its problems are just as pressing as those faced by capitalist society. The author carefully avoids any mention of the socioeconomic characteristics of the socialist countries, sticking instead to the vague, territorial concept of "Eastern European countries." He creates the illusion of counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia, and he fosters the notion, intended for the rank and file, simple-minded social democrats, that counterrevolutionaries, "dissidents," and renegades who have taken up antisocialist positions in the socialist countries are actually striving together with rank and file Western European social democrats for the same goal--socialism. The anti-communist intervention and sabotage mounted by the capitalist countries in the socialist countries is justified and portrayed as a messianic mission without which it is impossible to achieve true socialist development in the "Eastern European countries." The active participation of Western European social democrats in the intervention in the internal social and political affairs of the socialist states is openly advocated. The main idea and the most extreme position of this entire ideological formula consists in the statement that the international communist movement and real socialism are the greatest obstacles and the greatest dangers for socialism, just as a great a danger as the "opposition" inherent in the political power of the bourgeoisie. Socialism, then, can only be achieved over the dead bodies of the socialist countries and communist parties--this is the basic idea of this front page editorial which in turn strives to tie this farrago of absurdities together with some sort of vision of international unity: "The forces that are fighting for social changes in Eastern and Western Europe are all in the same boat; socialism in Europe is indivisible."⁴

In saying this, the president of the Socialist International is trying to establish the fiction whereby socialism and anticommunism are interdependent factors, whereby anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are in the interest of socialism. This is a clear cut example of rightist social democratic ideological legerdemain, which even goes so far as to try to exploit the hardships imposed by the capitalist economic crisis in order to lubricate the gears of the anticommunist movement. The extent to which the Mr Pittermanns of the world feel forced to adopt a more critical attitude toward contemporary capitalism and its economic ailments is proportional to the increased severity of their anticommunist invective and programmatic exhortations.

Notwithstanding certain of its modifications, the main brunt of contemporary social democratic ideology is directed against Marxism-Leninism, real socialism, and the communist movement.

At the same time, however, groups are emerging within the ranks of the social democrats, which, in their return to Marxism, are searching for a solution of the current political and ideological crisis of the social democratic movement. Even though their efforts are as a rule highly inconsistent and in many cases have more in common with the revisionist misinterpretations than with genuine revolutionary scientific socialism, they are still giving rise to anxiety and nervousness among the ruling circles of the social democratic parties. Similar "leftist" tendencies are especially apparent among young people, for example, among the so-called Young Socialist of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany--FRG]. But one cannot rule out the possibility that these young people are merely expressing the doubts and the views of their elders in a more open fashion. For this reason also, the polemic mounted by the Young Socialists is encountering a sharply hostile reaction from the rightist leadership and official ideology of the SPD. In this case "free and democratic socialism" sheds its angelic wings and, with no regard for the principle of "neutrality of world views," expels people from the party who are suspected of holding Marxist views.

Many social democratic ideologists divide Marxism into an orthodox, dogmatic variety, which they reject, and a critical, creative variety, which they accept. In the final analysis there is nothing much in this that is very different from the more liberal wing of contemporary bourgeois ideology as a whole. The revisionists and renegades of the communist movement are designated as critical and creative Marxists, as well as the whole panoply of theoreticians belonging to the school of so-called Western Marxism drawn from the ranks of bourgeois professors and writers such as Marcuse, Fromm, Sartre, Adorno, Horkheimer, Habermas, Block, and others. In the book "Social Democracy and Marxism" part 6 bears the heading "Democratic Socialism as a Program of Reform Communists." This section of the book is devoted to an interpretation and evaluation of the views of several revisionists, including, among others, Ota Sik. The authors show that by virtue of their critique of "orthodox Marxism" these revisionists come close to being proponents of the concept of "democratic socialism." With regard to the Czechoslovak "reform communists" it is said that "they are in agreement with the basic intentions of the Godesberg Program." The chapter dealing with this problem is characteristically entitled: "Convergence With the Godesberg Program."⁵ In this respect it is hard to disagree with the authors. They are saying and bringing out into the open the same things that the revisionists in our country tried so hard to conceal and deny during the 1960's. The social democratic authors of course assess these developments in a positive light.

In recent times social democrats have disassociated themselves on more than one occasion from vulgar anticommunism. At the same time, however, in a number of countries where social democratic parties are in power communists are harassed and persecuted, and within the social democratic parties to be charged with holding Marxist views is considered grounds for expulsion.

Working on Behalf of Anticommunism Against the CSSR

It is a peculiar feature of social democratic anticommunism and anti-Sovietism that it outwardly seems to be arguing on behalf of the interest of the working masses and the working class and on behalf of the interests of the true socialism and popular democratic liberties. It is precisely for this reason that it is so useful to the campaign of anticommunist penetration and ideological sabotage against the socialist countries. The tactics and methods of the anticommunist centers are assimilating and taking advantage of the social democratic platform to a major extent. This holds true in particular for those circles which espouse the "internal erosion" of socialist society. At the beginning of the 1970's Zbigniew Brzezinski was looking for the possibility of "a metamorphosis of the Eastern regimes into something akin to social democracy."⁶ Bruno Kreisky stresses that "social democracy must penetrate deep within the communist sphere of influence."⁷

The experience of the CSSR confirms that at the close of the 1960's the concept of "democratic socialism" served as the ideological platform of the counterrevolutionary forces in their struggle against the socialist social system, as the ideology of attempted counterrevolution in the socialist countries. This is not just a question of the influence of social democratic ideology from without. The chances for bringing this influence to bear are grounded in the reactionary traditions and remnants of the social democratic movement within our country. These persistent regressive tendencies are closely tied to the petty-bourgeois ethos and to nationalism, which preserve and protract their existence. In our country, Masarykism was a specific historical manifestation of the ideological consistency and unity of social democratic reformism, nationalism, and the petty-bourgeois ethos. In 1968, the resurrection of the Masaryk legend and the Masaryk ideology was an integral part of the ideological campaign of the counterrevolutionary forces, and the substantive aspects of this campaign corresponded to the ideas advanced by "democratic socialism."⁸

At the present time a number of Western European social democratic parties, with the support of the Socialist International, are waging an intensive propaganda campaign against the CSSR, and they are using the so-called "Czechoslovak question" in order to spur anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaigns. Right-wing social democrats who emigrated from Czechoslovakia after February 1948 and others who did not leave until after 1968 are playing an active role in anti-Czechoslovak emigre institutions. Their influence has been on the increase since the mid-1950's in conjunction with the shift in the tactical line of the Western anticommunist centers toward the "internal disintegration of socialism" and toward "pseudosocialist arguments."⁹

It has recently become possible to discern that closer cooperation exists between the so-called reform communists among Czechoslovak emigres in the West and local social democratic institutions. One example of this kind of cooperation was an international conference entitled "Czechoslovakia,

Socialism, and Democracy," which was organized in November 1972 in Paris by the French Socialist Party. The conference was attended by members of other parties in the Socialist International and by emigres--former Czechoslovak communists, advocates of rightist revisionism and principal figures in the attempted counterrevolutionary coup of 1968.

