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No. 1387

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BULGARIA

ACCOUNTABILITY REPORT OF GOVERNMENT'S 1976 ACTIVITIES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Apr 77 p 2, 3 AU

[Accountability report on the activities of the Bulgarian Government in 1976, read by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the 13 April 1977 meeting of the Third Session of the Eighth National Assembly]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades National Assembly Deputies, 1976 was a year of prosperity for Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people. It was the year of the 11th Congress and of the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee. It was a year of political, labor and cultural upsurge. Bulgaria's international position is stable. Bulgaria is an esteemed and respected partner in the economic, diplomatic and cultural relations of our contemporary world.

The optimistic evaluation of the year 1976, which was made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his new year's greetings address to the Bulgarian people, expressed Bulgaria's socialist progress--a progress achieved by millions of Bulgarian citizens.

As a high executive organ of the state power, the Council of Ministers, in the spirit of the constitution, devoted efforts so that the people's labor may be fruitful, so that our socialist society may successfully proceed along the path outlined by the party program.

Activities of the Government in Accordance With the Constitution, With the Basic Directions of the 11th Congress and With the Decisions of the July Plenum:

Comrades, a guiding principle in the work of the government, which was elected by the Seventh National Assembly in June 1976, was the directive adopted by the 11th BCP Congress--namely, that the Council of Ministers should better implement the strategic tasks of our development and increase the initiative and efficiency of work in the ministries and other organs, as well as intensifying control over the implementation of norm-setting acts.

One of the main tasks was to carry out the special implementation of the congress decision on the seventh Five-Year Plan and to organize the fulfillment

of this plan. Our attention was concentrated upon socioeconomic solutions likely to produce high efficiency and great quality.

The plan demanded tremendous and thorough work. This plan was coordinated at all levels and adopted by the National Assembly within the time scheduled.

Changes were brought about in the style and work methods of the Council of Ministers and the ministries. The government has been relieved of inappropriate activities. The ministries have been granted the necessary rights to resolve problems within the framework of the material, financial and labor resources available to them. The ministries are requested to resolve these problems as efficiently as possible.

Under the new conditions the Council of Ministers is discussing and resolving mainly all basic questions relating to the state administration. Most decisions are of a compulsory character. They are of long term validity and apply to a vast range of organizations and to a great number of citizens. This requires the government documents to be more exact, it requires that they have greater legal foundations, that they conform to the law and that the implementation of them is efficiently organized.

In 1976 the government adopted general schemes on the specialization and concentration of production and on the improvement of management within the complexes and ministries. These general schemes contained the elaborations on the multiple goal--oriented approach, which gave the opportunity to discover reserves for a dynamic and efficient economic growth.

Specialization and concentration are complicated processes and in certain branches, in particular in the machine building and electronics branch, this process will continue throughout the entire 5-year period. The successful completion of this process will facilitate the fulfillment of the socioeconomic plan. Any kind of delay or hesitation interrupts the production links, and disturbs for a long period the mutual implementation of agreements and coordinated deliveries. It impedes the normal procedure of the reproduction process. The government is taking measures so that this process may be carried out on time, measures likely to improve to perfection the relations between economic and administrative organs.

The Council of Ministers has reorganized the management of complexes and ministries on the basis of the two- and three-link system and has adopted norm-setting acts on the administration of the economy during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, acts which are in conformity with the present stage of development. Organizational and economic prerequisites are being implemented in order to permit a correct solution of problems of production structure, of problems of concentration and specialization. Scientific-technical achievements should be more rapidly introduced, resources should be efficiently used, quality and efficiency should be improved.

Let us admit that there are economic links where, because of the existence of sluggishness, conservatism and formalism, the norm-setting acts are not being efficiently applied. A more strict control and exactingness are necessary in order to abolish this shortcoming, as early as in 1977.

During the period under review the government also submitted to the National Assembly line draft projects on new laws or on amendments and additions to existing ones. These projects are aimed at settling certain pending questions of social development.

It will be our concern to implement a better quality and more efficient legal organization of social relations in accordance with the constitution.

With the transfer of the committee on state and people's control to the jurisdiction of the Council of Minister the work devoted to the implementation of the party and state policy is improving. A joint decision was adopted by the BCP Central Committee and by the Council of Ministers on the "further development and improvement of the control system in the Bulgarian People's Republic."

The process of improving the activities and enhancing the role of the Okrug, city, rayon and village municipal people's councils continued. The Council of Ministers is assisting them in their development as independent creative organs, in increasing the complexity, topicality and long-term efficiency of their work. Measures are being taken to perfect the structure of the executive committees of the people's councils, to abolish the links that duplicate each other, and to reduce the size of the administrative-management apparatus.

During the year that has elapsed the people's councils successfully managed the economic and sociocultural life and organized the implementation of laws, decisions and rules issued by the state power. The coordination and plan-regulating functions of the people's councils have expanded.

The people's councils are contributing to the development of a well-balanced national economy, they contribute to the maintenance of the necessary coordination in the development of individual branches situated in the territorial units. This was also stressed by the BCP Central Committee Plenum on the further development and improvement of the country's territorial and settlements organization.

A Dynamic and Efficient Economic Growth

Comrades, the first year of our 5-year plan that has elapsed represents a new achievement in the developed socialist society. The national income increased on the basis of preliminary data approximately 7 percent compared with 1975 and attained 1,740 leva per capita of the population. This indicates a dynamic and efficient economic growth, the social progress and stability of our socialist society.

The successes achieved are even more valuable, if we take into consideration the considerable difficulties encountered. The stagnation of the capitalist market continued, as did the difficulties connected with it, difficulties in our trade with Western countries. Prices of raw materials and other materials which we purchase are increasing. Because of the poor climatic conditions part of the harvest was not collected and remained unutilized. Let us, however, not pass over in silence the subjective shortcomings such as poor organization and poor discipline in a number of economic and other links.

The tremendous work to overcome the existing negative factors in our development which is carried out by the party and government, created prerequisites permitting us to pursue the upsurge of Bulgarian economy. The high and stable economic development of socialist Bulgaria is revealing itself against the background of the economic and social crisis in which the capitalist world is involved.

During the year that has elapsed a successful beginning was made in optimally coordinating the dynamics of economic growth with the higher efficiency of social production and with better quality production.

Social labor productivity increased approximately 7 percent compared with 1975 and insured the total increase of the national income produced in our country.

This labor productivity stems mainly from manpower savings. A certain share is also accounted for by reduced material expenditures. For a unit of net production in the industrial sector the above-mentioned expenditures were reduced 1.5 percent in 1976 compared with 1975, and approximately 120 million leva were saved.

The state plan on the reduction of material expenditures, however, has remained unfulfilled, and certain ministries have even increased their expenditures per unit of production compared with 1975.

The government has taken measures for the implementation of the national program on the efficient use of raw materials and other materials and for the programs worked out after the July plenum. The expenditure norms are being compared to the achievements of contemporary scientific-technical progress. The economic mechanism envisages serious sanctions against those whose expenditures exceed the established norms and these sanctions will be strictly applied.

It is time for the Bulgarian scientists, designers and technological experts, for the leaders and workers to become aware that in view of the growing shortage of raw materials, other materials, fuel and power in the world and in view of their increasing prices on the international market. The reduction of the raw material requirements is one of the most important factors for economic growth and for a high efficiency of economic production.

In 1976 the per capita equipment ratio of the workers engaged in material production increased more than 9 percent. However, it continues to develop more rapidly than social labor productivity, a fact which delays the increase of efficiency.

The Council of Ministers is making the necessary efforts to speed up the introduction of new production capacities, to increase the number of work shifts and to increase the number of shifts in the work of equipment, as well as to reduce the periods when machines and equipment are idle. Labor and production organization is improving. As for investment policy, priority is given to certain capital investments for modernization and reorganization, as well as for a better equipment of the production capacities. The supplies with raw materials, other materials and spare parts are more regular than before. Labor remuneration is being linked to the degree of exploiting the production capacities and is being encouraged [poostmryaua] with professional training. Stricter production and technological discipline is required.

It is fortunate for our economy that this year it has produced the vitally necessary goods. On this basis, a normal reproduction process and active foreign trade activity has been insured. The indexes on a number of important goods were not achieved. The country did not produce the planned quantities of fertilizers, sulphuric acid, containers, typewriters, cement, cotton materials and canned vegetables. This created certain difficulties in the economic sector and in supplying the population.

The government will give particular attention and care to the production of a greater quantity of higher quality goods with the best variety. Only thus will it be able to keep up a well balanced economic development and better satisfy the working people's needs.

In 1976 the profits, on a comparable basis, increased 15 percent compared with 1975.

There are, however, ministries and departments, which did not obtain the profits envisaged by the state plan. This unfulfillment is particularly characteristic of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry--mainly because of existing shortcomings in the organization and management of agricultural production and because of the unfavorable climatic conditions. The same applies to the Ministry of Machine Building and Metallurgical Industry --because of the unsatisfactory implementation of coordinated deliveries and because of losses caused by goods not produced and poor quality goods. The same applies to the national building complex because the material and labor expenditure norms were exceeded, because technical building equipment was inadequately exploited and because building norms and schedules were not observed.

The main reason for the unfulfillment of the profits plan is the excessive expenditure of materials compared with expenditure envisaged by the plan, as well as losses caused by poor quality production, fines, failure to observe contractual discipline and loss of working days.

The workers collectives must use the resources existing within the country more efficiently, they must wage a struggle to save materials, labor and financial resources. Turnover funds which have been deviated [otklonyava] must be made up in time from additionally obtained profits and a normal re-production process must be ensured.

The 1976 state budget has been successfully fulfilled. The envisaged excess of income over expenditure has been achieved. There have been considerable savings of nonproductive expenditure. The nonfulfillment of the plan on quality indexes, however, will affect the balance of this year's budget.

The quality of production was one of this year's great problems. The share of the goods marked "Q" [for quality] and "1" increased 4.4 points. There is, however, no reason for complacency. The quality of a number of industrial goods is lagging behind requirements. The recently adopted national program on the quality of industrial production during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period envisages conditions and means for solving this difficult problem. The responsibility of all those engaged in planning in introducing products and in the production of goods is now great.

Scientific-technical progress is an important promoter of economic growth, of efficiency in social production and of improvement in production quality.

We have achieved certain considerable scientific-technical successes. They served to increase the international prestige of our Bulgarian science and technology. They expanded opportunities on international markets. A total of 5,860 scientific-technical research results were introduced in the social production sector. Approximately 60 percent of these are either existing goods that have been perfected or are new goods and technological methods. During the year that has elapsed the machine building sector alone has updated 20 percent of its production.

The plan demands from us that we enhance the importance of scientific-technical progress even more. A multiplying effect must be achieved along the stages of development in creating, introducing and disseminating scientific-technical achievements. Production must be updated and reserves of scientific ideas and technical solutions must be created.

In 1976 the modernization, reorganization and expansion of existing production capacities became the basic trend in the investment policy. The relative share of capital investments for this purpose reached 67 percent for the branches of material production. This will have a beneficial effect on efficiency and quality.

The government expresses its conviction that the scientific workers, engineers, technicians, economists, rationalizers and inventors will join the technical reorganization of production to increase economic efficiency. The scientific-technical unions could render efficient assistance in this respect.

A considerable contribution to the intensification of the national economy was made by specialization and concentration of production through the application of the multiple purpose-oriented approach. Basic production is being graded according to the constructional and technological homogeneity of the goods produced. Efforts are being made to intensify the specialization and concentration of production, by developing the unification, standardization and specification of goods, component parts, machine groups, working processes.

During the year that has elapsed the branch structure of production continued to improve. Industry is already a basic branch of our economy and insured 54 percent of the national income, according to comparable prices. The power industry, metallurgy, the chemical industry and machine building produced half of the industrial production. Progressive structural changes were operated within the branches of industry.

We used manpower more efficiently in 1976. In the industrial, building and transportation sector loss of working time because of whole-day work interruptions, absence for illness, labor accidents and personal reasons were approximately 6.5 percent less than in 1975, while the current interruptions of the labor of the workers have been reduced by 14 percent.

Our labor resources represent our greatest national capital and must be used to the full. This demands from the leading bodies on all levels of administration that they create the best work conditions, speedily introduce scientific methods of labor organization and of production and apply the system of moral and material incentives for the stabilization of manpower.

The complexity of contemporary production and the mutual interdependence of the national economic branches and activities demand strictly regular work and complete coordination in the work of all complexes and ministries, of all economic organizations and worker's collectives. In the struggle for an exemplary socialist discipline we must use all means available to our society, such as administrative efficiency, economic mechanisms, educational work, criticism and self-criticism. The decisive factor in the intensification of the national economy is to expand and intensify the integration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Our country is fulfilling its obligations in building large projects on USSR territory, such as enterprises of the gas, mining-metallurgical and cellulose industry, the Vinitsa-Albertsiza Pipeline and so forth.

Together with the Socialist Republic of Romania we started building an enterprise of heavy machine building industry in the Ruse-Giurgiu area. We signed a number of agreements with the CEMA member-countries on specialization and production-sharing and on the joint creation of production capacities.

Our mutual exchange of goods with the fraternal socialist countries increased 12.5 percent in 1976 compared with 1975. Some 54 percent of our exports went to the Soviet Union and 80 percent to the total socialist countries' markets.

As for our exchange of goods with the capitalist and developing countries we have achieved positive results in achieving a balance of incomes and payments. Our exports to those countries increased 13.1 in 1976 compared with 1975.

The structure of our exchange of goods continued to improve. Production with a high degree of processing continued to increase. The share of machines and equipment in our total exports reached 42 percent. Despite the good results, however, certain exporting organizations, such as the Ministry of Machine Building and Metallurgical Industry, the Ministry of Electronics and Electrical Engineering, did not entirely achieve the exports envisaged for 1976.

The further successful development of the international integration and of foreign trade relations depends upon the high quality of production and upon the strict observance of regular production and supplies. The main efforts should be devoted precisely to this purpose.

The results of the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan confirmed the correctness of the impressive program on a dynamic and efficient economic growth, the program outlined by the 11th Congress. These results show that the Bulgarian people are striving to carry into deeds the strategic tasks set by the Seventh Five-Year Plan and expressed by the appeal: "Efficiency and Quality, Quality and Efficiency."

Improvement of the Living Standard and Perfection of Socialist Social Relations:

Comrades, the dynamics of our economic growth and the increased efficiency and quality of social production in 1976 permitted us to register considerable progress in the implementation of the party's December program on the improvement of the working people's living standard.

What are the facts?

