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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1352

EAST

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### POLISH TEACHERS URGED TO REMEMBER DEBT TO SOVIETS

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 7 Nov 76 pp 6-7

[Text] There are dates in the history of our nation to which we teachers devote special attention in our didactic and educational work, for events connected with them had a vital effect on the destinies of our people and country.

There are also dates whose significance transcends the boundaries of single countries since they initiated new chapters in the history of many nations and even mankind. To such dates belongs 7 October 1917.

"Power to the Soviets, land to the peasants, peace to the people"--this most-briefly formulated program of social revolution, defined by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, determined not only the content of life, work and struggle of the peoples of Russia but also was of decisive importance for socio-political transformations in other countries of the world, especially for the countries bordering upon the young state of the Soviets and above all for Poland.

This was expressed in one of the first decrees issued by revolutionary authorities: "All the treaties and acts concluded by the government of the former Russian Empire with governments of the Kingdom of Prussia and Empire of Austria-Hungary relating to the partitions of Poland, considering their inconsistency with the principles of self-determination of nations and revolutionary sense of justice of the Russian nation that recognized the unquestionable right of the Polish nation to independence and unity, are irrevocably annulled.

This decree of the Council of People's Commissars, dated 29 August 1918, annulling partitions of Poland, constituted unquestionably the realization of the programs of the struggle for independence carried out by the finest sons of the Polish and Russian nations beginning with "Decembrists," Mickiewicz and Pushkin, down to the Polish and Russian patriots fighting in common for the victory of the revolution.

Thus, every year on the anniversary of the Great October Revolution we go back in our thoughts to events connected with it and we reminisce about how great its importance was for further destinies of Polish and Russian nations and how the ideas of "October" were responsible for shaping both the social image and economy of the People's Poland and for her boundaries and importance in the world.

The ideas of "October" had already found favorable ground in the period between the wars among teachers, especially among progressive educators and workers of the Polish Teachers' Union. In 1936 there occurred a notorious affair of No 25 "Plomyk" devoted to the Soviet schools. A year later one of the main causes of the suspension of the activity of the Main Administration of the Polish Teachers' Union was, according to the communique issued on 2 October 1937 by the Prime Minister, Gen Slawoj-Skladkowski, "the tolerance and support for a long time of the manifestly communist or verging on communism ideas and tendencies."

The years of war and struggle with the Hitlerite aggressor, and monstrous losses of death and destruction confirmed the words of Lenin that the freedom of Poland and its independence is not possible without the independence of Russia, and that Poland cannot exist and develop otherwise than as a socialist state. The understanding of this truth and its representation to the widest masses of the people was primarily attributed to the Polish social left and especially to the Polish Workers' Party.

This idea was also gradually accepted by the teachers and educators. A decisive influence was exerted on the shaping of such convictions by tragic events of September 1939, when Poland was left alone--despite treaty guarantees and solemn assurances by Western powers--in the unequal war. Such convictions were formed during the organization of the underground educational front on a level without precedence in Europe, and in guerilla warfare often carried out together with Soviet soldiers.

The most real and convincing proof of the formation of qualitatively new relations between both nations was the creation in the USSR of the Union of Polish Patriots and the formation of Polish military units on Soviet soil.

For us, teachers, of special importance, from educational and moral viewpoints, was the care of Soviet authorities for Polish children in the USSR. This is unquestionably one of the most beautiful pages in the history of relations between the Soviet and Polish nations. During World War II, tens of thousands of Polish children found refuge in the Soviet Union. The parents of many of them enlisted in the Soviet army or Polish army and many perished in the battles for liberation of the Fatherland. At the end of the war there were about 5,000 orphans on USSR territory.

The USSR Council of the People's Commissars established, on 30 June 1943, a Committee for Polish Children (Russian abbreviation: KOMPOLDET). The Committee functioned at the People's Commissariat for Education RFSRR in close

cooperation with the Union of Polish Patriots, organized schools, preschools, kindergartens, trained Polish teachers and published Polish textbooks and journals. The teaching in schools was carried out in the Polish language. According to incomplete data there were in the Soviet Union 248 Polish schools attended by 18,000 students, and over 26,000 were placed in specially created children's boarding houses.