Another joint action mounted by social democrats and Czechoslovak "reform communist" emigres was the so-called international colloquium on Czechoslovakia held in Bievres near Paris in February of 1974. This colloquium was also attended by revisionists and renegades who had been expelled from several Western communist parties. Persons advocating the ideas of the so-called "new left" turned up as new partners in this venture.

In March 1975, a similar event took place at the Uppsala University in Sweden which was attended by emigres from other socialist countries in addition to the Czechoslovak "democratic socialists" of the Jiri Pelikan type.

Even more prevalent are the smaller-scale, ad hoc propaganda projects by means of which right-wing socialist circles try to arouse anti-Soviet and anticommunist moods. For example, at the end of February 1976 the Czechoslovak political emigres, in Paris under the auspices of the French Socialist Party, organized a discussion evening on Pelikan's pamphlet bearing the screaming title "If They Murder Me."

The mutual convergence of revisionists and right-wing social democrats based on the platform of "democratic socialism" is only an outward manifestation of a deeper unity. In essence, this unity is based on common anticommunist goals and efforts. Another reason why people like Pelikan, Sik, Hajzlar and a few others are now meeting openly with right-wing social democrats is because their efforts to penetrate the communist parties of Western countries have been a failure.

The extremely reactionary and militantly anticommunist circles that exist within the social democratic movement also include a handful of bankrupt, erstwhile Czechoslovak right-wing social democrats who now live abroad in capitalist countries, especially in Austria, England, and the United States. Some of these people are ostensibly opposed to extreme forms of neofascism and for peaceful coexistence--insofar as they feel compelled to take such stands by virtue of their relationship with host Western European social democratic parties or the tactics dictated by the pseudosocialist variant of anticommunism. At the same time, however, they work actively in openly anticommunist imperialist institutions such as the editorial board of the emigre journal SVEDECTVI in Paris or the inflammatory broadcast agency Radio Free Europe in Munich.

Their political and ideological positions are all the more openly reactionary in view of the fact that these people--unlike the leading representatives of the Western European social democratic parties--are not tied to or subject

to the pressure of the rank and file membership of a mass organization. They represent an utterly rootless social element. They belong to the extremely reactionary right wing of the social democratic movement, and within the social democratic movement itself they serve as a "lobby" or pressure group which works against more liberal circles. They play an antisocialist, antidemocratic, and anti-national role while working on behalf of anti-communist and ideological agencies. Some of them serve simultaneously as experts of the Socialist International in fanning the flames of the so-called "Czechoslovak question." Their anti-Czechoslovak and essentially antisocialist activity is an adjunct of the reactionary role played by the rightist leadership of the Socialist International, in which representatives of the social democratic parties of the FRG, Austria, Great Britain, and Sweden occupy positions of critical importance.

On the Methods of Forms of the Ideological Struggle

The question of the methods and forms to be employed in the struggle with social democratic ideology constitutes an issue of major importance. At the international conference of communist and workers parties held in Moscow in 1969, L.I. Brezhnev stressed that the question of the forms and methods of the ideological struggle is now becoming an issue of exceedingly fundamental importance.¹⁰ He spoke about this issue in connection with the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the genuine unity and strengthening of the international communist movement. He underscored the need to wage the ideological struggle in a differentiated manner and to draw a distinction above all between the struggle against the class enemy, against imperialism, and the struggle against those who, although expressing erroneous views, still remain allies. In the case under discussion here this question becomes even more complex. It is hard to speak about social democracy as being an ally of ours. The differential political process within the social democratic movement and, most importantly, the practical experiences of the class struggle of the workers, members of other categories of working people, and some members of the intelligentsia in a number of social democratic parties are nevertheless creating the objective conditions that are conducive to achieving political unity among communists and social democrats on certain specific issues.

In connection with the ideological struggle within the communist movement Comrade Brezhnev stresses that, "this is not just a struggle against erroneous and harmful views, rather it is primarily a struggle whereby we strive to induce the comrades from our common movement, even though they may be temporarily disoriented, to adopt correct attitudes. In this regard it is useful to engage in comradely and friendly polemics and, in some instances, to also act with a certain amount of restraint."¹¹

It is of course true that these principles related to the struggle against manifestations of opportunism in the communist movement cannot be applied mechanically to the struggle with social democratic ideology, which is by

by virtue of its essential nature, as was emphasized above, one of the forms of the ideology of the bourgeoisie, the class enemy. However, here too we are confronted with two tasks in one. Namely, to first of all win over the masses of workers and all other working people, who are still under the influence of social democratic ideology, and, second, to struggle against the reactionary substance of social democratic ideology. Both aspects of this task do not contradict each other, rather they represent two components of the same process. Most pertinent in this regard is the Leninist precept which holds that the struggle to win over the masses requires that the masses be isolated from the reactionary influences of reactionary forces. This is, in turn, also accompanied by the need to expose the class-oriented political positions of the rightists leaders of the social democratic movement who are consciously trying to split the working class and to defend the interests of imperialism.

The struggle against social democratic ideology necessarily requires that polemics concerning substantive issues be combined with exposing the reactionary, class-oriented political role of this ideology. We are waging a polemical campaign in all situations where the issue at stake involves persuading the popular masses who are under social democratic influences to be in favor of united political action and, eventually, the ideology of scientific socialism, and in so doing we, at the same time, unmask the reactionary, class-oriented nature and anticommunist role of social democratic ideology.