The real per capita income increased by 4.4 percent in 1976, while the average monthly wages reached 149 leva. The social funds for consumption increased 246 million leva, or 6.7 percent. After the July Plenum measures were taken to increase the efficiency of social measures and the resources of the social consumption funds are being spent with greater thrift.

Higher goods production of goods and the population's greater purchasing power increased retail turnover, which reached 880 million leva.

The level of trade service improved. Modern, new stores and trade centers appeared and progressive forms of trade have expanded.

Nevertheless, we cannot say that things are as they should be in the sector of the population's supply. During certain periods there was a shortage of necessary quantities of milk, durable meat products and fruit and vegetables in some areas. Because of the limited possibilities, the population's needs

for building materials, for individual types of furniture and for certain other goods were not fully satisfied.

The Ministry of Light Industry and of Domestic Trade and Services had not done everything necessary to satisfy the population's needs for fashionable and beautiful, as well as varied, goods. This is important because of our population's increased purchasing power.

In 1976 industrial services for the population increased 13 percent. The needs for repair and maintenance of motor cars, electric household appliances, radio and television sets are being better satisfied.

We are, however, aware that the quality and duration of the services do not correspond to the Bulgarian citizens' increased demands by far and we are taking measures for an improvement of services.

The communication services have developed. Some 75,000 new telephones have been put into operation, the lines of the automatic services in the okrug cities have increased. We have a new radio relay station and four television transmitters. People, however, are justified in asking for an improvement in the quality and level of the communications services.

In 1976 a total of 67,200 housing units were built, including 57,360 along the lines of state and cooperative construction. The plan was overfulfilled 6 percent. In Sofia 14,000 new homes were given to the citizens. I would like to express my gratitude to the building workers for their selfless labor and express the conviction that with the assistance of the state and public organs and organizations and with the assistance of the entire people they will implement the housing program during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period.

A total of 75.5 percent of the children between the ages of 3 and 7 are already going to kindergarten, while 17 percent of the very young children below the age of 3 are going to the nursery schools and day nurseries.

There are successes in health protection. Approximately 2 million people underwent check ups in the mass scale screening services. The relative share of the population treated as outpatients increased to 52 percent.

Temporary working incapacity was reduced. The number of those affected by acute contagious diseases was 35 percent less than in 1975. The active health and anti-epidemic measures protected the country against dangerous infections. The concentration and specialization of the hospital beds fund has continued. The quality of medical services, however, is lagging behind. This requires the Ministry of National Health to devote more efforts to this in the future.

In 1976, 1,170,000 people spent their vacations and recreation periods in rest homes and children's camps. Half a million Bulgarian citizens spent their holidays as tourists abroad.

The development of education continued. New schools with approximately 29,000 places were built. Some 1,520,000 students are being trained in all kinds and degrees of educational institutions. The higher educational institutions trained 16,600 new specialists. In the students home, 4,000 new places were insured.

The task now is to improve the quality of training, to improve the labor and professional training of youth, to combine training with productive labor. The efforts of the state organs and of the public organizations for forming a communist outlook in the young generation, for their moral and esthetic development and physical tempering, must be coordinated. Along with this, the educational standards of the working people actively engaged in production must systematically be improved.

The "creative arts, cultural activities and mass information media" complex is asserting itself as a social and state organ for the coordination and leadership of cultural processes in the country. Considerable work is being carried out in creating and propagating esthetic values. The arts, culture and mass information media are contributing to the intellectual upsurge of the Bulgarian people and to the creation of a harmoniously developed, modern, socialist personality. For the nationwide esthetic education of the working people and youth was adopted. The prestige of Bulgarian socialist culture was enhanced far beyond our country's borders.

The activities in connection with the preservation improvement and restoration of the natural environment expanded and reorganized.

For this noble goal approximately 115 million leva were spent. Capital investments, worth 30 percent more than those spent in 1975, were spent on equipment for a purification of waters. A total of 15 municipal purification stations were built. The means for soil protection and for the purification of the air increased, we are trying to build this equipment along with the production capacities.

Nevertheless, the fact that only 84 percent of the financial resources envisaged by the plan were invested is a cause of concern. A number of ministries and economic organizations are not working efficiently for the protection and restoration of the environment. We are particularly concerned by the population, caused by cement plants, and we are taking the necessary measures in this connection.

The government adopted programs on the purification of the areas around cement plants, On the accelerated building of purification equipment attached to the Kremikovtzi Metallurgical Combine, to the "Georgi Dimitrov" metallurgical combine near Pirdop and to the "Maritsa-East" Complex. We are envisaging the adoption of programs for other areas too. We will introduce a norm-setting organization, which will be entrusted with specifying the activities connected with the preservation, restoration and improvement of the environment. Economic incentives and sanctions are being

introduced in the purpose of better coordinating the collective and public interests.

Along with the improvement of technical and technological standards of production, we are trying to create a working environment which is favorable to man, an environment adequate to the contemporary demands for space, a healthy atmosphere and good taste. The new technical equipment and technological methods should be not only highly productive but also safe for those who are handling them. This demand confronts the managers, construction engineers, designers and planning workers, as well as the building workers with new tasks.

Comrades, the government and its organs have concentrated their efforts on the implementation of the party program for the development and improvement of socialist social relations, on the consolidation of the socialist way of life. Progressive changes have occurred in production relations. The two forms of property--the nationwide property and cooperative property--are increasingly drawing closer together. Agro-industrial and industrial-agrarian complexes continued to develop as a higher form of economic and social organization in the rural areas.

Our workers class is expanding its ranks, improving its qualifications, its consciousness and labor discipline. The working peasants are drawing closer to the workers as regards working conditions, methods of remuneration and their social security system. Agricultural labor is increasingly becoming almost a branch of industry. Bulgarian villages are becoming increasingly beautiful. More and more favorable conditions are being created for the life and development of the rural population. In 1976 the pensions for certain groups of farmers were increased and their right to obtain part or the full amount of their pensions when they are working was settled.

Positive changes were also introduced for employees. The administrative apparatus became more efficient, expenditure on its maintenance reduced.

One of the main trends in the development of social relations in our country is the expansion of socialist democracy. A number of documents adopted by the government, no more precisely, the code on the organization of economic activities, provide for the increasingly direct and representative participation of the workers in the management of economic organizations. The role of the trade unions was enhanced. Counter plans contribute to the working people's participation in the creation of a better organization of production, it contributes to the revelation of additional opportunities for an increase of social labor productivity and for an improvement of production quality.

The trade union's national and class duty is to expand the creative initiative and the energy of millions of working people so that they may contribute to the consolidation of socialist discipline. Every worker must have the feeling that he is responsible for the fate and prosperity of socialism.

The citizens of socialist Bulgaria enjoy extensive rights and freedoms, laid down by the constitution and guaranteed by the socialist system. True socialism in our country is showing and constantly proving its advantages over capitalism. Also in the humanitarian sector, it insures social justice and social equality. Socialist legality and the legal order are observed. All organs and organizations are requested to respect human dignity and to create prerequisites for its development. This is in full conformity with the requirements of the Helsinki final CSCE document.

One of the basic rights of citizens in Bulgaria is the right to work. This right is of vital importance for every member of society. At the same time, however, the duties from those who benefit from this right are increasing. Measures are being taken so that this right may be exercised in a way that is useful to society and to the individual.

The system of labor remuneration is improving. Recently a decision on improving the organization of workers wages was adopted. This decision pursues the goal of creating actual conditions for coordinating the size and the dynamics of the resources allocated for labor remuneration with the results of work. The new organization will encourage the working people's contribution to the implementation of economic tasks, to the improvement of quality and efficiency. The correct utilization of these opportunities will increase the incomes of all those who produce more goods for society.

The government and its organs, the executive committees of the people's councils and social organizations are doing everything necessary to consolidate the social order and to prevent violations of the law. A basic beginning in this respect is represented by preventive work.

In 1976 new efforts were devoted to increase the fighting capacity of the Bulgarian People's Army, to maintain its combat-readiness at a level adequate to the interests of our state and the Warsaw Pact. The work connected with the consolidation of the alliance between the people and the army, connected with the friendship and cooperation between our army and the other fraternal armies, and in particular with the great Soviet Army, is considerable.

The government will continue to watch over the consolidation of socialist democracy and legal order, so that socialist legality may be strictly observed and the country's defense power may be increased.

Our prosperity--the prosperity of the entire people, as well as of each individual citizen among us--this prosperity depends on ourselves. Let us work so that we may create more material and intellectual values per unit of time. Let us not reconcile ourselves to the one-sided consumer's approach of certain people, let us establish reliable barriers against the selfish striving to obtain more from society and to contribute less to its progress. This is a useful law of our development, since we can use only what we have produced.

The Government's Foreign Policy Activities

Comrades, in 1976 too, the government continued to pursue active foreign political work in the circumstances of the further development of the process of detente. The peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union has above all earned its historical credit for this achievement. The peace-loving policy was confirmed and precisely specified at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The Bulgarian Government's foreign policy is guided by the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, by the Leninist principle of support for the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation struggle, and by the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In accordance with the party's tested April line, with the decisions of the 11th Congress and the Central Committee, the government is working in favor of an intensification of comprehensive cooperation with the USSR. The meetings and talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev represent a new contribution to the enrichment of Bulgarian-Soviet relations, to the further drawing closer together between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in all sectors of life. The visit of Comrade Andrey Gromyko, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, to our country and his talks with Bulgarian party and state leaders contributed to a closer and more fruitful coordination of our foreign political activities. In a number of meetings between representatives of the Bulgarian and Soviet state institutions and political organizations practical measures were outlined for our unity of action.

Anti-Sovietism and provocative campaigns against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are organized by certain imperialist circles and institutions have one goal--the struggle against communism and the progressive forces throughout the world.

Each day, however, the peoples can see that ever since the victory of the great socialist October revolution 60 years ago, the Soviet Union--the first country of true socialism--has been the most sincere and convinced supporter of peace. The CPSU and the Soviet Government have been indefatigable organizers not only of a better life for the Soviet peoples, but also the initiators and the implementors of mankind's peaceful development and progress on an international scale.

So much the greater becomes the responsibility today of preserving the purity of the banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is our responsibility to remember that the weapon which can defeat anti-Sovietism--this relapse into "cold war"--is proletarian internationalism, it is the strong international solidarity of all progressive forces.

Our relations with the GDR, Poland, Romania, Hungary, the CSSR, Mongolia, Cuba, Vietnam, the DPRK and Laos continued to develop in the spirit of socialist internationalism. Meetings at the highest level gave a new impetus to the

fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance among the countries belonging to the socialist community. The main field of action is the cooperation within the framework of CEMA. Our country is expanding and improving this tested cooperation on the basis of the comprehensive program for the further intensification and development of socialist economic integration.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is actively participating in the Warsaw Pact organization. It is creatively contributing to the implementation of the uniform line of the member-countries of this organization, which is aimed at preserving peace and intensifying detente.

During the year that has elapsed our relations with the developing countries expanded even more. In implementing its international duty our country is giving mansided assistance to the young states with progressive orientation. According to its possibilities, Bulgaria had its share in the victory of the people of Angola.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's visits to India and Libya played an important role in the development of our relations with those two countries.

Cooperation with Iraq and Iran has expanded. Our visits to those countries contributed to this. Leading government officials from Angola, Mozambique, from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, from Tanzania, Ethiopia, Somalia and other countries visited Bulgaria. Important documents were signed with them, envisaging an expansion of our economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation with these countries.

Last year Bulgaria was host to a "round table" conference on questions of the industrialization of agriculture organized by UNIDO and to an international conference of agrarian and affiliated parties and organizations. Representatives of many countries participated in this conference, countries with which we were thus able to establish useful contacts. The visit of the delegation of the organization of African Unity [OAU] was successful.

All these relations and initiatives are enhancing Bulgaria's prestige and are contributing to the consolidation of peace and security in the world. Guided by this noble goal we unshakably maintain our stand for a peaceful and just solution to the Middle East Crisis. The Bulgarian People's Republic welcomes and fully supports the constructive, just and realistic proposals on the peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis submitted by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in his speech to the AUCCTU Congress.

Our country is conducting a consistent policy for the intensification of our bilateral relations with capitalist states. A number of important meetings and contacts have taken place. Let us recall the visits of the Austrian president to our country and the visit of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic to Austria, the visit of the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs to the Netherlands, as well as the visits to our country by the ministers of foreign affairs of France,

Portugal and Denmark. The U.S. secretary of agriculture and assistant secretary of state visited Bulgaria. Our relations with the FRG, Italy and Britain continued to develop. Consultations with a number of other countries took place.

An important share in our government's foreign political activities was taken by the efforts to alleviate tension and eliminate the danger of a new war in Europe and throughout the world. I would like to stress the importance of the initiative of signing a worldwide treaty for the non-use of force, the implementation of which would give a further impetus to detente. Bulgaria energetically supports the Soviet Union's proposals on questions of detente submitted to various authoritative international forums. These proposals received a positive response from most countries. This is why we are disappointed by the attempts made during the visit to Moscow by Secretary of State Vance to obtain one-sided military advantages for the United States. This would threaten the security of the USSR and of the other countries of the socialist community and would actually question the hitherto achieved results in the limitation of strategic weapons. Nevertheless, we have no doubt that common sense will prevail and that progress will be achieved in this field which is so important for world peace, a progress which is useful for all peoples.

Our country is conducting a principled policy aimed at the implementation of the Helsinki agreements. We are now in a period of energetic preparations for the Belgrade meeting, which is expected to contribute to a further consolidation of security and to the development of cooperation in Europe. Bulgaria is a co-author of the proposal of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact member-countries that all countries that signed the final Helsinki Document should be the first to renounce the use of nuclear arms against each other. We are actively participating in the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Together with the other fraternal states, we are perseveringly working for the coordination of practical measures based on the principles of equal security.

In conformity with the spirit of the Helsinki Conference our country actively supports the proposal to convene all-European congresses on cooperation in the sectors of transport, power supply and environmental protection. Our country attaches great importance to the CEMA initiative on mutually advantageous relations with the European Economic Community.

The Bulgarian People's Republic devotes great efforts to peace and security in the Balkan Peninsula. Our country is firmly following its principled, peaceloving foreign policy toward its neighbors, a policy which is by no means influenced by time-serving considerations.

In 1976 political contacts and talks were held with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on questions of mutual interest. Our economic cooperation continued to develop at a satisfactory rate. We will also continue to work actively for the expansion and intensification of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations in the interests of both fraternal peoples.

We can be satisfied with the development of our relations with Turkey and Greece. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's visits to those countries have contributed to a stabilization of the mutually advantageous bilateral, good neighborly cooperation and to the consolidation of peace in the Balkans.