After the conclusion of military activities, all children returned to Poland. The Polish ambassador in the USSR, Henryk Raabe, rightly stated at the solemn farewell for inmates of the Polish Children's homes in the USSR that the care for Polish children by the Soviet Union will be one of the most valuable contributions which will consolidate for centuries the amity of states and nations--of Poland and the Soviet Union.

It is understandable that the idea of friendship with the fraternal nation of the USSR did not immediately find after the end of the war understanding and approval in all spheres of Polish society. Many causes were responsible for it, principal among them being the upbringing during the interwar period of the young generation in an anti-Soviet spirit.

Therefore it was necessary to carry out a systematic, calm, propagandist and educational work, based on facts and objective arguments. For this purpose on 1 June 1946 the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship was created. In greetings addressed to the First Congress of the Society the president of the People's Council of Poland, Boleslaw Bierut, said: "The activity of the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship is one of the best and most important forms of cooperation between the peoples of the two countries in the cultural, scientific, artistic, professional-literature, and general social fields. The development and thoroughness of this cooperation will further reinforce the bringing together and mutual understanding of historically related Slavic peoples and their mutual aid and cooperation in the economic field and in the domain of the establishment of general peace.

The propagation and reinforcement of the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship was taken up actively by the teachers. The Polish Teacher's Union having crystallized its ideological and social program after the Second Congress of Delegates in Paznan (May 1948) adopted, as one of the most important tasks in this program, the bringing about of a total victory in the Polish society of the truth about the Soviet Union as a country of victorious socialism.

At the All-Polish Conference organized on 24-26 January 1949 in Warsaw by the Main Administration of the Polish Teacher's Union and Main Administration of the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship a resolution was adopted in which the teachers taking part in the conference decided both in schoolwork and in social activity to most actively propagate and reinforce Polish-Soviet friendship as a basis for the safety and development of Poland and the establishment of peace in the world.

This pledge was totally fulfilled. In order to prepare teachers to perform the tasks in People's Poland, the Union together with educational authorities carried out in the years 1948-1955 a mass training in the domain of foundations of Marxist philosophy, economics, history of the USSR, and worker's movements in Poland, as well as foundations of Socialist pedagogy and psychology.

"The pedagogical poem" of Anton Makarenko, fascinating reading matter for teachers during the first years of freedom, showed under specific, incredibly difficult conditions, how to shape socialistic characteristics of personality. Textbooks of Kairov and Pavlov served to train tens of thousands of teachers in the 1950's.

Along with acquainting ourselves with achievements of pedagogical thought of Soviet scientists we utilized on a wide scale the best experiences of Soviet teachers. We received enormous help in the training of cadres. During the 30 years of the existence of the People's Poland about 5,000 Polish students have received knowledge and higher professional and ideological-political training in Soviet higher educational institutes.

Beginning in 1974, 360 teachers annually supplement their knowledge of the Russian language in Soviet higher schools in Orel and Kiev. In 1975 a branch of the Institute of Russian Language imeni Aleksandr Pushkin in Moscow was established in Warsaw. In this branch about 500 teachers annually will carry out their studies.

The "friendship trains" organized annually for teachers, exchange of experiences, correspondence, close cooperation of trade unions of teachers of both countries, are further forms of mutual bonds and contacts.

What are the effects of this educational work of teachers? Figures may give a partial answer: there are over 20,000 school circles of the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship, about 20,000 participants in annual All-Polish Olympiads of Russian Language, tens of thousands of participants in competitions of knowledge of the USSR, mass correspondence of Polish youth with the youth of the Soviet Union, organization of anniversaries and festivities connected with the history of the USSR, and Soviet song competitions.

Those are numbers. But there are also manifestations of the incommensurable activity connected with the consciousness of man, his ideological-political attitude, and system of moral values. On Polish soil are buried 600,000 Soviet soldiers who died for "our and your freedom." All their graves are tended by youth and society with particular care.

Many schools carry the name of Lenin, names of heroic Soviet soldiers, many Polish cities have conferred honorary citizenship on Soviet military leaders who liberated them from the Hitlerite yoke.