The essential elements of the polemical campaign aimed at the rank and file social democratic masses and the workers influenced by social democratic ideas in the capitalist countries, consist primarily in the positive interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and especially in the creative application for the purpose of analyzing contemporary, pressing social questions and devising ways by means of which they can be resolved. The principal condition of the offensive of our ideological work consists in the dissemination of a true picture of the achievements and the trends of the development of real socialism and its superiority over capitalism.

As was emphasized by the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak, at the November 1974 plenum of the Central Committee: "The successes of the socialist countries constitute clear evidence in support of the advantages and strengths of our social order, and at the same time they serve as an attractive alternative to the workers of the capitalist countries who have to worry every day about being able to make a living. The stronger is our combined strength, the greater are the guarantees of peace, social progress, and the development of socialism in the world."

The process of exposing the inconsistencies and objectively regressive role of social democratic ideology and politics is furthered by historical experience itself, by the gap between social democratic programs and promises and the way things really are.

The struggle to isolate the masses from reactionary ideological influences is waged primarily by means of programs aimed at explaining the specific positions and the results of the practical actions mounted by the communist parties in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, democracy and social progress, the unity of the working class, and joint action on the part of all anti-imperialist forces.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, "Works," Vol 21, p 150.
2. G. Hall, "Marxism-Leninism Is Creative Activity," in OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU [Problems of Peace and Socialism], 1974, No 6, p 25.
3. SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, No 1, January-February 1975, p 1
4. Op cit.
5. "Socialdemokratie und Marxismus" [Social Democracy and Marxism], p 309.
6. NEWSWEEK, 4 January 1971, p 48.
7. DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, 1970, No 3, p 295.
8. Viz Jaromir Obzina, "Ke Kritice Filozofickych a Politickych Aspektu 'Humanitini Demokracie'" [Concerning Critique of the Philosophical and Political Aspects of 'Humanist Democracy'], Horizont, Prague, 1974 and Miroslav Solc, "Masarykismus, Jeden z Ideovych Zdroju Pravicoveho Oportunismu, Revizionismu a Antisocialistickych Tendenci v CSSR" [Masarykism, One of the Ideological Antecedents of Rightist Opportunism, Revisionism, and Antisocialist Tendencies in the CSSR], the CPCZ Central Committee Advanced School of Political Affairs, 1972.
9. For a more detailed treatment of this subject viz M. Matous, "Fronta bez Primeri" [The Front that Knows No Armistice], Svoboda, Prague, 1974.
10. L. I. Brezhnev, "Projevy a stati" [Speeches and Writings], Svoboda, Prague, 1972, p 515.
11. Op cit.

11813

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

HISTORIAN LAUDS EXAMPLE OF SOVIET AGENT SORGE

Bonn DIE WELT in German 5 Nov 76 p IV

[Article: "Propaganda for Moscow's Top Agent Sorge"]

[Text] Clad in their blue FDJ [Free German Youth] uniforms, eighth-graders in the history collective of an East Berlin elementary school listened to propaganda for espionage in the West. Richard Sorge, formerly Moscow's undisputed master spy at the beginning of World War II, was honored posthumously: As a "scout for peace."

In the house of the "Society for German-Soviet Friendship" on Unter den Linden Boulevard, the historian Klaus Scheel, staff member of the Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the "GDR", tried to arouse the children's interest for the Kreml agent deserted by Stalin and posthumously rehabilitated by Khrushchev. At the beginning of his lecture on Wednesday evening, he said with a smile that he himself was the father of an eighth-grader and in addition, a member of the parents' collective. Thus he was glad, he said, to see many young listeners among the adult (approximately 1 dozen) admirers of Sorge from East Berlin.

The memorable lesson in the overheated music room of the Soviet-German club got under way. After 15 minutes, the first two listeners left: Youths, who did not belong to the school collective. After 40 minutes, a married couple left.

The historian -- all of a sudden converted into a schoolteacher -- started off presenting biographical information which, he said, he had written himself for an encyclopedia of the Republic: Richard Sorge, born on 4 October 1895 in Adakhibend near Baku, executed on 7 November 1944 in Tokyo, on the 27th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. "Executed," he said; a slip of the tongue? A few moments later, he again followed the party line: Sorge had been "murdered." "On 5 November 1964," the historian continued, "Dr Richard Sorge, scout for peace, was proclaimed a hero of the Soviet Union

on account of his bravery, heroic courage and outstanding merits." Thus it was obvious why "comrade Sorge" was being discussed on this very day.

Like lightning, Scheel's first question swooped upon the FDJ audience: "Exactly, what is a hero of the Soviet Union?" The boy addressed hesitates, stammers. Now the "teacher" helps him: The word hero could not possibly be misunderstood, and as for the Soviet Union, it is the great socialist model.

Scheel waves two books and passes around photographs of Sorge. One of the books is the standard work of the "GDR": "Dr Sorge Radioes from Tokyo", written by Julius Mader, Stuchlik and Pehnert. According to the authors, Sorge's last exclamation was: "Long live the Communist Party! Long live the Red Army! Long live the Soviet Union!" Scheel quotes these sentences. He says that the second book, "The Story of a Great Double-Dealing", was written by the "renowned British historians" Deakin and Storry. The standard work of the West describes Sorge's last moments as follows: He, Sorge, "said nothing."

Scheel passes over the discrepancy. But he criticizes the title of the British study. He claims that it suggests the deliberate misrepresentation by the imperialist and monopolistic-capitalist West, which has always considered Sorge a spy "or master spy" who had sold himself. "As if Comrade Sorge had worked for money! He never cracked a safe, nor did he ever commit murder like this James Bond."

A blueshirt asks: "Exactly what was his profession?" Scheel welcomes every question from the audience, and obviously this one in particular. "He had many professions, many," and he extols Sorge's knowledge of languages, his analytical and accurate reporting from Japan and Manchuria for the "FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG; his activity as agent for the Soviet Union, which culminated in his early warnings concerning Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union and Japan's military engagement against America; in these reports, Sorge also included "warnings (concerning the strength of the Soviet Union) meant for the German fascist press." Scheel praises Sorge's communist conviction which made him "a great son of our nation, a vital link between us and the Soviet Union."