As in the past, the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic devoted efforts to a favorable development of our interstate relations with Albania.

The constructive policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic on the Balkans represents an important factor of peace in this part of Europe. This policy has earned international recognition and is enjoying well-deserved prestige.

The great number of bilateral agreements and protocols and our country's participation in multilateral international acts are important results of our foreign policy work.

In 1976 the Bulgarian People's Republic signed 48 agreements and 82 protocols in various fields of economy and culture. Along with this, Bulgaria ratified or joined 19 international multilateral agreements.

In 1976, too, our government's aspiration was that our foreign political activities should contribute to a maximum to the building of a developed socialist society. It is our aspiration that foreign policy should increasingly become a material force, that it should participate in the increase of the productive forces in our motherland. The July Plenum also gave serious attention to this problem. The government is taking measures to perfect the activities of the institutions belonging to the system of international relations.

I would like to stress that the personal initiative and the indefatigable activities of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the first secretary of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, are of decisive importance, so that the government may conduct a useful foreign policy and so that our country may enjoy its prestige in international life.

The foreign policy, worked out by the BCP Central Committee and conducted by the government, entirely corresponds to the Bulgarian people's vital interests. This policy is fully supported by all state and political institutions in our country, by our public opinion and by the entire people. In relying upon this support and drawing its strength from it, the government will continue in the future to unrelentingly implement the congress directives in the field of international relations.

Esteemed National Assembly Deputies, by submitting to your attention its activities of the year 1976 and pointing at certain achievements, the government is at the same time aware of its responsibility for the things it has not succeeded in implementing.

It is our aspiration that the economy should develop in such a way as envisaged in the 11th BCP Congress basic directions and by the law on the

Seventh Five-Year Plan period. We are aware that this is difficult, but this even more obliges us to concentrate the efforts of state and economic organs, so that those lagging behind may catch up with those that are fulfilling their duties toward the people and toward our socialist state on time.

The most important task now is to fulfill the plan adopted by the National Assembly at its previous session. I will not dwell on the indexes--they are well known. I would just like to stress that the tasks are great, which is logical, and that in order to fulfill them we must mobilize each individual factor and all factors together, in order to obtain the effect envisaged by the plan.

The fate of the plan is in the hands of the workers class, of the working people in rural areas and of the intelligentsia. The demand is--to achieve from everyone, every week, a high quality and efficiency of work. The discovery and use of the internally existing opportunities will insure production of additional goods. It is important to introduce the technical-scientific achievements promptly in the respective departments and organizations.

According to the volume of industrial production the plan for the first quarter of 1977 has been fulfilled 102 percent. This is a good beginning for the second year of the Five-Year Plan period. In individual branches and activities, however, there is unjustified backwardness. Particularly great efforts are necessary to achieve the indexes of labor productivity, production costs and quality, as well as profits.

Tremendous work awaits us as regards the fulfillment of the agricultural plan. The necessary quantity of fodder must be produced, by the timely and full collecting, storing and most expedient use of the fodder. We must improve the standards of improvement and hybrid work in animal husbandry and improve the working conditions in cattle farms. The leading bodies of the okrugs must insure production of sufficient quantities of fresh fruit and vegetables likely to insure the needs of population throughout the year.

We are expecting a drastic change in the reduction of production costs of agricultural production and in increasing efficiency in this important branch. We cannot put up with the shortcomings, which last year, too, led to considerable losses. Economic prudence, a mature economic approach of the leading bodies of all agro-industrial complexes, of all brigades and farms in the work of each mechanizer and cattle breeder, all these things are necessary.

Historians who will write about 1977 will also recall the terrible natural disaster which affected us. The 4 March 1977 earthquake caused the death of 125 Bulgarian citizens and caused damage worth over 200 million leva. The government, with the support of all Bulgarian people, took prompt measures to assist the families who suffered damage and to restore normal life in the areas affected by the earthquake. Our joint task--the task of party and of the state, as well as of the government--is to perform highly

productive labor in order to make up for the losses. Allow me, Comrades, from the rostrum of the National Assembly to express our sympathy to the relatives of those who perished and to all those who suffered losses as well as to express our gratitude to those who spontaneously and ready for sacrifices, came to the rescue, worked and are still working to overcome the consequences of the natural disaster.

Comrades, the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and of the July Plenum of the Central Committee found a wide response in the hearts of our people and were adopted with sincere conviction. The members of the Communist Party and of its most loyal, militant ally--the Bulgarian People's Agrarian Union --as well as millions of Fatherland Front Members are selflessly working for the further and comprehensive prosperity of our socialist motherland.

The glorious Dimitrov Komsomol, the heroic Bulgarian Trade Unions, the fatherland front and the social organizations in our country are selfless participants in socialist competition and in the implementation of the national economic plan. We expect much from Bulgarian women--who are active participants in socialist construction and who enjoy equal rights.

We count upon the assistance of the mass information media, which are the heralds of positive experience and the exponents of healthy criticism.

You, esteemed National Assembly Deputies, are closely linked to the people, you are acquainted with the conditions existing in individual production links, with the opportunities and qualities of local leading economic cadres. The government counts upon your intervention and activities. The assistance you will give is and will be one of the most useful ones. We will be grateful to you for your efforts to solve the great economic and social tasks of our comprehensive development.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is our home, we have built it and given it its present, worthy, socialist appearance, and we are the ones who will bestow on it more materials goods and high cultural standards.

Let us work, so that we may mark 1977--the year of the glorious 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution--and so that we may celebrate the 110th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation, with a great, new step toward developed socialism.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BULGARIA AND DPRK HOLD ECONOMIC TALKS IN PYONGYANG

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Apr 77 p 6 AU

[Text] Pyongyang 19 April--BTA report--the eighth session of the Bulgarian-DPRK Intergovernmental Consultative Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Problems and the seventh session of the Subcommittee on Scientific-Technical Cooperation were held in Pyongyang from 12 to 17 April.

Participating in the talks were a Bulgarian governmental delegation led by Krustyu Trichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Intergovernmental Commission, and DPRK governmental delegation led by Kong Chin Tae, vice premier of the DPRK Government and chairman of the Korean side of the Intergovernmental Commission.

On 17 April documents on the work of the commission and subcommission were signed at the People's Cultural Palace in Pyongyang. Bulgarian Ambassador to the DPRK Khristo Kelchev attended the signing ceremony.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation Krustyu Trichkov was received by Kim Il-song, secretary general of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and president of the DPRK. On behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Krustyu Trichkov presented to Kim Il-song Zhivkov's greetings and good wishes on the occasion of his 65 birthday. The talks were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Bulgarian Ambassador to the DPRK Khristo Kelchev also attended the talks.

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'TRIBUNA' DISCUSSES SOCIALIST INTERPRETATION OF FREEDOM, HUMANISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 3, 19 Jan 77 pp 8-9

[Column: "Discussion With Three Participants," a regular feature in TRIBUNA; participants in this discussion were Kojzar, Simon, Professor Hrzal, not further identified]

[Text] It has already become a tradition that in TRIBUNA's "discussion with three participants" we discuss together with our readers the socialist way of life and the problems related to it. This time we spoke of the problems of humanism and freedom. By coincidence, however, our discussion assumed additional importance. Some communication media in the capitalist countries had published a pamphlet of a few bankrupt politicians--so-called Charter 77-- a few days earlier in which they spread gross lies and slandered our socialist republic. The exponents of revisionism, inveterate anticommunists, former representatives of the bourgeoisie and those who were punished for antistate activity demagogically claim in unison the "rights and freedoms" of citizens. As each of them has already demonstrated, however, they are, in fact, interested in the "rights and freedoms" for the remnants of the defeated bourgeoisie, on whose basis they could again organize antistate and anti-socialist activities. It is, therefore, not strange that they are mostly praised by the most reactionary communication media in the West. But it is usually so. It is indifferent to the traitor from whom he gets his Judas' reward and to the poseur who applauds him. Let us, therefore, reflect together upon the real meaning of humanism and freedom....

Kojzar: It would be appropriate to say in the way of introduction to our discussion what humanism and ahumanism actually is or, to put it in different words, how to evaluate the essence of capitalism in terms of so-called humanism and what constitutes the essence of socialism.

Simon: Socialist humanism is inherent in the socialist society in Czechoslovakia as well as in other countries of the socialist community. This new humanism reflects the qualitatively higher mutual relations between men and also the relationship of the socialist society to man. Let us state this in the most specific terms. Most of our senior citizens experienced life in the bourgeois society and during the fascist occupation (which also represented a bourgeois capitalist society). They remember well that in that society, in which everything is subordinated to the individual interest of the capitalist, real, true humanism cannot be realized. The owners of the means of production, the bourgeoisie, lived in luxury and abundance then (as they do in the capitalist countries today), while millions of unemployed lived in misery and starved. There are about 17 million unemployed in the capitalist countries now.

Let us refer to another decisive fact: the class exploiting bourgeois society gave birth to two world wars within the last 30 years. Approximately 15 million people perished in the first one and 50 million people in the second--the most horrible war in the history of mankind so far produced by capitalism (which according to the bourgeois propagandists and dissidents in the socialist countries is "the most democratic and the most humane social system"). This is the true picture of that old bourgeois humanism, democracy, and freedom. Is this talk about humanism of the bourgeois society--a society in which the capitalist's interest does not know mercy and is paid for by thousands of human lives--not the most sinister demagogy and the most vicious lie of the bourgeois propagandists and their henchmen, the dissidents in the socialist countries? Thousands and millions of facts confirm the characteristic trait of the bourgeois society: it judges the dignity of man not on the basis of his talents, abilities, courage, honesty and work, but according to his economic status, whether or not he possesses capital and according to his profits. Respect for man and love of fellow men are replaced by respect for and love of things, money and property through the worshipping of the "golden calf." There is no fraud or crime--so long as it produces profit--that the bourgeois humanism would not sanction!

Hrzal: Bourgeois ideologists and propagandists frequently speak of "equality" of people. It is a well-known fact that the bourgeoisie proclaimed the slogan of equality at the time when it constituted a progressive class; that by using this slogan it tried to win the people over for its struggle against feudalism; that this slogan played an important role in the preparation for the bourgeois revolution in France. At the moment when the bourgeoisie came to power, the principles of equality and freedom--that is the principles of equality and freedom for the exploiters, for the capitalists--became purely formal in regard to the people. There was a lot of talk about them, but they were ignored in practice. It cannot be otherwise. After all, can we talk of some equality when there are the exploited and exploiters? Can real freedom exist for the people who are mercilessly exploited; and when the boom is over and the depression intensifies--this is what we witness today--they are mercilessly fired? Every thinking person will thus realize that the really human content of freedom and equality depends upon the

abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. There can be no freedom and equality in the bourgeois society in which man is exploited by man, the manual and office worker by the capitalist. It is, therefore, true that the proclamation of slogans of freedom and equality is, while private ownership of the means of production exists, only a lie and arrogant hypocrisy of bourgeois propagandists and their fellow travellers in the socialist countries. After all, by their formal preaching of freedom and equality these ideologists cover up the actual economic inequality of exploiters and working people--an inequality of the overwhelming majority of the society in the capitalist countries. We are witnessing one of the biggest frauds in the history of human society.

Kojzak: We have, thus, got down to the problem of social and private ownership. As fittingly emphasized by Comrade Professor Hrzal the humane content of freedom and equality depends upon the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and of the exploitation of man by man. We can perhaps formulate the first conclusion of our discussion so far: Only the social ownership of the means of production, the abolition of private ownership carried out by the socialist revolution, creates really equal opportunities for the development of people's individuality, personality and abilities. This is a truth that cannot be admitted by those whom it concerns: the capitalists and bourgeois ideologists.

Simon: Exactly. Only the abolition of private ownership of the means of production--there is no other way--creates conditions for real freedom and humanism. We see what freedom and humanism it is, when we compare the actual life, the real opportunities of the capitalist and of the working man. Only socialism develops the principles of real humanism. The fundamental condition is that all citizens are equal from the economic point of view. In this context it is necessary to point out that in its content and form socialist humanism builds on the best and most progressive traditions of humanism of the past and develops them. In other words, socialist humanism and socialist culture do not arise in a vacuum. Socialist humanism sees the real working man, a free citizen of the socialist society, and judges him by his work, actions and deeds. Socialist humanism protested against inhuman conditions created by fascism in Hitler's Germany some time ago, as it does against the conditions in fascist Chile and other capitalist countries today. In the working man it sees a fighter for the new, the most just, so far, socialist society which creates new living conditions incomparably freer, more humane, richer and more just than the bourgeois society ever did.

Capitalism enslaves the working man. Socialism and communism calls for and practically carries out the abolition of all conditions which enslave and humiliate man. In our country, for example, all activity of the CPCZ and of the socialist state is oriented to the enhancement of the dignity of man. To put it briefly: While the working man is exploited--he is actually a commodity--under capitalism, in the socialist society he is a free person, the ruler of his destiny and represents and incarnates the highest value.

Hrzal: I am saying nothing new, particularly to those who lived and worked before the war, if I emphasize that the bourgeois society based on the private ownership of the means of production divides people into the so-called "chosen" and "unchosen." The "chosen" is the bourgeoisie and the "unchosen" the working people. As we have already said, the bourgeois theory and practice at best proclaimed and proclaims in high sounding phrases the dignity of man. But it usually happens that he who steals shouts the most: "Catch the thief!" It is a well-known fact that fascism in Germany, Italy and Spain pushed to the absurd extremes the typical features of the bourgeois society, rapacity and antipeople attitude, that is, antihumanism which is inherent also in today's capitalism. Fascism not only waged the most cruel war in history, but murdered on a massive scale in the concentration camps those people whom it regarded as "racially inferior." A similar situation exists in Chile today. What kind of humanism, freedom and democracy is it? We are justly irritated and annoyed if the former fascists in the FRG and elsewhere pretend to be humanists and even people who have the right to give us lessons in humanism.

Simon: Undoubtedly, the capitalists and their propagandists cannot give anybody lessons in humanism, freedom and democracy. If there is something inhuman, unfree in today's world, it is primarily capitalism itself, which gives birth to fascism. In the name of human dignity, honest people in the entire world, therefore, fight against fascism in Chile where the fighters for a really free society are tortured and physically liquidated. Nobody doubts any more today that the fingers of the U.S. intelligence agency can be found everywhere in the world where murders are committed and honest people are killed.