Each citizen of our country, especially all who are below 45-50 years, has a certain amount of knowledge about the USSR, and socialist ideology. Every cautious citizen who cares for the Fatherland's fate fully approves of the idea of Polish friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and each of them also is for the peaceful policies of the USSR.

These immense transformations in the consciousness and attitudes of our society are to a great extent the outcome of the educational work of teachers. The great majority of workers, farmers, technicians, engineers, physicians, non-commissioned and commissioned officers' cadres have acquired foundations of their education at school in People's Poland. This school had also shaped the foundations of their Weltanschauung and convictions.

The history of the 32 years of the existence of People's Poland has shown how salutary for the destinies for our nation and for the peace in Europe was the acceptance of the Soviet-Polish friendship and cooperation, whose source is the Great October Revolution, as foundation of the policy of the reborn state. Therefore with reference to this historical event, we, teachers, must draw the following conclusion: The ideas of "October" should be further developed, widened and consolidated in the hearts and minds of the young generation.

1015  
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ALBANIA

HEALTH MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON YEAR'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 18 Dec 76 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Minister of Health Llambi Zicishti by BASHKIMI editor]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister, can you tell us with what successes the workers in the health sector have concluded the first year of the sixth 5-year period?

[Answer] As for all workers in our country, so too for the health workers the first year of the sixth 5-year period has been a year of general mobilization to accomplish the duties which arise in the framework of the glorious jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party and its seventh congress.

With the successes achieved in our sector during the fifth 5-year period as a base, our main duties for 1976 have been the strengthening of our existing institutions, the constant improvement of work quality index figures, the deepening of the principle of prevention in all its aspects, the comprehensive strengthening of the mobile medical service in all districts, and, above all, the improvement of health services for mother and child especially in the villages. Likewise, special care is also being given to the protection of the environment from pollution and to the medical service in work centers to protect the health of the workers.

During this year greater efforts have been made in all districts to improve hygiene and health conditions in work and production centers and in various institutions, in cities and especially in the villages. The cooperation of the health workers with all mass organizations has continued and has been deepened, and hygienic actions have been carried out, resulting in further improvement of the living conditions of our workers in the city and in the village. The improvement of these conditions has given us a relatively stable epidemiological situation: as in every year, the systematic reduction of cases of contagious diseases is continuing. During this year, our specialized organs have begun a broader work of early detection of some occupational and infectious diseases; all preventive and medical steps are being taken against these diseases. In the framework of improving the measures to immunize the

people, this year we have also achieved lyophilization of the vaccines, a technical process which preserves them. The problems arising from the protection of the environment from pollution have been tackled in a special way in the large plants which are being built in our country, such as the metallurgical combine in Elbasan, the naphtha processing plant in Ballsh, the polyvinyl chloride plant in Vlore, and so forth.

As we know, after the issuance of the decision of the Central Committee of the Albanian Work Party and of the Council of Ministers "On the Reduction of High Salaries, on Some Improvements in the System of Workers' Wages and on the Further Narrowing of the Differences Between the Village and the City," all health institutions of the village, without exception, have been put under state control. We have taken all kinds of measures to strengthen these institutions still further, especially the nurseries for children. Likewise, we are taking all necessary steps to raise the training level of the midwife-nurses, who today form the largest contingent of our intermediate medical cadres.

During 1976, 383 higher cadres, 541 intermediate and 280 lower cadres began work after completing the appropriate school. In distributing the higher cadres, we have planned that around 70 percent of them would go to the village, especially so that they could strengthen the service to mothers and children, and the rest would meet the needs of the mobile health service.

Shifting the center of emphasis from the hospitals to the polyclinics, we are working during this year likewise to treat ill persons in dispensaries set up according to the main specialties, the chronically ill are better handled, unnecessary stays in the hospital have been eliminated, and so forth.