With great warmth, Dr Scheel mentions Dr Sorge's enthusiasm for scholarship: During the few years he spent in Japan, he "acquired and thoroughly studied thousands of books." The historian turns pedagogue: "Sorge was extremely industrious and ambitious. So you see: It is only through strenuous, hard work that one can achieve something and get something done for one's country."

"Where did his money come from?" somebody asks. Well, the lecturer replies, he was of course paid for his work by the German newspapers. When some of the faces appear to express doubt as to whether a network of agents comprising 39 members could be built and maintained with newspaper payments, the expert said vaguely: Money had been "made available" for this work.

One of the boys wants to know how Richard Sorge had managed to gain access to the Imperial family. Scheel replies that naturally Sorge "had to get

something going" for the Japanese as well. He sounds somewhat bashful. "He had to cast a sprat to catch a mackerel." The children understand; they laugh.

One of the girls asks about Sorge's wife: Did she know about his activity? "His first wife lives now in the United States," says Scheel; she did not approve of Sorge's activity. "They obtained a divorce." His second wife lives in the Soviet Union. Not a single word about the Japanese woman who considers herself the third wife. Not a single word about the man, whom the women "pursued."

An older listener asks about the reasons why Sorge was not discovered and honored until 20 years after his death. Stalin refused to save the German, for example through an exchange offer.

In his attempts at summing up, the lecturer gets deeper and deeper into party phraseology and farther and farther away from this subject matter of subject matters carelessly reported. Once again, one of the girls tries to capture the atmosphere surrounding this clan of agents: How did the Japanese torture Sorge? Scheel replies: Starvation, thirst, beatings, continual interrogations, lights left on at night; he breaks off: One could not possibly picture this.

A young voice from the back: "Well, start painting the picture." But the speaker did not paint. After this lesson, has Richard Sorge died a second time for some FDJ members, or has the seed come up for a future "scout" in the West?

8760
CSO: 2300

BOOK ON 1956-57 HUNGARIAN EVENTS REVIEWED

Ljubljana ITD in Slovenian 5 Nov 76 p 3

[Article by Milos Corovic]

[Text] The Hungarian Communist Party has served notice to the world that it stands by its original assessment of responsibility of certain persons who were instrumental in bringing about the events of 1956. According to the present evaluations, time only confirmed that the understanding of causes which precipitated the upheaval was entirely correct. The events at that time unfolded in an incredibly short time when the authorities and the party were simply obliterated. Now everybody here realizes that the last 2 decades are not a sufficiently long period for the principal moral to recede into oblivion, namely, that misery sets in when the bonds between the people and party as a political force entrusted with the role of leadership are severed or weakened.

The book "Reorganization of MSRP 1956-1957" by party historian Ivan Senes published by the Kossuth publishing house appeared on the anniversary of the events. The book refreshes recollections of those events and exhorts persons in responsible positions in the party to reestablish how did the counterrevolution unfold in that tragic autumn of 1956. A counterrevolution for which the primary responsibility rested with Matias Rakosi, former Communist Party chief and creator of the personality cult in Hungary.

Responsible on Four Counts

The resolution of the temporary party leadership is quoted in its entirety; it speaks about the causes that led to the events called counterrevolution which are enumerated under four points according to Senes book, page 64. There it is stated that the party maintains the same opinion about it now as it did then and that its assessment made at that time still seems to be valid today. The apportionment of the blame and responsibility of which there was subsequently a great deal of writing and debate as some attempted to reorder the sequence is, according to this resolution, as follows:

Clique of Rakosi and Goero;

Clique of Imre Nagy and his group;

Internal reaction (Horthy's fascists and other counterrevolutionaries);

International imperialism.

It has been clear for some time, and today there is no doubt left that only consideration of all the enumerated factors with their intricate intertwining can present a true picture of where the responsibility rested. Moreover, the order in which the culprits were ranged according to the gravity of their roles played in the drama has never been officially changed.

Rakosi Succumbs Only With Difficulty

The removal of Rakosi following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in February of 1956 did by no means go smoothly. He and his group were the principal obstacle to the implementation of more radical approaches which could transform the party, already set free from serious errors of the past, into society's driving force. The time and the situation on the international scene were conducive to this.

Confessions of "crimes" he committed, emphasizes the book, were coming from him only reluctantly and gradually. In March he had to admit first that illegal acts were committed against Laszlo Rajk and other respectable revolutionaries although he calmly glossed over his own guilt, his self-criticism in May brought explanation of his part in the intrigue but he did nothing to prevent the consequences he should bear. It was only in July at the plenary session of the party's Central Committee that he was finally cornered and had to resign. It is well known that Rakoszi's withdrawal was final and irrevocable. He spent the rest of his life in the USSR and only much later returned to his homeland--as ashes in his urn.

Rakosi's removal brought little or almost nothing.

Indignation of the Masses

The rivalry between the two already existing factions in the party, between the dogmatic and that under the leadership of Imre Nagy called revisionist, was harmful to the homeland and the people. The events were inexorably leading toward tragic denouement. In the summer and in the first days of autumn of 1956 it was already becoming apparent what damage was done and why the matters were developing in the worst possible way.

The author of the book advocates the view that in addition to all other circumstances by which people were disturbed, the "23 October" movement when the masses took to the streets was the result of an "organized

revisionist conspiracy." All that was going on during those days in Budapest and in the cities of the province reflects active intervention of Horthy's fascists, the international reaction, and imperialists.

But once the wheels on which the events were turning came to full speed it was difficult to make them stop even when Janos Kadar took over the party leadership on 25 October 1956. The author finds this to have been a "belated measure." It is a fact, he says, that at that time dogmatic elements were indeed eliminated from party leadership, but on the other hand the "revisionist faction" was too strong for this action to forestall the worst.

Communists Without Instructions

In the description of the general chaos and disaster that befell the country he quotes an earlier speech of Janos Kadar in which he said the following about those tragic days: "In the morning of 24 October there were in the party leadership selfless communists who were ready for sacrifice and loyal to the socialist revolution, but in this same leadership there were also traitors. This explains why during these most difficult and critical days hundreds of thousands of communists received no proper instructions from the party leadership."

The press and propaganda remained entirely in the hands of the faction which did not agree with the policy of "making amends." The party organ SZABAD NEP and Radio Kossuth were creating an atmosphere that was not conducive to reconciliation.