We attach high value to man and his dignity in our socialist society. We see a human being in both women and men, in the citizen of any nationality, color of complexion, occupation and denomination. Man in the capitalist society is only he who owns property. Under socialism the basis of humanism is the social equality of people, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the equal duty of all to work according to their ability and to be remunerated in accordance with the work results. Under capitalism, the exploiters own the means of production, but they do not have to work because they live from other people's work. Socialist humanism contains the requirement of man's comradely relations to other men, the requirement of respecting the honor and dignity of every honest citizen. Naturally, the respect for man also implies demands on him.

Kojzar: We, thus, arrive at another conclusion of our discussion: The principle of combining demands with trust and the question of engaging the broadest strata of the population in active organizational work. It is known that socialism creates a new type of relations between the leading and rank-and-file workers. Moral feelings of man, sense of duty, feeling of responsibility are for the first time in the history of mankind formed not only in the family and school environment, but primarily in the work collective. This work collective promotes the socialist moral traits in man and helps everybody to realize his place in the society.

Hrzal: Socialist humanism proceeds from the principle that man is a friend, comrade and brother to his fellow men. In order to be able to regard a person with whom I work or live as my friend, however, it is necessary to know him better and discover his innate value and qualities; and he should know me better too. We should trust today's man, our neighbors, fellow workers and the like. These are the traits inseparable from a close relationship to man an optimistic attitude toward him, the faith in his moral profile and the search and discovery of positive features in him. And our effort, the effort of the communist party and socialist state create an atmosphere and conditions which help to promote such a close relationship to man.

Simon: In this connection I would like to recall the tendencies and effort of some rightist bankrupt politicians who organized a counterrevolution in our country in 1968. They are the prolonged hand of anticommunist agencies in the socialist countries, and in their pamphlets they endorse the views held by the bourgeois ideologists. Let us realize with what kind of people we have to deal: It was they who actively supported, for example, sectarianism and unlawfulness in the 1950's; it was in the first place they who were willing to forget humanism in practice rapidly. They strived to pursue a political career at any price. Then they "changed the color"--the sectarians became the rightist revisionists--and again fought for political careers, money, power and social status. They failed again and ended in a fiasco. The socialist society gave them the opportunity to work honestly. Yet, they calumniate, gossip and help the class enemy. They even give "lessons in human rights, freedoms and humanism." They fight for the rights which they themselves ruthlessly suppressed. Socialist humanism requires irreconcilability and a determined struggle against those who again threaten with a destructive war and endanger the independence and very existence of nations. It calls for an irreconcilable struggle against those who disrupt the building up of the socialist society. Naturally, our irreconcilability with the enemies of socialism has nothing in common with the revengefulness, with the tendency to settle accounts and with the senseless cruelty which the bourgeoisie always displays--as we witness in Chile (30,000 dead) or Indonesia (300,000 dead primarily communists) and so on. These crimes organized by the American intelligence agencies make absolutely clear the "humanism" of the capitalist society.

Kojzar: Let us return to what we discussed at the beginning, to the interpretation of humanism. As was stated already, the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists extol the bourgeois society as the "society of equality and freedom." Everything that was said earlier--including the everyday life--conclusively proves that the principles of bourgeois equality and freedom are nothing else but a high-sounding phrase in order to cover up the inhumane nature of the bourgeois society.

Hrzal: This is a feature inherent in the bourgeois ideologies: Willy-nilly they are forced to turn reality upside down because they defend an unjust society. This is the reason why its representatives speak of totalitarianism and unfreedom in the socialist countries. It is in order to recall how

prudent V. I. Lenin was when he anticipated that after the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie the latter would immediately scream that the communists and the proletariat were suppressing freedom and democracy. This happened both in postrevolutionary Russia and in our country after the victorious February in 1948. The defeated bourgeoisie began to scream in both instances that freedom was being suppressed. It forgot to add only that what was being suppressed was the bourgeois "freedom of exploitation," the "freedom" of the capitalists to mercilessly fire the workers from their jobs.

Simon: It is a well-known fact that freedom depends on the specific historical conditions. Mankind has been undergoing a process of liberation which is contradictory. The liberation of one class in an antagonistic class society leads to the oppression of the other class. For this reason we must always ask: Who is achieving freedom and from what are people being liberated? The bourgeois society achieved freedom for the bourgeoisie. In the socialist revolution freedom was fought out by the working people who freed itself from the exploitation and oppression by the capitalists. This means that in a class society freedom and democracy have always to be interpreted in class terms.

Hrzal: The problems of freedom, democracy and humanism are the subject of a permanent ideological struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces. The bourgeois anticommunist agencies for ideological diversion scream about "unfreedom" in the socialist countries and so-called free world of capitalism.

Kojzar: Yes, the bourgeois ideologists put into the terms "freedom," "humanism," and "democracy" a meaning which capitalism needs. No freedom is presented as freedom; they lacquer it and put tinsel on it; they put on "rosy glasses" and the ideal is ready. The exploitation of the working people becomes the acme of democracy and neocolonialism and anticommunism become the defense of the "free world."

Simon: Exactly. So-called free enterprise--which is the privilege of the capitalists and their freedom--and the suppression, oppression, exploitation and unfreedom for the working people is regarded by the capitalists as the fundamental conditions of the society's existence. They present the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as a free state. And the exploitation of the working people by the capitalists--this is for them "freedom of work." The rule of the monopolies over the information media and the struggle against the progressive forces--that is, according to them, "freedom of the press." Any fraud and crime, that also is "freedom," so long as they are in the interest of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

Hrzal: The truth is that only the socialist and communist society can give man a real freedom. This, of course, requires freeing mankind from the exploitation, wars, social inequality, and oppression. For this reason, the struggle for the maintenance of peace and for the victory of socialism and communism, this struggle is an expression of the struggle for the highest values that mankind can ever achieve. Only when this struggle is brought to a victorious end will mankind reach--to use the words of K. Marx--the true "realm of freedom."

Simon: The decisive condition of man's freedom, true humanism, is man's liberation from exploitation; it is his liberation from capitalism. There cannot be and there is no real freedom without it. To put it differently: So long as the private ownership of the means of production exists, the working man is exploited and cannot be free.

Freedom and humanism of the socialist society are incomparably of a higher order than in the capitalist society. This ensues from the very nature of socialism which offers all possible safeguards for the development of man's personality, material and intellectual values, cultural conditions and social and life securities.

10501
CSO: 2400

DAILY COMMEMORATES KARLOVY VARY CONFERENCE

Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Apr 77 p 4 AU

[Article by Jaroslav Musilek: "Communists at the Head of the Struggle for Peace"]

[Summary] Ten years ago the representatives of 24 European communist and workers parties who held a conference in Karlovy Vary worked out a program whose objective was that relations among European states with different social systems proceed from the system of collective security, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. They appealed to the workers class, the socialist and social democratic parties trade unions, the faithful of all churches, the intelligentsia, the young generation, women and all peace-loving circles to join forces and develop extensive campaigns and mass actions to insure collective security on our continent and the end of the arms race.

The conference's document "For Peace and Security in Europe" summed up the results of the discussions, and in eight points it defined specific tasks for achieving the Karlovy Vary conference objectives. They concerned issues which were in the foreground at a time when the socialist countries were waging the struggle for the international, legal anchoring of fundamental demands connected with the postwar arrangement in Europe. Specifically, this concerned the recognition of the inviolability of the borders that resulted from the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and a declaration that the Munich Diktat, which had been forced upon Czechoslovakia with the threat of force, was invalid. At that time the important task was to make all European states renounce the use of force in international relations, renounce interference in the internal affairs of other states and pledge to resolve contentious problems by peaceful means. Among other things, the document emphasized the task of preventing the FRG from having access to nuclear weapons and the necessity of concluding a nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

At the Karlovy Vary Conference the communist and workers parties followed up the constructive proposals the USSR and the other socialist countries had submitted throughout the whole postwar period in the interest of normalizing the situation in Europe.

In the course of these 10 years that have elapsed since the Karlovy Vary Conference, much has changed for the better in Europe. Despite the opposition of militarist forces important treaties have been concluded between the USSR, Poland, the CSSR and the GDR on the one hand and the FRG on the other. A four-power agreement on West Berlin was signed. All these treaties were the manifestation that the proposals of the socialist countries proceeded from the principles of peaceful coexistence and were not communist propaganda as the West had formerly depicted them. The socialist countries' peace offensive, proceeding from the 24th CPSU Peace Program, won a great victory. Also, some Western politicians-realists comprehended that the development of relations in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence is a logical process. The principles governing the relations between the United States and the USSR, acknowledged by the U.S. President's signature in Moscow in 1972, were also an expression of this.

The CSCE was also a result of this positive process. It culminated with the meeting at the highest level of the governments of European states, the United States and Canada in Helsinki, and its final document can be considered a real program for the consolidation of security and cooperation in Europe. The convocation and the successful conclusion of the work of the all-European conference was, without doubt, a great victory for the efforts of the socialist countries, which had been instrumental in its convocation, and, with their patient and constructive work, deserve credit for the conference's bringing positive results."

"The Karlovy Vary Conference, like the conference of the 29 European communist and workers parties held in Berlin in June 1976, demonstrated that communists are the most important force in the struggle for peace and security, for social progress."

The Karlovy Vary Conference contributed to the positive development in the world and to the peaceful future of our continent. However, as serious and constructive approach and the cooperation of all signatories of the final document are necessary if Europe is to become an example of the relaxation of tension in practice and a continent of peace, security and cooperation. The socialist countries' new initiatives show the road to this. "Their proposal for a total and universal ban on all nuclear weapons' tests and the proposal that all states participating in the Helsinki Conference pledge not to be first to use nuclear weapons have as their objective the achievement of a total ban on and liquidation of the weapons of mass destruction. A ban on the development and production of "any new types and systems of such weapons" the most important things is to conclude binding international agreements in this respect.

"No less an important task of the progressive and peaceful forces is to ward off the efforts of imperialist reaction to reverse the process of the relaxation of tension, to revive the atmosphere of the cold war. A resolute struggle against these forces which are trying--by unleashing various campaigns--to introduce dissent into the communist and workers movement is a prerequisite for achieving the great goals of security and cooperation, for which the nations of Europe and the other continents are striving."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK-YEMENI COMMUNIQUE ON PDRY DELEGATION VISIT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Apr 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[CTK report: "Joint Czechoslovak-Yemeni Communique: Successful Development of Relations"]

[Text] At the conclusion of the visit of a PDRY party-government delegation the following joint communique was issued:

At the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, general secretary of the Central Committee of the United Political Organization--National Front [UPO--NF] member of the presidential council and chairman of the People's Council, headed a PDRY party-government delegation which paid an official friendly visit to the CSSR 14-18 April.

The talks between the two delegations were opened by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, at the Prague castle. Further talks between the two party-government delegations were conducted by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, general secretary of the UPO-NF Central Committee.

During its stay the delegation placed a wreath at the memorial of the unknown soldier on Zizkov Hill and bowed to the memory of the first Czechoslovak Worker President Klement Gottwald. It visited the Svetice Unified Cooperative Farm in the central Bohemian region. There it met with the Svetice management and officials of the CPCZ regional and district committees. The head and the members of the PDRY party-government delegation visited the old city townhall where the mayor of the CSSR capital informed them about the history of and contemporary vast construction activity in the city and presented them with memorial medals of Prague.

In the talks, which were conducted in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and full of mutual understanding, the two sides exchanged information about their policies and the situation in the two countries, views on questions of the further development of bilateral relations on both party and government level as well as on the most significant topical questions of international relations.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation acquainted the PDRY delegation with the CPCZ's activity and the creative initiative the CSSR working people are undertaking to implement the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

The head of the PDRY party-government delegation paid great tribute to the vast and fruitful activity of the CPCZ in building a mature socialist society and the CSSR's significant contribution to the strengthening of peaceful relations in the world based on mutual respect, understanding, friendship and mutually profitable cooperation. He told the Czechoslovak delegation about the situation and the development in the UPO-NF and about the Yemeni people's ardent efforts in implementing the revolutionary program in the political, economic and cultural life of the PDRY in accord with the resolutions of the unifying congress of the UPO-NF.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation paid great tribute to the building successes achieved by the PDRY people under UPO-NF leadership in developing the country politically, economically and culturally. He expressed his gratification over the development of the PDRY's friendly relations with the CSSR and other countries of the socialist community. He paid tribute to the progressive foreign policy of the PDRY which promotes international understanding, security and peace in the world.

The Czechoslovak side appreciated and supported the PDRY's efforts for developing cooperation and achieving unity between the PDRY and the Yemen Arab Republic.

Discussing party-government relations between the two countries the two delegations stated with great gratification that this cooperation, based on the principles of scientific socialism and international solidarity, is successfully developing and becoming more intense. The two sides support the effective development of cooperation between the trade unions, the young, the women and other social organizations.

The friendly comradely relations between the CSSR and the PDRY contribute to strengthening peace and social progress in the world. The two delegations stated that, despite the resistance of the enemies, thanks to the consistent and active peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community as well as the progressive anti-imperialist peace-loving forces of the world, substantial progress has been achieved in easing international tension and developing international cooperation. They expressed the wish of their countries to do all they can to make the trend of the relaxation of international tension durable and irreversible.

The delegations expressed their wish to strive for an easing of international tension and stressed the significance of the CSCE, which created a long-term basis for strengthening the peace among the states of this continent on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The two sides expressed their gratification over the positive results of the Helsinki CSCE and fully support them. The two sides stated that the principles and aims approved at this conference may set examples also for the other parts of the world.

The two delegations paid tribute to the successes of the socialist countries and all the progressive forces in the world in the struggle for peace, the easing of international tension and for security. They advocated further dynamic steps to improve the international atmosphere and to strengthen the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The CSSR and the PDRY determinedly condemn the most reactionary circles of imperialists which, against the people's interests, want to maintain the arms race and to further escalate it. The two sides fully share the legitimate longings of progressive mankind for disarmament. The two sides consider a halt in the arms race, particularly in nuclear armament, and the concurrent reduction of military expenditure the most effective course toward overcoming the economic and social problems in the world, particularly in the developing countries.

The two sides stressed the need to conclude a worldwide treaty waiving the use of force in international relations. It would constitute a significant impulse for stepping up progress in the field of disarmament, too.

The two sides supported the efforts of the United Nations and the conference of the nonaligned countries for making the Indian Ocean an area of peace, free of imperialist bases, particularly on the islands of Diego Garcia and Masira, since the existence of these bases threatens the security of the countries in this area.

The Czechoslovak side supported the PDRY's efforts to turn the Red Sea area into a zone of peace and cooperation of all the countries in this part of the world.

The two sides demand independence for Djibouti and the abolition of the imperialist bases on its territory.