During this year the pathology hospital in Tirana, the hospital in Bajram Curri, and the polyclinic of the Directorate of Hygiene and Epidemiology in Puke have begun operations. The hospital and thermal baths of Bilajt in Kruke, the Directorate of Hygiene and Epidemiology and the antituberculosis dispensary in Burrel, a number of nurseries in work centers and agricultural enterprises, and others are in the final stages of completion. Work is continuing on the completion of the neuropsychiatric hospital and antibiotic factory in Tirana, and so forth.

[Question] The Seventh Party Congress set important duties also for the health sector, especially in the area of the village. How are you working to achieve these duties in the coming year?

[Answer] All health workers and organs are solving one by one the great tasks which are established in the directives of the Seventh Party Congress. They are studying and immersing themselves in the programmatic speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha and also in that of Comrade Mehmet Shehu.

In his speech at that congress, Comrade Enver said, "To protect the health of the people, hygiene and health and preventive measures are being

strengthened and expanded, especially in the village and in remote areas, while the care for the health of mother and child is being further increased." In 1977, too, the strengthening and expansion of hygiene and health and preventive measures will remain a priority. As a result, still more work will be done so that not only institutions of a mainly preventive nature, such as the Directorates of Hygiene and Epidemiology, dispensaries, consultation rooms, and nurseries deal with these measures, but that all health institutions of whatever nature are involved. They will go still further into the duties which were set by the 11th plenum of the AWP Central Committee and will strengthen still further the supervision over their implementation. Through actions coordinated with mass organizations, they will take even more thorough initiatives to keep all environments always hygienic, to better protect the environment from pollution. Mass control will be expanded for work, communal, food, and school hygiene.

During 1977 the quality of the health services to mother and child will be further improved and in some parts of the country, the illnesses and causes of death of infants will be studied with more scientific criteria. A further impulse will be given to the increasing of health education of mothers through "Mother and Child" courses while ensuring the aid and cooperation of the basic women's organization.

A series of measures are planned to build health centers and nurseries in the village and to equip village institutions better. The stomatologic and pharmaceutical services in the village will be expanded and strengthened further in order to provide a more complete health service in the village.

In the medical service to the people, still more attention will be devoted to the mobile service, first aid and service in the residence of the patient, and also to the expansion of the range of clinical and biochemical analyses in the polyclinics. Our institutions will concentrate their attention on organizing their work as scientifically as possible, administering it as well as possible and with good management of all health resources and facilities, respecting the quotas of drugs and health materials, and the economizing of everything which is not absolutely essential. As the party has demanded of us, special attention will be given this coming year to the improvement of the system of specialization and of postuniversity training of medical cadre and to the expansion of scientific research works concerning current problems and future ones which concern our medical science the most. Cadres and the material base have been prepared to begin the use of plastic heart valves; new diagnostic and curative methods will be more widely introduced, such as new methods of scintigraphy, lasers, and so forth.

In the area of construction, besides the great projects which are underway and which will be completed during 1977, such as the antibiotic factory and neuropsychiatric hospital in Tirana, the addition to the hospital in Gramsh, and so forth, new investments will be made, for the most part for the building of health facilities in the village.

During 1977 the health workers will deepen still further their ideological preparation, based on the livegiving teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver, and on the documents of the Seventh Party Congress, and we will consistently struggle against manifestations of foreign ideology, against indifference and liberalism. We will safeguard the moral and ethical purity of the socialist health workers, who with full awareness consider it an honor to be devoted servants of the people.

CSO: 2100

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN CSSR DESCRIBED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 24 Dec 76 p 7

[Article by Henk Ohnesorge: "Prague Leads in Persecuting Christians in the Eastern 'Peace Camp'"]

[Test] Vasil Bilak, Prague's chief communist party ideologist, once promised that in the fight against the church his country will become a model to "fraternal socialist peoples." He kept his word. With the exception of the completely atheist Albania no country in Europe persecutes the Church more than the CSSR in spite of the Helsinki agreement and the Vatican's Ostpolitik.

At first sight the situation is grotesque; the government of an Eastern bloc country asks a citizen to leave and move to a foreign Western country--and the citizen is reluctant to do what for thousands of his countrymen would be the fulfillment of a dream.