The book states that the new revolutionary nucleus headed by Janos Kadar was established as early as 1 and 2 November, that is full 2 days before the proclamation to the people and the inviting of the Soviet army to intervene. From the documents it is apparent that Janos Kadar had at that time already been separated for 2 days from the group of Imre Nagy although that group still kept him on its rolls as a member of the supreme leadership.

The Masses Did Not Understand

The author narrates the difficulties that arose during the denouement following the intervention. One of the great difficulties was that "the broad masses did not grasp the necessity of Soviet military assistance." At the same time it was necessary to restore the mechanism of everyday life and repair the material damage estimated at that time to amount to 20 billion forints.

The return to the daily routine was threatened by strikes. In rural areas farmers' cooperatives were still being reformed which sometimes caused armed clashes. Formation of the new party was unfolding slowly. At the beginning of December a mere 38,000 members were registered compared to

900,000 at the beginning of the year. Many organizations were afraid of the almost illegally established right.

Of course, there were already at that time people who thought that the responsibility and blame must be apportioned differently. Some demanded that the name of Rakosi and his clique should be expunged from the list of culprits and that everything should be imputed to Imre Nagy while others sought to place the blame on the former Rakosi leadership.

Turning to the People

To illustrate the general confusion of the minds and the intransigence of views the author also mentions those who attributed the events in Hungary to the earlier upheavals in Poland "which strongly influenced the Hungarian events," nor does he forget to mention those who cited the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR as the fifth cause. According to their views the congress was "responsible," because it ruthlessly uncovered the weaknesses of socialism and the consequences of the personality cult, thereby "offering an opportunity to the enemy for aggravating these faults still further."

The basic watchword of the new leadership was "Let us turn toward the people," by which it meant candor with respect to the sins of the past and sincerity in planning the future.

The May Day Parade

The party leadership was preparing for a national conference and its contact with the grassroots had to be direct and creative. The May Day presented the first genuine reason for the leadership to relax: 400,000 citizens of Budapest staged on the vast Doja Gyoergy Square a magnificent parade which provided inspiration for one of Janos Kadar's most impressive speeches. Nevertheless, the situation was still complicated. It seemed, says the book, that numerous people had to be reassured time and again that the new party would not follow the steps of Rakosi.

The leftist danger was manifesting itself in the slogan: "There is enough of us and we are strong." It seemed that attitudes of this kind were setting the tune in the period prior to the national conference held on 27 June where a breach was effected with party theoretician Josef Revay precisely because of the assessment of past events and the general direction of the new leadership. Revay felt that the party could not and must not condemn Rakosi and Imre Nagy equally because, according to him, the former was responsible only for "mistakes committed in building socialism," while the latter was guilty of treason.

Not Tactics Alone

However, the new leadership found some additional points in which it disagreed with Revay and his sectarian views, the most important of which was

the assessment of the permanence of the new policy and the steadiness of its direction. Revay thought that everything the new leadership undertook had to be a "tactical adaptation," and that it was of transitory nature. These points of view were repudiated.

At that time a new central committee consisting of 53 members and 10 candidates was elected which appointed to its Politbureau, in addition to Kadar, several people most of whom were victims of Rakosi's illegal acts.

Considering the broadmindedness of views which this conference demonstrated in confronting the actual problems of society, it could be said that the life-saving motto, "Whoever is not against us is with us," formulated at a later occasion by Janos Kadar, was in a large measure indicated at that time. There was nothing better or more effective that could be offered as the starting premise for uniting the disoriented and divided masses of the people, particularly when one realizes that the preceding Rakosi era excluded the masses from the political life by proclaiming its well-known sectarian slogan: "Whoever is not with us is against us."

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LJUBLJANA UNDERGROUND SHELTER SITUATION DISCUSSED

Ljubljana ITD in Slovenian 12 Nov 76 p 3

[Article by Igor Grizelj]

[Text] Bombs are always an unpleasant topic. Older people dislike talking about them because the discussion evokes reminiscences of the cruel wartime days and the misery and destruction sown by bombs, while the younger persons dislike the subject simply because they do not consider death an entertaining topic and because they much more prefer to look forward to a rosy future.

Unfortunately, the prospects of the future which everyone envisions in his own way is marred by the contours of the bombs. Bombs which are very real, stockpiled, and ready for use, bombs of all types and sizes that are a thousand times more effective than the "firecrackers" of 30 years ago. "Oh, but there will be no war," we like to reassure ourselves, but from time to time we are again confronted with reality as international tensions rise. The gnawing uncertainty will not fade away in spite of our subconscious efforts to do away with it and despite our unwillingness to consider the question: "What would happen if...?"

Some people, however, do think about it. They think calmly, soberly, without panic and without underestimating the danger. For it is a fact that bombs exist and that we must reckon with them. The world does not consist only of roses, moonlit gardens and song, but also and at least as much of airplanes, missiles, submarines, and guns. A fragment of the lethal charge now hidden in the wombs of steel, warheads, and tubes could some day be delivered by air express to our address. Counter-measures designed to thwart the sender's intentions and mitigate as much as possible the consequences of the attack are accordingly an integral part of peacetime creativity that is no less necessary than planning of the production of food or automobiles, for example.

It was in the year 1969 that Americans were again seized by nuclear hysteria. From the Pentagon leaked information that the USSR was building an impenetrable system of antimissile defense around Moscow and Leningrad.

"The balance of terror is endangered! A similar project in the United States is progressing much more slowly because of lack of funds," the generals asserted trying to pressure the Congress and Senate to increase military appropriations.

In actual fact, the American variant of the antimissile umbrella based on the double ring of interceptor missiles Spartan and Sprint was neither quantitatively nor qualitatively lagging behind the Soviet one, the best evidence for which can be found in the contents of the SALT-1 agreement signed in 1971. It is true, however, that the United States Army had given first preference to the protection of two land-based Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile sites rather than to New York and Washington. However, millions of Americans were unaware of this. The fear increased tenfold the investments in private fallout shelters and accelerated considerably the implementation of the not-so-well-known underground bunker-construction program.