Exchanging views on the main international problems, the two sides devoted special attention to the situation in the Middle East. They expressed the conviction that a durable and just solution of this issue inevitably requires the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination and a national state of their own. They support the Palestinian people's struggle under the leadership of its legitimate representative the PLO. The two sides note that by achieving Arab progressive unity and solidarity it is possible to successfully oppose the imperialist efforts to weaken the Arab and Palestinian National Liberation Movement. They condemn the fact that the forces of world imperialism supply Israel with modern arms thus yet more encouraging the Israeli military circles in prolonging the occupation of Arab territories and in suppressing the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

The Czechoslovak side supported the PDRY's policy aimed at creating relations of fruitful cooperation of all the countries in the area of the Arab Peninsula and the adjacent Gulf on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in internal affairs.

The two sides stress the need to bring to a victorious end the African People's Liberation struggle and, in accord with the UN Charter and the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and nations to put an end to the policies of colonialism and racism, which constitute a grave crime against mankind and which deprive millions of people of the most fundamental rights and expose them to cruel exploitation. In this context the two sides declare that they will continue to support the just struggle of the oppressed nations of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa and that they condemn the imperialist meddling in the internal affairs of African countries.

The two delegations stated that the movement of nonaligned countries constitutes a significant factor in international relations. They support its struggle against imperialism and for peace, international security, liberty, independence, equal rights, economic and social progress of all the nations.

The two sides express their support to the developing countries in the latter's struggle for the liquidation of the inequitable economic relations imposed upon them by imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for safeguarding the rights of each state to dispose of its own mineral resources, for a reconstruction of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis.

The two sides expressed their unequivocal conviction that the safest guarantee for the success of the anti-imperialist and anticolonial struggle is the action unity of the working people of all the nations and their active cooperation with the countries of the socialist community and the other progressive countries.

The Czechoslovak and the Yemeni side demand the consistent implementation and observance of the UN Charter. They stress that it is necessary to strengthen further the efficiency of the United Nations, particularly its role in strengthening world peace and security and in expanding all-out and mutually profitable cooperation between states with different social systems.

The two sides discussed questions connected with mutual economic relations and other questions of interest to the two sides. They expressed gratification over the development of economic cooperation between the two countries to date and stressed the imperative need to further expand it. In this context they studied the possibility of cooperation in further developing trade relations between the CSSR and the PDRY, particularly through shipments of capital goods and consumer goods for the development of the PDRY's economy. They expressed the conviction that the documents concluded to date will help achieve this aim.

In conclusion of the visit of the PDRY's party-government delegation a protocol was signed on the principles of cooperation between the CPCZ and the UPO-NF of the PDRY and an implementation protocol regarding the cultural agreement between the CSSR and the PDRY.

The two delegations greatly appreciated the results achieved in the talks of the two delegations and consider them a significant contribution toward further developing relations in all respects.

General secretary of the UPO-NF 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il expressed gratitude for and appreciation of the warm welcome extended to him during his visit to the CSSR and invited Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, to visit the PDRY. This invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ROMANIAN PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSES PRAGUE DINNER

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text of toast by visiting Romanian Prime Minister Manea Manescu at 21 April dinner in his honor at Prague's Cernin Palace]

[Text] Honored Comrade Chairman of the Federal Government, Honored Czechoslovak Friends, Comrades!

Allow me to express to the CSSR Government and to you personally, dear Comrade Strougal, our gratitude for your kind invitation to visit your beautiful country, for the friendly welcome and the warm words you have addressed to the Romanian people, our party and socialist Romania.

This meeting has its role in the development of good relations, of fraternal cooperation between our countries, relations which have rich traditions linking our nations and which have been strengthened over the centuries in the struggle for the common ideals of liberty and for asserting our national existence, for social progress. In the years of socialism this friendship, strengthened by the identity of the systems, ideals and goals, has reached a new level. The relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries are recording a continuous upward course in the interest of our nations, of strengthening the friendship and cooperation of the socialist countries.

I would like to stress the extremely significant role of the meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, and Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, which have decisive significance for developing and strengthening the cooperation between our parties, countries and nations. We are convinced that the visit Comrade Gustav Husak will shortly pay to Romania will mean an extraordinarily important moment in the process of the expansion and deepening of Romanian-Czechoslovak relations, and will give a new, mighty impetus to the further development of the friendly relations between the RCP and the CPCZ, between our countries and peoples.

I am very glad to be able to state, Comrade Chairman, that in the practical implementation of the directives set by our highest party and state representatives, and of the measures we had jointly agreed upon on the occasion

of your visit in Romania in September 1975, we have achieved positive results in our cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres. We share the opinion that Romania and Czechoslovakia have great opportunities for a more marked development of mutual relations, and we are convinced that together we will find new means for cooperation and specialization in production, expansion of trade exchange and strengthening scientific-technical and cultural cooperation.

Esteemed Comrades!

The significant successes achieved by the working people of Czechoslovakia under the guidance of the Communist Party in the great work of building an advanced socialist society are very well known and appreciated in Romania. We congratulate you on the great results achieved in economic and social development and wish you further successes in implementing the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

The Romanian people, devoting all their energies to the implementation of the program to build an all-round advanced socialist society, have concluded the first year of the current five-year plan and the first quarter of this year with significant results as regards the fast rate of the development and modernization of industry and agriculture, of scientific and technical research and of raising the material and spiritual living standards of the working people.

Comrades, you are acquainted with the extraordinarily grave consequences of the earthquake which affected our country at the beginning of March. In these especially difficult circumstances have been tellingly demonstrated the advantages and the firmness of our socialist system, the organizational and political strength of the party, the high moral maturity, patriotism and bravery of the Romanian people, their determination to firmly and quite unitedly proceed to master the situation created, to fulfill and exceed our economic and social development programs, implement the tasks set by the 11th Party Congress and proceed on the road to building a socialist and communist society. Also in this connection I would like to convey warmest thanks to the leadership of the CPCZ and the Federal Government for the demonstration of sympathy and solidarity expressed to our people.

Dear Comrades!

Our country attaches an extraordinary attention to a continuous development of friendship, solidarity and cooperation with all socialist countries; and within this framework with the CEMA member countries on the basis of the comprehensive program, to an expansion of relations of friendship and cooperation with the new independent states, with the developing countries and with the nonaligned countries, acting in accord with the principles of peaceful coexistence to strengthen relations with all countries of the world regardless of social system, in the interest of cooperation and peace throughout the world.

Romania actively contributes to the establishment of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world, to the creation of new international relations of absolute equality among states, to the solution of the major problems of the contemporary world in the interest of nations, to the reduction of differences and the elimination of economic backwardness, to the implementation of disarmament and above all nuclear disarmament, to the establishment of a new international economic order.

We attach particular attention to the realization of peace, relaxation of tension, understanding and cooperation in Europe. We are exerting efforts to insure an appropriate preparation and successful course of the approaching Belgrade meeting so that it will provide a mighty impetus for a practical implementation of all provisions written into the Helsinki Final Document, so that it would lead to the realization of new steps on the road to unlimited development of cooperation among European nations, to the adoption of concrete measures in the sphere of disarmament and military disengagement, to the genuine consolidation of peace and security on the continent.

Esteemed Comrades!

In conclusion, I would like to express my conviction that our visit to friendly Czechoslovakia and the meetings and talks taking place on this occasion will represent a new and significant moment for strengthening of the traditional friendship, cooperation and solidarity between our countries and nations, for the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world, and I invite you to toast:

--The health of Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president;

--New and ever greater results in the building of an advanced socialist society in the CSSR;

--Your health, esteemed Comrade Strougal;

--The lasting friendship and fruitful cooperation between our parties, countries and nations;

--The health of all those present!

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STROUGAL TOAST AT 21 APRIL PRAGUE DINNER FOR ROMANIAN PREMIER

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Text of toast by CSSR Premier Lúgomir Strougal at 21 April dinner for visiting Romanian Premier Manea Manescu at Cernin Palace in Prague]

[Text] Honored Comrade Prime Minister, Dear Guests from the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrades: First of all allow me to welcome you most cordially in the name of the CSSR and in my own name and to wish you to really feel as if you were at home in springtime in Prague. I firmly believe that you will take back with you to your country impressions as profound as those you showered upon us at the time of our fall visit to Bucharest in 1975. We still vividly remember the manifestations of friendship and attention you surrounded us with, so that to this day we have something to recall.

We see our meeting in Prague as a confirmation of the traditional relations of cooperation which began at the time our nations suffered under foreign domination. Out of the common fate natural feelings of sympathy, understanding and friendly inclination arose and were strengthened by the Czechs and Slovak working in Romania and, the other way round, by the Romanian students at school in Bohemia. The mutual friendship then naturally was elevated and filled with a true class content by the workers' solidarity which, particularly between the world wars, proved its sincerity in the international actions in the struggle against capitalism. Finally, the Czechoslovak people have not forgotten the fact that their liberty was bought with the blood of tens of thousands of Romanian soldiers who, at the side of the Soviet Army and our Army Corps laid down their lives on Czechoslovak territory. The graves of your heroes at Zvolen and elsewhere are eternal evidence of a friendship sealed by blood.

The victory of socialism in our countries opened the doors not only to further cooperation but also to an alliance which gained a truly new content and a new historical outlook.

Honored Comrades, our nations received with profound sorrow the news about the March disaster which hit your country. Believe me that your sorrow over the loss of human lives is also our sorrow. The admirable efforts

and the self-sacrificing spirit evinced by you in removing the consequences of the disaster evoked a wave of solidarity also in our country. That is why we were among the first to provide assistance. We are doing what we can so that, despite the adverse fate, the working people of Romania should implement the 11th RCP Congress targets in developing the economy, science and culture, for the continuous rise of living standards.

We well understand the determined efforts of the Romanian people. After all, also the Czechoslovak working people pursue the aim of successfully implementing the conclusions and building tasks adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress in accord with the interests of the broadest strata of our society.

We are convinced that the expansion of Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation serves this effort. Particularly, when we succeed in expanding the forms of cooperation that have been habitual to date by new ones corresponding to the interests of the economies and the requirements of the international socialist integration. After all, one can no longer merely follow the course of expanding the volume of the trade exchange when cooperation in production and scientific-technological cooperation are on the agenda.

Since our meeting in September 1975 a series of agreements have been concluded which have created the base for cooperation in production and its specialization, which correspond to the needs of the dynamically developing economies of the two countries. We are agreed on this and similar conclusions have been reached by the other economic bodies and organizations which have enriched their relations particularly in the recent years. Thus there is no obstacle to our changing over from words to deeds.

This, after all, is also the orientation of our economic policy formulated at their meetings by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the republic.

Honored Comrades, we know well that our great building plans are linked by an umbilical cord with the situation in Europe and in the world. The changes which the old continent has gone through and also the principles of the policy of detente which have come to dominate the minds of realistic politicians have expanded to an unprecedented extent the possibilities of socialism and have definitely changed the balance of sources in the world divided along class lines in favor of progress.

However, imperialism has not yet renounced its position. In addition the world goes to sleep every day on heaps of weapons which not only eat away from the common slice of bread but which concurrently threaten to turn into a catastrophe. That is why we consider further detente an imperative need of the times. That is why we back the Soviet Union's clear proposals in the field of disarmament and the general relaxation of international tension. That is why we support as much as we can the disarmament proposals and initiatives the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact made at its meeting in Bucharest. Only in this way can we strengthen the

cause of peace throughout the world and suppress the forces of reaction which have recently been resorting to maneuvers to cover up their own weak spots.

At the same time, the Czechoslovak foreign policy does not deny its share in the responsibility for the implementation of all the principles of the final document of Helsinki. However, we do not elevate one principles above the other because they are indivisible, like peace in the world. We sincerely give all our forces to the service of the policy of detente and international peaceful cooperation.

Together with you we believe that we will most worthily celebrate the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution through work for socialism and peace among the nations.

Honored Comrade Prime Minister, we are firmly convinced that your visit to Czechoslovakia, our talks and the conclusions from the negotiations will strengthen the spirit of cooperation and friendship of our countries, that they will contribute to the unity of the countries of the socialist community. I raise my cup to these aims and toast the blossoming of socialist Romania, the happiness of the industrious Romanian people led by the Communist Party, the health of the RCP secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Ceausescu, the friendship and cooperation of our countries, your health, Comrade Prime Minister, the health of all our Romanian friends!

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE DAILY ON CONGRESS OF ARMY TRADE UNIONS

Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Apr 77 p 3 AU

[Report on the conclusion of the Congress of the Trade Union of Czechoslovakia People's Army Workers on 22 April in Kladno: "The Policy of Firm Prospects," signed "FT."]

[Text] Kladno--In the course of yesterday's concluding negotiations of the Congress of the Trade Union of Czechoslovak People's Army Workers, V. Kozik, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council and head of the council's delegation [to the congress] addressed the delegates. He stated that the congress was being held in a creative, businesslike and critical [atmosphere of] implementation of the political line taken by the 15th CPCZ Congress and quite shortly after the significant 16th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions. This congress has provided many suggestions and impulses for our activity. Throughout our work we will repeatedly return to it in implementing all the basic trade union functions and also in perfecting the style and methods of trade union work. He then pointed out the notable successes in industry, agriculture, educational standards, science and living standards. They have been achieved due to the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPCZ. We trade unionists have also not only professed allegiance to the policy of the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses: We are also materializing it in daily work. It is a workers policy. A policy of comprehensive social securities and firm prospects of the all-round development of our working people. In this connection, V. Kozik, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council, spoke of the gross violations of basic human rights in the capitalist countries, both in increasing the unemployment and in intensifying social insecurities and curtailing the trade unions' rights.

A total of 25 congress delegates spoke in the discussion. The congress resolution orients the trade union's activity toward enhancing the effectiveness of the CPCZ's economic and social program and toward implementing the military policy aimed at enhancing the country's defense ability, deepening the all-round care for the working people, further developing political engagement and the working activity of every trade union member and toward developing political-organizational work.