Similar programs are, of course, under way in numerous other countries both in the West and in the East. This is one of the most important links in the passive preventive-measures activities intended to reduce considerably the losses among the population. Yugoslavia is not an exception. Since 1973 special legislation has been in effect delineating the guidelines that paved the way for more detailed regulations of regions and opstinas. The law requires that whenever investments are made for construction, the investor must provide a sum required for construction of a suitable bomb shelter. Unfortunately, all too few communes followed the federal example in promulgating supplementary regulations adapted to local conditions. In Slovenia there were only six of these--in addition to the City of Ljubljana Skupstina--and when the amended republic legislation was finally adopted on 19 October 1976 there was embarrassment in quite a few quarters. The law charges the architects, builders, and owners with the responsibility to provide shelters in all new schools, kindergartens, dormitories, health-care centers, hospitals, and the like. There are no exceptions, and quite a number of almost completed financial and construction plans will have to be revised. The situation is considerably better in production plants, particularly in those that have been built recently.

What is it that the law actually requires? The resistance rating of shelters in both public and private categories (with lower cost effectiveness limit of 25 and the maximal allowable limit of 200 persons) should be in the range of 1 to 3 atmosphere (one atmosphere corresponds to a pressure of 10,000 kilograms per square meter) depending on the geographic position and potential danger caused by the proximity of important industrial plants transportation facilities, or strategic installations. More important, however, than the thickness of the reinforced concrete walls and ceilings (1 atmosphere--300 centimeters) are the "internal" characteristics such as for instance hermetical sealing, communal arrangements, supplies, decontamination equipment, and so on. Tests indicate that people can endure in bunkers of this kind 14 days under normal conditions

and 7 days under complete isolation from the environment when all ordinary power sources fail and sand filters are operated mechanically.

In general, the prevailing practice today has been adopted from West Germany where construction of underground forts capable of resisting a direct hit has been abandoned in view of the fact that modern weapons can readily penetrate 10-meter-thick layers of concrete. West German authorities are directing its efforts to protection against the secondary effects --radiation, heat wave, and biological and chemical poisons--while the strength of basement-type shelters is selected to match the mass of the building or to sustain the instant collapse of the upper stories.

Be this as it may, bomb shelters are neither a simple nor an inexpensive affair even though the accommodations they offer are minimal, with an average of 0.76 square meter of space per person. As an illustration we may point out that the largest shelter which can receive 200 people requires an investment of 2.4 million dinars.

The funding for shelters comes from various sources: one-time contributions levied on public and private buildings that are not required to have a shelter of their own (these amount from 3 to 5 percent of the total value of the building), the 2 percent deductions from the yearly rent in larger apartment houses where the builders "forgot" to provide for bomb shelters, and so on. The funds are supposed to begin flowing in faster and it is hoped that the hitherto indifferent opstinas will make up for what has been missed. For the time being, the inhabitants of Ljubljana are well ahead: the 6-year lead of the Slovenian metropolis has been achieved by strict enforcement of the city Skupstina decision adopted in the fall of 1970. There are public shelters for some 10,000 people, although all of them have not yet been completed. There is space for 30,000 to 50,000 citizens in the basements of apartment blocks and highrises, although the resistance and the endurance capability of the latter against the above-mentioned effects that accompany the blast are rather weak. Incomparably better are the shelters of working organizations. Approximately 20 percent of these are of unquestionable quality while the rest, although they are better than private shelters, must still be classified as belonging to the emergency category. Experts, however, point out that public and factory shelters are of decisive importance because a sudden attack--unless carried out at night--would find 70 percent of the population either at school and at work or on the street, at shopping, in restaurants, theaters, and cinemas.

To some, spending billions for such an elusive contingency may appear imprudent and uncalled for. The majority of us, however, would probably be glad to contribute to this project if it could buy us some assurance that we shall never be forced to take cover in the narrow anti-Apocalypse quarantine.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SOCIAL SELF-PROTECTION SPELLS VIGILANCE FOR ALL

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Dec 76 p 2

[Article by Spase Shuplinovski: "Social Self-Protection: Vigilance"]

[Text] As is the case every year, this year we are sending out the results of the accomplishments in the field of national defense, particularly by the armed forces--the Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense. There is an unequivocal new quality in all realms of preparations for opposing armed aggression, whoever the aggressor may be. The main factor in nationwide defense and arms struggle and resistance is man--politically conscious, morally firm, combat capable, and materially and technically equipped. Such a person, all our people, are contributing through each of their actions and attitudes to reducing the possibility of an armed aggression against our land; for preparedness means not only resistance but repulsion of aggression.

Yet, of late an ever more popular concept is that armed aggression is not the only type of aggression. It is only the most severe and final, yet possible one. The main way for countering armed aggression is armed struggle for which the armed forces and all other components of national defense, all our people, are preparing. In this respect ever better results are being achieved. The more such results and successes become obvious in preparations for armed opposition, the more the potential aggressors reject armed aggression, intensifying the nonarmed types of aggression through the so-called special warfare. Such aspects of aggression are being promoted today on a very wide front, pursuing long term objectives, in all fields of activity from political to scientific and, particularly, directed against the ideological unity of that society.

Countering the "special warfare," now underway rather than planned for some future times, is not, in our case, the task and obligation of the specialized security services but of all social self-protection entities within whose system as in the case of national defense, the main factor is the working man and the citizen. It is precisely because of the intensification of the unarmed aspects of aggression against our country that preparations for the successful functioning of the social self-defense and security systems and

the intensification of the security training and vigilance of all our people, regardless of where they may be, is being emphasized more and more.

In the short period of time which has passed a number of activities on this level were carried out in Macedonia and throughout the country, including the Socialist Union with its activities in this area. These are not short term activities, nor are they triggered by momentary demands. They are the expression of a long range permanent orientation encouraged by the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee Presidency. Currently such activities are entering a new stage in the nationwide involvement.

In the present month of December the series of measures related to social self-defense included a statement by the Union National Defense Secretary who called for an even greater involvement in social self-defense of the components of the armed forces--Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense, in the spirit of the Tenth LCY Congress, stating that national defense, security, and social self-defense represent a single entity.

5003
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RURAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS LACK FARMER MEMBERS

Maribor 7D in Slovenian 14 Oct 76 p 4

[Article by Janez Svajncer]

[Text] The Slovenian press, too, wrote extensively about the Posavina case when private farmers--cooperative members in a village chose to forget all about the fertilizers and other benefits and first of all about their obligations as members of the cooperative. Ignoring their contractual obligations they simply sold their harvest on the black market at considerably more favorable prices because of the demand on the market. Even the militia had to stake out the rural roads to intercept shipments of paprika.

It is almost in order to inquire where do reports of this kind belong? Should the papers place them together with the reports on theft, robberies, murderers, and automobile accidents or would it be more appropriate to put them under editorial scrutiny on the internal policy page? It may even be hilarious to imagine how the shrewd farmers succeeded in fooling the "state"--how they accepted the fertilizer, seed, and loans, but when the harvest came the paprika they grew disappeared to places unknown, despite the covert supervision of the combine's employees who were lurking in the fields.

I feel that problems of this kind are the last thing that should be printed simply as an unexplained fact. The place where they are to be dealt with is at the meetings of the Socialist Alliance, the local community and, first of all, the League of Communists. An evaluation obtained in this way precludes any sensationalism in the press. In our postwar society farmers did not always have an easy life. The Slovenian farmer was feeding the national liberation army for a full 4 years. A considerable portion of the liberation army consisted of farmers. After the war, however, the new social trends pushed the farmer in a strange situation. Because of land, the property he owned, he found himself in a position almost akin to something reactionary. Many zealous activists and admirers of the Soviet example would at that time simply sweep all farmers into cooperatives. The revolution was marching on, the factories

of the new nation demanded workers, but after 10 years it is nevertheless a satisfaction to observe that we have overcome our mistakes. The worker, farmer, and working intelligentsia are the pillars of our society. Neglect of either one of them can readily impair the soundness of the whole edifice.

It is no accident that problems of the farm policy will this fall be also addressed by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia. The fifth January session of this body provided the impetus for work along these lines. The opstina LC committees are already conducting discussions evaluating the work of the LC in rural areas. These are, of course, not addressing the problem of the farmer exclusively--he represents only one part of our rural scene where he interacts with the cooperatives and combinats. An incident of the kind referred to at the beginning of this article, where we described a distortion of the relationship between the farmer's work and assistance offered in the interest of society, would represent a real blow to the progress of socialism in the Slovenian rural areas. We would have to do some hard thinking as to where we went wrong. The farmer loves his land and is particularly hurt when he sees among well-tilled areas parcels of land owned by society that are poorly kept or not planted at all, neglected or cut down vineyards, and large investments that bear no fruit. It would be hard, however, to impute to him a lack of interest in progressive and improved farming.

A farmer is neither a capitalist nor a kulak [=grower] merely because he owns his land. In Slovenia there is a whole series of opstinas where the majority of the population consists of farmers but where there are hardly any farmers-communists in the LC opstina committee. The fifth session of the LCS Central Committee correctly established that it is not enough to wait for farmers to come to the communist ranks in greater numbers. The opstina committees were instructed to find a way that would enable the greatest possible number of farmers to join the LC. The time for evaluating our effectiveness in this respect is slowly drawing near. The LC in the village will find its proper place and strength only when the basic LC organizations also include solid, respectable, and hard-working farmers, not only teachers, an occasional employee, and militiamen. This will require a great deal of serious effort carried out without undue haste and sectarianism. It is easy to seek excuses for failure in the old ways of thinking, traditional religious beliefs, and the like. Every effort will bring forth fruit; it is only idleness that needs excuses.

Let us wait. The discussions in the opstina committees and the summing up of it all at the LCS Central Committee session will undoubtedly be a rich assessment of the success of our endeavors.

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LIFE, HOPE OF GYPSIES DISCUSSED

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 5 Dec 76 pp 4-5

[Text] We know them. They have been everywhere and yet there is almost no place that they could call home. A bloody rain will be falling from the skies when the Romany cease to wander about the world, claims the popular saying. They are reputed to have come from India. In the 16th century they could already be found everywhere throughout Europe. They were blacksmiths, woodcarvers, and musicians. In Hungary the Romany were convinced that they became blacksmiths by the express will of God. "I swear by the anvil," used to be a very serious oath.

The largest concentrations of the Romany in Slovenia are in the Murska Sobota opstina and in Bela Krajina, the smallest in the Novo Mesto and Kocevje regions. Permanent settlements of the Romany in Prekmurje came into existence after 1850, the largest of these in Pusca near Murska Sobota. The Crnelavci settlement was apparently established in 1855. In 1968 there were approximately 2,000 Romany in the Murska Sobota opstina, of which 760 were children under 15 years. Some of them have considerably improved their family's living standard. They have attractive houses and even automobiles. And they are always proud of their heritage.

"Come and see this wonder," said on a Sunday afternoon the Sobota parish priest, Poredos, inviting me to visit with him the Romany settlement. As we were alighting from his car, the Pusca [desert] indeed seemed deserted. Then an urchin noticed the priest and shouted: Raushey -- priest! Within minutes the streets became alive. Barefooted children clad in multicolor clothes and youths with shiny black hair were rushing up to the priest. The word was passed on from house to house. Older people came, too. Then they sang along with the "reverend," their plaintive kindly eyes expressing devotion fixed steadily on him. Friendly chatting with the grown ups, youths and children and joyous commotion around the raushey.

In Crnelavci we were surrounded by older Gypsy women, and the younger people were all around. They wore black. One of them lost her husband last year and they were still mourning. They would like to have a mass said. A young mother watches her child. Not long ago she and her husband brought him back from Primorska where he was sent for treatment and recovery. It was difficult to part with the child for a time but now he is back and she

caresses him. Other people are coming from their neat little houses and greet the priest. I made them suspicious particularly because I was taking pictures here and there. The eyes of a young woman reveal she is furious. Then she bursts out: "What does this stranger want, is he by any chance a journalist? Flailing with her hands she demands an answer. The priest calms her down, explaining I am a priest, raushey, like himself. She fixes her look on my somewhat worn jeans: "He -- a priest? Raushey? Is it proper for a reverend to wear jeans? Jeans are for cowboys, not for clergymen. The woman gave vent to her distrust, all persuasion was in vain.