The congress participants sent letters of greetings to the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Trade Union Council and the Conference of the Trade Union of Civil Workers of the GDR's National People's Army, from which the congress had received friendly greetings. V. Chrastil has again become chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Czechoslovak Peoples' Army Workers; S. Sumichrast its first deputy chairman; and B. Knap its deputy chairman.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S JAKES SPEAKS AT LENIN ANNIVERSARY RALLY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Apr 77 p 1, 3 AU

[Speech by Milos Jakes, chairman of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission, in Prague on 20 April at a festive meeting marking the 107th anniversary of Lenin's birth]

[Excerpts] Imperialists and their lackeys are, above all, attacking the Soviet Union. They are trying to cast doubt on its successes and the ideas of scientific socialism. Their anti-Sovietism, no matter how masked, was and even today is nothing but an effort of the monopolist bourgeoisie and its lackeys to denigrate real socialism in the eyes of the capitalist countries' workers class and the people of the developing countries, and to divert them from changing society in a revolutionary way. Therefore, an uncompromising struggle against anti-Sovietism is the international duty of all those who have good intentions about the struggle against imperialism, for democracy and progress, and for socialism. Therefore, our party, too, always regarded the relationship toward the Soviet Union and its Communist Party as a criterion of proletarian internationalism as well as of a correct understanding of its own national interests and it still does. The teaching about the socialist state, the political power of the workers class and the broadest democracy for the working people are a substantial and indivisible part of Lenin's revolutionary legacy. It is a teaching confirmed by the experience of millions of working people, accumulated in class struggles against the enemies of socialism and for the victory of a new social order, as well as in the building of socialism. Our experience confirms its international validity. The events at the end of the sixties again reminded us of its topicality. We formulated the experience we learned from this period in the lesson from the critical development in the party and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress," which remains constantly valid for us. Our opponents, particularly of late, have been expending a lot of resources and effort to denigrate the democratic character of the socialist system. They are trying to give us advice and recommendations on developing democracy and human freedoms. They take enemies of socialism under their wing and demand freedom for them. The broad democracy for the working people in the socialist countries is a thorn in their side.

We ask, with what right. After all, it is imperialism's fault that more than one-third of mankind still lives in hunger and want. Even the advanced capitalist countries are incapable of insuring the elementary human right to millions--the right to work. This affects the young generation particularly hard. The capitalist states' machinery does not hesitate to trample down democratic freedoms and rights whenever it seems to them that the class interests of the bourgeoisie are threatened.

The bourgeois demagoguery does not surprise us. It is nothing other than a manifestation of fear of the growing dissatisfaction of the people of their own countries, who are becoming ever more aware that real humanism is incompatible with capitalist systems. Their objective is to cast doubt on the fact that our political system corresponds to the interests of the people.

Our citizens unequivocally reject these efforts, because they have recognized that socialist democracy is really a qualitatively new, higher level of democratism, whose foundation was the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, and the establishment of the rule of the working people. Our democracy, contrary to the bourgeois democracy, insures social justice and equality for all citizens, and makes it possible for them to participate effectively in the management of the state and of all spheres of social life. It gives wide opportunities for participating in the control and for waging a struggle against everything that is not part of our relations and democratic institutions--be it an unsocialist attitude toward work or socialist property, a supercilious attitude toward the so-called petty everyday worries and problems, bureaucratic abuses, waste, indifference or petty bourgeois rapaciousness to the detriment of society's interests and so on.

At the same time one has to emphasize that the Leninist interpretation of socialist democracy proceeds from linking broadest democratism with a conscious discipline, the responsible fulfillment of duties and the observance of the socialist state's laws. It does not tolerate any kind of uncontrollable element or arbitrariness.

Therefore, no one can ever reckon that we would make it possible for a handful of apostates and the vestiges of the enemies of socialism to infringe the laws, disrupt the socialist society and harm the people's revolutionary achievements.

Lenin always emphasized the class proletarian character of the party. He taught that the strength of the party lies in the consistent implementation of the historical interests of the workers class, which represent the most progressive interests of the whole society. Therefore, also our Communist Party pays great attention to the strengthening of its workers character. Among those admitted into its ranks, the majority are members of the workers class, and what is especially pleasing, they are young people. The party's concern with improving the membership base is inseparably linked with the education of new members and with overcoming manifestations of formalism. We proceed from V. L. Lenin's legacy that only a party armed with revolutionary theory, knowledge of the objective laws of social development and

scientific foresight is capable of leading the masses in the class struggle and in the building of a new, socialist society. The communist education of party members and candidate members and the growth of their awareness are an important prerequisite for their always being in the front ranks of active builders and defenders of the new world.

Therefore, our party pays great attention to the development of ideological work, the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the results of the building of socialism. This is the more urgent since the ideological sphere lies in the foreground of the interest and attacks of the enemies of socialism. Proceeding from Lenin, we regard it important to ensure the creative development and implementation of Marxism-Leninism and its purity, and to struggle against the efforts of contemporary revisionists, from the right as well as left, to deprive Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary nucleus, class and party-mindedness. As the 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized, in our conditions we must wage a struggle above all against rightwing opportunism and revisionism.

V. I. Lenin devoted immense efforts to the implementation of the Communist Manifesto appeal "Proletarians of the World Unite!" he constantly stressed the objective necessity of an internationally united, strong international communist and workers movement. He devoted great efforts to the establishment of the Third Communist International whose historical merits are indisputable. However, a lot has changed since then. The communist movement today represents the most progressive and largest organized political power, whose authority and influence in world events are always increasing. Despite this the significance of the ideas of proletarian internationalism, the urgent need for a common course, for solidarity and close cooperation among the communist and workers parties, has been growing all the time. International cooperation and solidarity, proceeding from the principles of proletarian internationalism, respect for everything that unites the communist movement corresponds to the aspirations and interests of the workers class and the broadest masses of the working people, to the objective tendencies and objective laws of the historical development in the current era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

We are proud of the CPCZ's being a firm component of the international communist and workers movement. As the 15th Congress re-emphasized, our party wants to continue to actively participate in consolidating the unity of this movement proceeding from the generally valid principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This stand of our party was confirmed at the Berlin Conference of the representatives of European Communist and workers parties by Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, who said: "Life confirms all the time that unity, class and international solidarity are the revolutionary forces' most effective weapons in the struggle for social and national liberation."

The greatest achievement of the international workers class is the world socialist system--the decisive factor of the world revolutionary process.

The socialist countries which represent it, are linked by unbreakable bonds of friendship and alliance, supported by identical social systems and profound loyalty to the cause of peace, socialism, democracy and social progress, by the immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, as an inseparable part of proletarian internationalism. Relations of mutual comradely cooperation and selfless assistance, with respect for the equality and sovereignty of all states, create a common potential which makes it possible to solve tasks whose significance and extent are without precedent. We are actively contributing to the implementation of the CEMA comprehensive program of socialist economic integration, to the deepening of the coordination of the socialist countries' foreign political activity, to the development of ideological and cultural cooperation. The core of this unity and cooperation of the great family of the socialist states is the firm class bond and fraternal cooperation among the Marxist-Leninist parties of these countries. The results achieved, which we continue to develop jointly, show that the world socialist system is, indisputably, the most dynamic contemporary force, and tellingly demonstrates that the future of mankind belongs to socialism.

The CSSR, too, is a firm component of the community of socialist states. It actively participates in the consolidation of its unity, strength and international prestige. The close and all-round cooperation with the socialist countries, and above all with the USSR, is a permanent principle of our socialist states' foreign policy as well as a prerequisite for the successful construction of an advanced socialist society in our fatherland.

Today the consistent continuation of this [Lenin's] policy is the program of peace and peaceful cooperation, of struggle for the freedom and independence of nations, proclaimed at the 24th CPSU Congress and developed by the 25th. This program, which consistently asserts the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems as the only sensible acceptable alternative for the solution of international problems in conditions when there is a danger that any armed conflict between states could escalate into a world nuclear holocaust, met and continues to meet with an unprecedented response among the democratic, progressive public throughout the world.

Our country is located on the dividing line between two different worlds. The Czechoslovak people have experienced the horrors of war and know the value of peace. Therefore, they fully support the USSR's peace policy, which we have adopted as our own. Therefore, we, too, unequivocally stand behind the Soviet peace program and support the Soviet Government's indefatigable efforts to bring it about, as was re-emphasized by L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the recent AUCCTU Congress. Together with the other states of the socialist community we are actively asserting all concrete proposals aimed at bringing it about, as was expressed, for example, in the declaration adopted at the session of the Warsaw Pact's political consultative committee in Bucharest last year.

The Czechoslovak foreign policy, like the foreign policies of the other countries of the socialist community, pursues the further development and stabilization of the process of the relaxation of international tension so that political detente can be complemented and supported by concrete measures directed at halting the continuing armament and at disarmament. We are sincerely interested in the consistent implementation of the CSCE conclusions in all spheres, we are sincerely interested in all states, whose highest representatives signed the Helsinki Final Document, consistently implementing the letter and spirit of this significant document, whose guiding idea is the development of peaceful, equitable, mutually beneficial and advantageous cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres of mutual relations. The consolidation of peace demands the elimination of all existing and potential centers of tension from which new armed conflicts could arise. We are firmly on the side of nations fighting against the domination of imperialism, for the elimination of colonialism and racism, for insuring their political and economic independence. We regard the establishment of an equitable, just system of international economic cooperation and urgent task of the current stage of the world development.

All these problems form an integral, a concrete part of the struggle for the assertion of the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems in the conditions of the contemporary world. Time and again we convince ourselves that none of these foreign political objectives can be achieved without a decisive struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism and revanchism which do not want to reconcile themselves to the idea of peaceful coexistence, to the existence and victorious advance of socialism and the national liberation movement. Also in the ranks of the imperialist countries' bourgeoisie there is a process of differentiation underway. There are more forces that assess the current situation more realistically, that realize that in the contemporary world, with the existing correlation of forces, they do not have the smallest hope of success with any concept relying on the use of force in respect of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies.

Therefore, more and more often leading representatives of the Western states can be heard to say that they wish to continue the policy of detente, that at present they see no other possibility of the development of relations with the USSR and the socialist countries. From our side these efforts, and particularly political steps, will meet with a positive response and a willingness to seek mutually acceptable solutions to all open issues. However, let no one interpret our peaceful policy as weakness.

We reject any efforts at extortion or gaining unilateral advantages, at impairing the principle of equal security or even interfering in our internal affairs as incompatible with the aims and interests of the policy of international detente, as a moribund bankrupt imperialist policy from the position of strength. Such conduct has no prospect of succeeding and is doomed. We will develop and strengthen socialism in Czechoslovakia in unbreakable unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

We will continue to contribute to the consolidation of the unity of the international communist and workers movement, to its cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BODA HAILS LENIN ON 107TH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY

Bratislava BRATISLAVA PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Apr 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Speech by M. Boda, chairman of the Slovak Communist Party Central Control and Auditing Commission, in Bratislava on 20 April at a rally celebrating the 107th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth]

[Excerpts] V. I. Lenin's historical greatness lies not only in that he defended the workers class scientific teaching from opportunism, reformism and revisionism but in that he succeeded in developing it comprehensively and creatively in the new conditions that were created after the appearance (nastup] of imperialism. And this not only in the sphere of theory, but also in the concrete conditions of the struggle of the workers class and other class-exploited and nationally oppressed, in the struggle for the realization of the great ideas of communism in practice. Also, today the V. I. Lenin legacy is a subject of ferocious attacks by anticommunist forces, enemies of socialism and revisionists of all shades. As far as content is concerned, their procedure has practically not changed since the times of the great October. They have only changed their tactics and the form of the struggle against the real socialism and the Leninist teaching. They have comprehended that they are incapable of defeating socialism. Thus they are striving at least to slow down the rate of its development, to disrupt the unity of the international communist movement and of the countries of the socialist community and to denigrate communist ideas which are ever more attractive to the exploited and oppressed masses in the capitalist countries. The "bombardment with words" about freedom and human rights, with which a certain anticommunist-oriented intellectual stratum from the capitalist countries has been flooding the whole world in the recent months, is part of these tactics. With active help from the "dissidents" their aim, in a new guise, is the same as it was in all the preceding campaigns: To confuse people, turn them away from socialism, cover up facts, distort the truth.

And the truth is that socialism, built on the Leninist principles, has proved and is constantly proving the profound truth of the Marxist-Leninist teaching about crisis-free economic development. However, even in the most difficult situations of its development, our party has always succeeded in preserving the health Leninist nucleus, it has found enough strength to consistently settle accounts with ideologies and political influences alien to Leninism.

The successes we have achieved did not fall from the skies. Behind them lie the concept and the purposeful work of the CPCZ Central Committee, led by Comrade Husak, the great political-organizational work of the whole party and all the people of this country which transform great plans and objectives into reality.

The USSR is a firm and active component of the great family of the countries of the world socialist community, which, proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist teaching as well as from the experience which they have accumulated together, are building real socialist society.

The countries of the socialist community are today in a qualitatively new, higher stage of economic-social development: Concurrently with the development of each socialist nation and with the consolidation of the socialist states' sovereignty their mutual relations are ever more distinctly consolidating. The process of their gradual drawing together, as CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, manifests itself absolutely concretely as an objective law. It is indisputable that the aid and support accorded us by the party of Lenin, the cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, are distinctly multiplying the results of our people's courageous work and are the decisive factors of our further positive and all-round development.

Everything we have achieved through our creative work, and all that we have resolved to bring about, was and remains contingent upon the unity and strength of the socialist community, upon the forces of socialism and progress succeeding in preserving world peace.

Our resolute efforts and ever more active share in the implementing mankind's great aspiration to live and work in peace, and in building an advanced socialist society in our conditions thus cannot correspond and do not correspond with the principle-lacking compromises for which socialism's class opponents in the West are yearning, for which the rightist and anti-socialist forces in the years of the crisis development, and recently also a handful of bankrupt elements in our socialist fatherland, have been striving. On the contrary: We reject such compromises and fully support the principled Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, personally, which creates scope for a sensible and constructive solution of all decisive problems of mankind's further progressive development, of problems among which the preservation and strengthening of peace is one of the foremost and is unchangeable.

Therefore we--together with all the countries of the socialist community and ever more intensively supported by the revolutionary and genuinely democratic forces of the whole world--are resolutely, unswervingly and comprehensively fulfilling all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Document, and demand the same of its other signatories. For this reason we fully support the Soviet Union's peace offensive and we strive for the process of the relaxation of international tension to develop and strengthen in the interest of achieving lasting and just peace.

We are deeply convinced that the initiative proposals of the first country of socialism and of the Warsaw Pact states, most recently formulated at the session of the political consultative committee last November in Bucharest, in the United Nations and other forums of international political life, show an acceptable way out and a guarantee against the danger into which the enemies of peace and understanding among people are trying to drive mankind.

We are justifiably proud that working initiative is developing in our country in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, working initiative of our people, millions of workers, cooperative farmers and other working people with the aim of fulfilling the demanding tasks in all spheres of our life. In this manner the will of our man, creator, builder and a real socialist patriot, manifests itself most concretely to do everything possible for the building of an advanced socialist society, for the benefit and all-round material and spiritual development of all our countrys citizens, for insuring the conditions of peaceful life, for the support of those forces in the world which are still fighting for the ideals which in our country have already become an accepted fact.

Therefore, the 107th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth is our opportunity to emphasize strongly his immense share in the greatness, strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, this inexhaustible source of our knowledge and a compass for the road toward communist perspectives.

CSO: 2400

BOOK ON DEVELOPMENT OF NATION CONCEPT REVIEWED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 25 No 3, Mar 77 signed to press 7 Jan 77 pp 379-382

[Review by Prof Dr Heinz Friedt, Marxism-Leninism Section, N.K. Krupskaya Pedagogical College, Halle: "Nation in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Studie zur historisch-materialistischen Theorie der Nation" (The Nation in History and at Present. A Study on the Historical-Materialistic Theory of the Nation), 310 pages, by Prof Dr Alfred Kosing, SED Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences, member of GDR Academy of Sciences, president of GDR Association of Philosophy Institutions; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin 1976. For an earlier review in EINHEIT, the SED's theoretical journal, see JPRS 68403, 27 Dec 76, No 1336 of this series, pp 71-75]

[Text] Following the publication of the German edition of the Soviet collective opus "Leninism and the National Question at the Present Time" and the volume "Socialism and Nation," Alfred Kosing's book represents the first major work of a GDR philosopher on the Marxist-Leninist concept of the nation and national relations. Kosing considers his book a study and pursues this from three closely linked aspects: The representation of the Marxist-Leninist nation concept as an element of historical materialism, philosophical social doctrine and the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history; the treatment of a series of theoretical problems which serve in particular the more profound understanding of the development of the socialist German nation in the GDR and its distinction from the capitalist German nation persisting in the FRG; the documentation of the historic-materialist interpretations concerning the nation and national relations by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the establishment and development of the scientific nation concept by the classics of Marxism-Leninism in lively debate with the respective misinterpretations by bourgeois theoreticians.

Kosing's book mines the secure fundamental appreciations of the Marxist-Leninist nation concept and calls attention to often inadequately noted remarks about this problem by Marx and Engels. He also emphasizes the significance of Lenin's further development and extensive elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist nation concept as the theoretical basis from which the Bolshevik party derived its orientation with respect to the national problem and subsequently developed it. Kosing's work therefore leans in particular

on the latest findings of Soviet scientists and thereby on the scientific generalization of the practical experiences and successes of more than 50 years of applied Leninist nationality policies in the USSR. Kosing's book provides the reader with an excellent recapitulation of research results of Soviet philosophers, historians and other social scientists, which are not readily accessible in German translation. In addition, helped by the extensive bibliography, the reader also gains an overview of the most important Soviet publications of past year on the Marxist-Leninist nation concept and national relations.

By his book Kosing continues the publication of his own studies, reflections and research results (begun some 15 years ago) on the nation concept and the development of the socialist German nation in the GDR. His book combines the treatment of assured and tested basic knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist nation concept and national relations with the presentation of conceptual problems which are the subject of topical discussions and further research, accompanied by his own reflections on these matters.

As the starting point of his historical-materialistic treatise on the nation concept Kosing chooses the problem of the objective dialectic of the national and international in social development. In the course of hammering out the dialectical interaction, based on the development of productive forces, of national and international processes and factors as the characteristic phenomenon and feature of social development since the rise of the capitalist form of society, he defines national processes as "all those social events..., which are linked with the coalescence into nations of populations and territories, national integration and consolidation, national movements and the struggle for state unity and national independence, the emergence and internal actions of nation states, the development of national peculiarities in economy, politics, culture and social consciousness, as well as the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist nation into the socialist nation. We are, in short, dealing with events in all sectors and spheres of social life insofar as they occur within the national framework and are directed to the development of the nation." (pp 10 f) He equates the international--and that is certainly worth a discussion--with the inter-national (p 12). He interprets as international processes "all events between nations..., which necessarily emerge together with the nations: The establishment of borders between nations in the period of their evolution, the struggle of oppressed nations against oppressor nations, the many types of intercourse and cooperation of nations in production and exchange, science and technology, the reciprocal influence and enrichment of culture and intellectual life generally, the gradual adjustment of the socialist nations, their combination into larger international communities and, finally, the future merger of nations." (p 11) By handling the dialectic of the national and international as the starting point and basic methodological principle of the approach to the national concept and national relations, the author at once prevents the "national question," national problems, movements and developmental problems from being viewed in isolation or from one aspect only, and instead reveals their international context, international dimensions and profound social content: In

other words their class content. Accordingly the dialectic of the national and international is initially explained by the revolutionary world process of our era, which he views as the contradictory unity of national and international concerns. At the same time he emphasizes the international nature of the current world revolutionary process. In this framework he demonstrates the unity of social and national targets for each of the three major revolutionary main forces of the present time and, at the same time, characterizes the social developmental processes propelled by them as significant national problems and developmental processes of our era. Interesting (and from the party-like standpoint of the working class and historical progress probably the only one possible) is the appraisal expressed by the sequence of the three most important national movements and development processes of our day, briefly sketched by Kosing. He, for example, considers the process of the blossoming, consolidation and simultaneous adjustment of socialist nations, the evolution of higher forms of the combination of socialist nations into international communities and the progressive internationalization of social life, resulting from the further organization of the developed socialist society, the first and most significant national development problem in the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and he accordingly hammers out the different social-classlike content of the national and the international development processes of our day. By starting from the dialectic of the national and international the author also provides the best prerequisite for illuminating the real social process of the inevitable development of the socialist German nation in the GDR as an indivisible element of the worldwide revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and the struggle between socialism and imperialism as well as offensively showing up the anticommunist meaning of the nationalist doctrine of the continuing united German nation. In the result we get the outline of the theoretical and politico-ideological significance of the Marxist-Leninist nation concept. The further elucidation of its problems is "indispensable in order better to understand the great social struggles and revolutionary transformations in the current era of world history and their motivations" (p 13), because "for us the problem of the nation...has become an important area of the ideological class conflict" (p 16).

In the first part of his work Kosing deals with the history of the Marxist-Leninist nation concept, explains the Marxist-Leninist classics emphasis on the economic bases as well as the social nature of the nation and the significance of social as compared to ethical factors, and finally discusses earlier definitions of the nation concept by theoreticians of the workers movement. Here already the author submits important reflections on the determination of the nature of the nation: One is to the effect that it is not really possible to summarize in a brief definition the complicated and complex phenomenon of the nation; indeed it is imperative to describe the nature, content and role of the nation as a comprehensive sociohistorical phenomenon developing on the basis and from the totality of the doctrine of social development, of historical materialism (and that means starting from the objective dialectic of the social, national and international). (See pp 31, 36 f and 115 f) Secondly he links with this aspect another one directed

also against idealist conceptions of the term "nation," stressing the fact that the nation is never characterized by one single feature but rather by the sum, the combination of features which, in turn, must be considered in their different importance and function such as their liability to undergo changes in the course of history and, in the final analysis, can be explained only in the context of the material conditions of society. Thirdly Kosing rejects the general description of the nation as a "community." He emphasizes the relative nature of the national community which, in the conditions of the capitalist form of society represents a unity of contrasts, proposes to use the term "social unity" to characterize the nation, and admits no less than the communist nation "to be a genuine community in the full meaning of the term." (p 39) Even disregarding the fact that Kosing already draws attention to the lack of identity between the terms or social phenomena "nation" and "national community," he is here particularly concerned to avoid obscuring the class nature and class content of the nation by the term "community" as the general characteristic of the nation, thus making more difficult the revelation of the actual historical conditions, causes, motivations, inevitabilities and social effects of the national development in its respective total societal context and determined by a certain form of society. "The definition of the nation must reflect absolutely the social function and the historical role of the nation as the necessary element in the historical developmental process of society. The determination of the nation as a community equipped with a total of fixed features disregards precisely this important aspect." (p 39)

When investigating the evolution and development of nations, which he considers an "important approach to the more profound understanding of the nation" (p 58), Kosing deals in greater detail with the features or qualities determining the nature of the nation. He distinguishes between nation-forming factors and the results arising from the process of the evolution of nations, the attributes of the nation. "Only such social phenomena become constituent attributes of the nation, which are directly and necessarily linked to the material bases and the inevitability of this process." Among these he includes "the economic relation of capitalist goods production as the economic basis, a defined territory permeated by these economic relations and a numerically adequate population which is capable of independent historical life and operation, as well as normally a uniform language (in the form of a national literary language) as the most important means of communication," furthermore "certain peculiarities of culture, social consciousness and the social psyche." (p 71)

In the chapter about the nature and the historical role of the nation the author elaborates the historical nature of the nation, its historical role and place in the social development process. The determination of the social nature of the nation is deepened by the definition of the nation as the development form of the capitalist and socialist society. The socialist nation is understood to be the "necessary development form of the socialist society" (p 123). Kosing stresses as important for the historical-materialistic nation concept the appreciation that the nation holds an important social function

as a secondary social structural form and specific phenomenon of the respective form of society, because it is the actual-historical form of communal life, the conflict or cooperation of classes and social strata in which is realized the social process both within and between such social units. With respect to the topic dealt with Kosing thereby meets the requirement he himself initially formulated, namely that a specific Marxist doctrine about a certain social phenomenon must also "illuminate the specific function and historical role of this social phenomenon in the inevitable developmental process of society." (p 37) Other problems dealt with by Kosing are that of the content of the nation and the relation between the social and the ethnic in the nation, the distinction between the capitalist and socialist nation as different types of nations, the question by which particular modification or historical peculiarities various nations of the same social type are distinguished from one another, and the relation between nation and nationality. He shows that much light still remains to be shed on these areas of the nation concept, and at the same time demonstrates the immense importance of research into these problems for the development and adjustment of socialist nations as well as for the ideological class dispute, especially between the socialist GDR and the imperialist FRG.

This discussion of some central chapters or problems of Kosing's book is concerned mainly with one line of thought in his study, that is the systematic, gradually deepening elaboration (buttressed by historical material) of the social nature, the class content and the historical role of the nation--and even this line of thought continues to be pursued, complemented and extended by Kosing, especially by his studies on the relationship between "classes and nation" as well as "state and nation."

A particularly significant aspect of Kosing's book is his presentation of an informative sketch of the history of the German nation up to the evolution of the socialist German nation within the framework of European history, based on Marx and Engels analyses of German history as well as of more recent results obtained by GDR historical science. Kosing presents the unity of logic and history to any reader interested in more than the bare bones of historical fact. He also makes vivid in their actual-historical reality the theoretically elaborated features and inevitabilities of the national phenomena and social developments described.

In the study presented Kosing explicitly formulates and applies the basic scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism to the analysis and solution of the problems of the nation and national relations by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. By his book the author provides suggestions for further investigations and the more precise formulation of the developmental laws of the nation, which are of equal importance for philosophers, economists, historians and other social scientists--not least for the conscious organization of the social practice of national and international development processes in socialism. The book leaves one with a persuasive impression of the scientific method and party-likeness of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social and historical process as well as their creative handling by the Marxist-Leninist party as the basis of its national and international policy.

BOOK ON EFFECT OF ECONOMICS ON MORALITY REVIEWED

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[Review by Prof Dr Hans Roeck, Philosophy/History/Civics Section, Martin Luther University, Halle: "Oekonomie und Moral" (Economics and Morality), 292 pages, by Hans Erdmann, Arno Golub and Wolfgang Scheler; published by Akademie-Verlag, East Berlin, 1975]

[Text] The book marks an important advance in GDR literature on Marxist-Leninist ethics. The elaboration of the targets and ideals, the moral values of the working class was the main requirement in the years of the construction of socialism. Now we are confronted with the necessity of understanding morality in the totality of its elements and structures and, especially, the process of its evolution, that is the entire contradictoriness of moral processes and the need to facilitate the ideologically and philosophically mature understanding of these phenomena. That precisely is the main concern of the authors. It is a work permeated by the principles and the riches of Marxist-Leninist dialectical and historical-materialistic findings. Its excellence consists in the fact that it does not stop at summarizing and critically processing recent findings of Marxist ethics but also includes a lucid, party-like and persuasive critique of revisionism.

In their introduction the authors characterize the methodological procedure by calling for a "start from the real processes of our life and its contradictions, the actual working and living conditions and requirements of the class conflict, tackling every theoretical task from the overall standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and always applying materialistic dialectic..., starting from the real status of morality in our society...and its dialectical-contradictory development." (p 8) They state: "We are also concerned...with the connecting link which alone enables us to understand the real morality in socialism, not with tracing the many couplings by which the connection between economic conditions and morality is produced." (p 65) That is a lack, but the authors are quite aware of the deficiency. Criticism must therefore be confined to remarking that one would wish this type of analysis to be pursued, taking into consideration all those intermediate links which purvey the ultimately determining influence of economic conditions on morality and the development of morality.

The most significant methodological experience gained by the book indicates that the object of ethical research is not simply morality per se but also the objective dialectic of social progress in socialism in its effect on behavior. "The dialectically contradictory movement of socialist production conditions and general social conditions..., this process of the constant resolution and renewal of contradiction is the essential inner source and motivation of movement, the upward development of the socialist society. That is ...says an important conclusion for our specific topic...also the determining motivation of the development of moral relations in developed socialism." (p 63) It is not some special contradiction such as that between individual and society,¹ norm and law,² ideal and reality or ethical imperative, necessity and reality of ethical behavior,³ which represent the exclusive object of ethics. Rather is it the objective dialectic of social progress in the class war as proceeding in the course of history and socialism and its importance for behavior. Ethics primarily represent the philosophical doctrine of a socialist-conscious lifestyle. Ethics enable us to understand and master the contradictions, the objective dialectic of social life and progress for the choice and valuation of behavior. That is the sum total of what the authors offer us.

Another basic conception of the book says that the philosophical-ideological significance of all questions of morality and moral behavior, that is also the moral elements in the development of the socialist lifestyle, are emphasized and indicated. Questions such as: How does man live? How should he live?, are age-old questions which have preoccupied philosophical thought in every era. The first chapter of the book discusses (relatively without ethical-moral relevance) the contradictoriness in material production. The second chapter deals with the dialectic between spontaneous experience (everyday consciousness, mass consciousness, everyday experience) and theoretical consciousness, scientific knowledge (for example experience matured as the result of scientific knowledge). "Morality emerges less in a specific transposition of scientifically acquired knowledge of values, standards commandments, and so on," the authors write, but rather "in the process of the evolution of the scientific ideology... ." (p114) This is not a simple postulate but the summing up of the authors research. Similar ideas were described by V.I. Lenin and M.I. Kalinin.⁴ In our era the creators and originators of the "moral law" are not philosophers; these creators are always the working masses, the working class led by its Marxist-Leninist party. It follows that the "moral law" of our era is scientifically and philosophically mature.