How are they relating to God and faith? Do they pray and go to church? "God had punished the Gypsies because they stole a spike when Christ was crucified. That is why they are blaming God for their stealing." Thus the Romany themselves concluded in their wisdom. And: "They have their children baptized to get presents and because they believe that a gypsy is more successful in frauds and thievery if he is baptized." The modern Romany probably no longer think this way. They do not like to hear deprecating words about God although they themselves often say pointed things at him. They worship Mary. A few years ago Jehovah's Witnesses came to Pusca and offered money to several Romany if they joined their congregation. They came to their services. Gypsies wanted to sing a hymn in praise of Mary. The Jehovah's Witnesses told them they did not worship Mary, then we have nothing to do with you. They returned the money and left.

There is not a single Romany of protestant faith in Prekmurje although some of them live in exclusively protestant areas. All Romany are baptized in the Catholic Church.

Raushey for Romany?

In the chronicle of the Grad parish one can read: "The Gypsy no longer has any use for God. They marry without the priest. So far they still bring their children to be baptized. They come neither to religious instruction nor to the mass or the sacraments. Only when they are dying do they still send for the priest, if it is not too late, and for the burial."

Could it be that the writer of that entry did not understand them? One could get an idea of his sensitivity from the entry made at the bottom: "On 18 April the last residue of snow in front of the parish stables melted away." To him this was important.

Another rector wrote: "We should have a special curate for the gypsies. He should be able to speak their language and have a pile of money to give away. And in the end he would be disappointed anyway because the Gypsy will remain -- Gypsy."

In 1947 there was confirmation in Murska Sobota. The Gypsies were not admitted to receive the sacrament because of their irregular attendance at the Sunday school. They, however, desired to be confirmed and to confess and receive the communion as well. Before the confirmation they fell on their knees in front of the catechists saying the Lord's prayer to sway them and make them understand. The bishop was moved by the scene and he confirmed them all.

"The Gypsies in Prekmurje are religious," says Recek, parish priest from Grad. "It is only necessary to understand them. I admire their devotion at the funerals, marriages, baptisms, and the more important holidays. Entranced, with their hands clasped they were pouring all their heart in prayer and hymns. These are the moments when one can feel their simple devotion and child-like rapture. On All Souls Day they wanted to have a mass in their community. It was a mass in their own style and for them an experience more beautiful and profound than one could imagine."

"The Romany are children of nature, open and free," continues their friend Racek. "The Church was presented to them as a system of commands and interdictions. The concrete building and fenced walls repel them -- they make them feel like strangers. And what was it that we priests and others wanted to make out of them? We wanted to civilize them overnight so that they would become what we are. We were reciting the commandments to them, from the first to the tenth, through the sixth, fifth, and all the rest. We shouted at them. Do the Gypsies need a priest? And how! But he should be a man for them, he would have to live with them, making sacrifices for them and teach them good husbandry and culture in addition to catechism and religion."

Dr Smej, the canon from Maribor, took great interest in them and now he has been joined by Poredos, who holds a special intensive religious instruction course for the Romany children in the last week of the school year. All this, however, is of peripheral importance. The present priest says: "Everything is practically crying for a priest who would be concerned solely with the Romany. They are a community of their own and feel ill at ease with the farmers. Anyone hindering the work among them would commit the same mistake as our predecessors and many others who attempted to bring about their total assimilation in society."

The villagers of Pusca are hoping that the time will come when they can have their own place of worship. Here they will celebrate baptisms, weddings, come to confessions and attend mass said by their raushey, a priest who will truly be their friend, who will love them and live with them and for them.

12070
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YUGOSLAVIA

FAILURE TO TRANSLATE BOOKS INTO MACEDONIAN DECRIED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 23 Dec 76 p 2

[Article by J. Pavlovski: "The Money Is Available But the Publishers Are Lagging"]

[Text] Let us recall that wishing to stimulate the possibility for the Macedonian language to reach the high levels of artistic literature created throughout the world, two years ago the national assembly of the Macedonian Socialist Republic adopted a rich program for the translation and publication in the Macedonian language of the 206 titles from worldwide and Yugoslav literature and of books for children. The resolution calls for investing 14,238,000 dinars for this major publishing project between 1975 and 1978. The Makedonska Kniga, Mislja, Kultura, and Nasha Kniga publishing houses and the Nova Makedonija ZID undertook to publish ten books per year each, thus enriching the number of works translated into the youngest European literary language by 50 books per year. In this sense last year the republic's cultural association advanced to each publishing house 700,000 dinars for the publication of the first 50 books; this year advanced payments were raised by yet another 30,000 dinars each.

This a typical publishing project, the more so since according to the jointly concluded contract, the translation is to be made from the original (other than in exceptional cases such as, for example, translations from the Chinese or Japanese), to be carried out by qualified translators whose scarcity is obvious. The entire set of 206 books should have a uniform presentation, with prologues or epilogs, and so on. Since the publishers agreed to such stipulations a greater responsibility to the reader on their part was expected.

Actually, what happened?

By 6 November 1975 only two books were ready: "Khajka" [Posse] by Lalich, and "Izbor" [Choice] by Belinskiy (both to be published by Mislja)! By 1 December 1976 all five Macedonian publishers had published 43 books out of a planned total of 100 (let us assume, without much hope, that by the end of the year several more books will be published). This included six by

Nasha Kniga, 10 by the Nova Makedonija ZID, only 5 by Kultura, 7 by Makedonska Kniga, and 15 by Mislal.

It should be assumed that the publishers are encountering objective difficulties in the implementation of this gigantic undertaking. Let us mention, in passing, perhaps the most obviously common absence of beautiful colors. Yet, this is not justified by the fact that, accepting the publication program, the five Macedonian publishing houses began their work unprepared, relying on improvisation. No other explanation is possible for such a lagging (over 50 percent of the planned books did not reach bookstore counters at the stipulated time), as well as the fact that the checking account of the republic's cultural association contains tens of millions of unused old dinars earmarked for the publishers and for this big edition of 206 works of world and Yugoslav classics. This example proves that money is not the reason for everything and that something more important exists: our preparedness to implement what we have undertaken. These same publishers recently signed a new contract for the publication of works of Marxist literature, totaling 130 volumes. Would they be able to implement these two difficult undertakings (even though funds are available) meeting obligations to themselves and our public? Let us hope so.

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