The authors correctly reject the "norm centrism" at times popular in Marxist literature on ethics. Morality was interpreted as the total of specific behavioral norms.⁵ In the mass consciousness this was often accompanied by the conception that ethics and morality are principally preoccupied with establishing and maintaining taboos. The second and third chapters of the book especially demonstrate the absurdity of such interpretations of communist morality. The decisive argument is this: The elementary, empirical reflection of this or that single fact of social life even in socialism can by no means be equated with the consolidation of communist morality. Communist morality

does not grow spontaneously; it must arise as the harmony of theoretical and empirical reflection in the process, led by the party, of shaping morality. (pp 120 ff) The authors uphold A.I. Titarenko's opinion,⁶ according to which the specific feature of morality consists in the circumstance that, within it, moral language acquires reality both intellectually and practically, consists in the contradictoriness of the value concepts of good and evil. Such a standpoint does have limitations, though. No explanation is forthcoming why this form of moral language should result. Nor is consideration given the fact that morality also includes phenomena which are not linguistically formulated, being either incapable or only to a limited extent capable of formulation, such as moral sentiments, customary behavior, virtues, moral value structures in public opinion and in the "factory atmosphere," style and accent in the life of a collective, and so on. It is presumably significant that all moral phenomena are ideologically and philosophically relevant in one way or another, admittedly at the stage of cognition achieved by mass consciousness and the corresponding behavior. Communist morality, however, is consciousness ideologically orienting to practical behavior.⁷ In communist morality Marxist-Leninist philosophy decides practical behavior in the choice and valuation of conduct. Moral phenomena therefore have philosophical and ideological significance; they represent one of the forms by which philosophical insight makes itself felt. "Of course this does not make moral consciousness a science, nor a theoretical system. But man is now capable of morally acquiring the social world by bringing into play his scientific consciousness." (p 121)

It is a great point in favor of the work that it orients to the analysis of the determination of morality, the cognition of the moral inevitabilities. There is obviously a difficulty in view of the fact that ethics deal with various inevitabilities, not only the fundamental dialectic laws in their general form. That is discussed in the studies and descriptions of the authors. Not considered are--disregarding economics-- other inevitabilities which are significant for the understanding of ethics, including psychological and pedagogical aspects. That is made particularly obvious in the following formulation of the authors: "In the final analysis moral education and moral propaganda do not represent the decisive tasks for the creation of new socialist moral behavior among the broadest masses of the people; the decisive task is presented by the change of social conditions relevant to the needs and interests of the working class and all working people." (p 135) A little later the authors somewhat restrain the finality of this statement: "...the more effectively progressive socialist moral principles are promoted, the more subjective forces can be commanded to provide the real conditions also for their complete implementation." (p 138)

It seems important for the further study of the determination of morality and moral development more thoroughly to examine the structure of the problem. The authors pose the question of determination in too undifferentiated a manner. It makes a profound difference, for example, whether one investigates the determination of morality and moral development in the developed socialist society or only the development of communist morality. We also deal with

different inevitable relations if the aims, norms and ideal of communist morality ("the ethical command") or the evolution of communist morality are studied. If communist morality is substantiated and investigated as an ethical command, as the "social model" of moral relations, the objective dialectic of social progress in socialism is likely to dominate the solution of the problems in its philosophically recognized generality. If communist morality is studied in the process of its evolution in mass consciousness and behavior, pedagogical, psychological, sociopsychological and other inevitabilities tend to play a greater part in relation to general objective inevitabilities of social progress, recognized or studied at the philosophical level.

The contradictoriness of moral processes in the developed socialist society is the theoretical-philosophical core of the authors reflections. It is basically ascribed to the contradictoriness in material social conditions. How this contradictoriness is ethically-philosophically expressed in moral reflection and behavior within the material social scene requires further discussion. One difficulty is very clearly enunciated by the authors: In practical conduct the antagonism against bourgeois morality and conduct and the antagonism in the shape of offenses and lapses vis-a-vis the demands of ethics in the developed socialist society do not appear in "neat" fashion, allowing us to judge in every actual case whether this one is a relic of bourgeois morality and conduct, that one merely a lapse on the basis of an otherwise well developed socialist morality. The materials and documents of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth SED Congress and the party congresses of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries certainly indicate that the struggle for the complete victory over the remains of bourgeois morality and conduct must be strengthened and that, at the same time, it will be necessary to encourage comradely criticism, autocriticism and other means of moral education and the struggle against moral offenses.

The authors are certainly correct in emphasizing that the antagonism between good and bad (evil), honor and dishonor, frankness and hypocrisy, egotism and collectivism, and so on, has preeminent significance for moral educational efforts. From this aspects they investigate and deal with the educational, moral-evolutionary and morality-promoting value of the socialist competition (pp 166 f). "Yet socialism does not simply remove everything that is morally bad and replaces it by the morally good. What it does remove are the evils of the antagonistic class society." (p 190) The motivating function of morality is coupled with that of expressing and showing up the real contradiction of good and evil (bad). (p 191) Formulated in even more general terms: "Just as the coincidence of interests does not nullify their dialectical contradictoriness, the observance of basic moral rules does not nullify the contradictoriness of moral behavior." (p 198) The antagonism between good and evil may not and must not be made an absolute (p 201), because it would then become an idealistic "concept dialectic." The meaning of the dialectical unity of good and bad "is no longer the class of irreconcilable interests arising from class antagonism; it is instead the reflection of the contradictions inherent in human society or nationalized society per se...the meaning of moral valuation

now is represented by the social conditions of socialism and their objective contradictions as well as the contradictions of their perception and practical resolution by society." (pp 201 f) The method for resolving this contradictoriness is mapped out by the following definition of good and bad: Good behavior is that "which is directed to the real resolution of contradictions whether of an objective or subjective character..., bad that which adjusts to the contradictions by merely opportunist behavior, conceals those contradictions and slows their resolution." (p 203)

The fourth and fifth chapters discuss questions of moral responsibility and the development of morality in the transition to communism. Attention must be drawn to two aspects in particular. Firstly the authors deal with the moral nature of discipline as the reflection of the moral maturity of the personality and the moral culture of society. That must be welcomed because such phenomena do assume a moral nature in our society, in distinction to the exploiter society where discipline is by no means necessarily the reflection of ethics but may be due to compulsion and manipulation, sheer conformism or biddableness. With respect to moral development in the transition to the construction of communism, this raises the question of the outlook for morality. The authors general and most important comment on this topic says that there is no real evidence yet for the claim that morality stands to lose its political nature. But the problem has been posed, thus stimulating morality-forecasting studies, the development of conceptions of the morality likely to be needed by the men of the future. Its resolution and answer is basically encouraged by the concern of the book as a whole: To start from the ultimately determining role of material social conditions in order from their necessary development to infer the necessary development of morality. Summing up: The book by Erdmann/Golub/Scheler is a most useful and productive contribution advancing ethical thought, doctrine and research. All future work on Marxist-Leninist ethics and also the propagation of ethical knowledge will derive valuable suggestions from this book.

FOOTNOTES

1. See A.G. Kharchev: "Etika i Moral," in "Predmet i Sistema Etiki," Moscow/Sofia 1973, p 73; morality is here described as "a method to overcome non-antagonistic contradictions between personality and society," and, as it is to be the object of ethics, the contradiction between personality and society becomes the main topic of study for ethics.
2. See H.E. Hoerz/H.Hoerz: "Objective Laws and Moral Norms in Education," in DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 10/1973, pp 1248 ff.
3. See A.A. Guseynov: "Sotsialnaya Priroda Nravstvennosti," Moscow 1974, pp 29 ff.

4. See V.I. Lenin: "What To Do?", in VI.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 5, Berlin 1955, p 426; Kalinin developed this concept of the unity of practical political experience and the efficacy of Marxist-Leninist theory in the development of communist morality especially in the essay "On the Moral Countenance of Our People," in M.I. Kalinin: "On Communist Education and Military Duty," Berlin 1960, pp 658 ff; see also H. Boeck: "Zur Marxistischen Ethik und Sozialistischen Moral" [On Marxist Ethics and Socialist Morality], Berlin 1959, chapter 6.
5. See A.F. Shishkin: "Bases of Marxist Ethics," Berlin 1964, p 11; also O.G. Drobnitsky: "Ponyatiye Morali," Moscow 1974, pp 214 ff.
6. A.I. Titarenko/F.G. Karvatskaya/V.A. Titov: "Problems and Perspectives of Ethics," in SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 2/1973, p 202.
7. A.A. Guseynov, as before, pp 56 ff.

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COMMISSION STAND ON SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO ARE BELIEVERS

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 26 Mar 77 p 3

[Position of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People Coordinating Committee for Regulation of Relationships Between the Self-Managing Socialist Society and the Religious Communities]

[Text] The Coordinating Committee for Regulation of Relations Between the Self-Managing Society and Religious Communities at the Republic Conference of the Slovenian Socialist Alliance of Working People discussed on request of some opstina SAWP conferences the relationships between the self-managing socialist society, teachers who are believers, and the school. This discussion was held with the purpose of resolving uncertainties and misunderstandings concerning this sensitive question which still persist in the teaching profession and society in general. Accepting certain basic characteristics of social insight, the coordinating committee at its 17 March 1977 session adopted the following positions:

1. Separation of the church and state and thereby the school and education from the church is one of the important achievements of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Europe and the world and at the same time an achievement of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution in our country. This separation has made possible liberation of people's religious belief from the clerical political ideology and its dehumanization in the White Guard movement while science, school, education and other areas of man's creative endeavors were enabled to undergo a transformation on a secular, that is, scientific basis. This orientation agrees not only with the people's democracy and the working class nature of the socialist society but with the secular nature of science itself. The majority of the working people united in the Liberation Front and SAWP as its successor accepted this principle during the war of national liberation, and it was later reaffirmed, implemented and developed further throughout the post-war period.

The majority of teachers, too, carried out with conviction and dedication throughout the prerevolutionary, national liberation and postwar development periods their tasks according to the needs and requirements of the particular phases of our revolutionary development identifying their personal interests

of the socioeconomic struggle of the working class and working people, its reunion and liberation during the war and the consolidation of its revolutionary and national liberation achievements in the post-war reconstruction, and the building of a socialist state and a self-managing society. Their great and durable achievement was the education of numerous generations who are dedicated to the socialist self-managing and nonaligned homeland of brotherly and equal peoples and nationalities who are ready and willing to defend, preserve and develop further the achievements of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution. During this period the educational system was made democratic and accessible to all members of our society. All the working people in this country contributed to this end but the contribution of teachers and educators in general was particularly important.

2. The period in which liberal nationalist, group ownership and technocratic tendencies wanted to maintain the worker in a state of alienation from culture and politics made possible a fairly strong assertion of clerical forces and ideology. With regard to education this tendency was manifested in demands for positivist-scientological instruction or ideological pluralism in an impartial school and in efforts to separate instruction from education.

These tendencies found their allies or antagonists in the bureaucratic state supremacy forces with their dogmatic sectarianism and the tendency for reinstatement of the government's and hence bureaucracy's role in the process of instruction and education. All these tendencies, regardless of their protagonists, were in fact deliberately or inadvertently directed against the basic socioeconomic and therefore political relationship--namely, socialist self-management. The intertwining of these relationships in society was injecting confusion, one-sidedness and misunderstanding in the school and tended to weaken the resolve of socialist forces. The situation resulting from these forces impeded the development of self-managing socialist relationships in the society and organized, responsible and creative instructional-educational work. This was felt especially in implementation of the educational objectives of the socialist self-managing society in the school and its reform day care of children, and so on. Decisive action of all organized socialist forces, particularly the League of Communists, has rejected all middle-man monopoly tendencies and in combating them--in society as a whole as well as in the school--has reestablished the enduring principles on which the formation of self-managing socialist society and education appropriate to its goals is based.

The conflict with tendencies and thinking that are alien to socialism and liberation of work and man crystallized and reestablished the position that instruction in the school must be scientific and education, socialist in character. It is not the task of the school to address itself to the resolution of metaphysical (noninductive) questions such as those questions asking whether God exists or not. It guides young people to seek answers about the essence and nature of man, society and the world by proceeding from scientific premises using scientific method and experimentally established facts. In

this sense religions, churches and their historical development and importance as social phenomena are also discussed in the school which, faithful to scientific truth, must inform the student about the influence religions and churches exerted in various domains of the society in the past and how religion adapted and worked itself in areas mastered by man's knowledge where he began consciously controlling social relationships with his activities. The school we advocate should teach young people how to think critically and creatively and how to act independently so that they may by virtue of this education and through knowledge based on inductive understanding fully develop his personality of a creative self-manager. A school of this kind, socialist, self managing and concerned with implementation of socially defined instructional and educational goals represents a permanent common interest of both religious and non-religious people. The school does not narrow down the Marxist ideology solely to its relationship with respect to religion, rather it understands and asserts Marxism as science, a critical theory and direction for revolutionary action which is, as has been shown and confirmed by history, the only possible way in which man and his work can be liberated.

Assertion that the school is antireligious or a medium for combating religion is therefore untenable. The political program of the Yugoslav and Slovenian communists enacted in our constitutions as the most extensive humanist and political program never included political struggle against religion as a private matter and an integral part of man's personal freedom.

The positive program of our society is humanization of man, his nature, work and society. A teacher is, accordingly, fulfilling his social role only if his work is consistent with the goals of liberating man and his work, if the ideological substance of his work is not contrary to inductively acquired knowledge and if he endeavors to attain these goals by his instruction and educational work as well as in his extracurricular activities. The basic requirement applies in equal measure and demands the same responsibility from all teachers.

4. [as published] A teacher who either does not recognize these requirements of the socialist society or who is unable to meet them and does not teach in the spirit of humanism, brotherhood, unity, liberty and nonalignment of Yugoslavia--in other words, in the sense of the Yugoslav and Slovenian socialist patriotism and internationalism; a teacher who feels he would be acting contrary to his conviction if he actually advocated application of scientific understanding and feels that he should act in the school as a medium for transmitting unsocialist, anti-self-management and antihumanitarian ideas and tendencies can choose another profession as his career instead of education which is, because of its special social importance, more demanding, requiring greater responsibility. This is not because he is not permitted to be a teacher but because he is not capable of implementing the instructional and educational goals defined by society nor of meeting the requirements set by society for this profession.

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