But Jan Korec, age 52, a priest and member of the Society of Jesus, currently a "third-class citizen," employed as an auxiliary worker, wishes to remain in his Slovak homeland. However, the authorities still shrink from a forced deportation of the popular man of God, who has spent many years in the prisons of his country, or from exiling him from Bratislava. The CSSR Government is reportedly trying to induce the Vatican to call the clergyman to Rome.

The life of Jan Korec, a "third-class citizen" and a secretly consecrated bishop, reflects his church's struggle for survival.

The story goes back to 1949. At that time the State Office for Church Affairs was established as the central authority with jurisdiction over churches and religious communities.

What the regulation aimed at is shown by the Law No 218/49 of the SBIRKA of 14 October. The first paragraph of article 1: "In accordance with the further stipulations of this law the state grants personal emoluments to clergymen of churches and religious communities who are authorized by the State to engage in religious welfare, church administration, or educational institutes for clergymen...." Article 2 of this law reads: "State approval can be granted only to clergymen who are Czechoslovak citizens, politically reliable, of good reputation and who also otherwise meet the general conditions for admission into the civil service...."

Together with some other implementation orders this means that:

- The clergymen are to a large extent financially dependent on the state.
- The appointment of clergymen and their activity are dependent on state approval.
- The state appropriates and administers church property. Even the churches are made available solely for religious purposes.
- Charitable church activity is possible only with state approval, which must be obtained for every individual case.

In 1950 the state dissolved all religious orders (1948: 250 monasteries with 1,980 friars, 250 convents with 10,455 nuns and novices). The properties of monasteries and convents were nationalized.

The monastic priests were first taken to concentration camps and then gradually put to work as auxiliary laborers. Years later some of them received state permission for the discharge of pastoral duties.

The nuns were also expelled from their convents and work places and following a "retraining" attempt in camps, put to work in factories and agriculture. They were denied the constitutional right of CSSR citizens to a free choice of domicile and place of work.

They were no longer permitted to work in general hospitals and clinics, with children and juveniles (and are not allowed to do so to this day), but later only in tending and caring for old, infirm, incurably and mentally ill people. The reason for this "magnanimity": There is a shortage of nurses to care for these people who are housed mostly in remote parts of the country.

At the same time the state tried to destroy the hierarchy: in 1950 all Czechoslovak bishops were in jail and remained there for many years.

#### Secret Bishop in Jail for 12 Years

Under these conditions the Slovak Jesuit Jan Korec was ordained a priest in 1950 and only a year later at the age of 27 (the regular minimum age

required is 30), a bishop. This secret consecration as bishop with the Vatican's consent was an attempt to secure the continuity of the church.

For 9 years Jan Korec led a double life. Outwardly his occupation was that of a civilian, secretly he was active as a priest. In 1960 he was brought to court. Officially the indictment was for conspiring with the Americans and attempting to reinstate capitalism. But the Jesuit's real "crime" was that he secretly helped young people to study theology and that he ordained them as priests. The sentence: 12 years in jail.

While Korec was sitting in a cell with dangerous criminals, repeatedly demanding his rehabilitation--"I do not ask for clemency, I only appeal to the truth," he wrote to the Slovak Ministry of Justice in Bratislava--the fight against the Church continued unabated. In the attempt to divide the clergy cunning was added to force.

"The Peace Movement of Catholic Clergymen in the CSSR" came into being, a group of clergymen loyal to the regime. During the Dubcek era the majority of the clergymen forced the government to dissolve this organization of Quislings. In November 1971, after the Prague Spring had suffered a deadening blow from the invasion of the armies of the Warsaw Pact, the successor organization "Peace Movement of Catholic Clergymen in the CSSR-Pacem in Terris" was founded. Officially this referred to Pope John XXIII's encyclical of the same name. But what this group really aimed and aims at is evident from the draft of the statute which is in force to this day:

--Activity in the area of citizenship training in accord with the leadership of the National Front (read: the ruling communist party),

--Striving for peace and the brotherhood of nations.

There are members of this organization--rejected by many believers but also by clergymen--who are appointed by the state and the ruling party to leading positions in the Church as frequently complaisant helpers of the state. "Pacem in Terris" has assumed almost complete control over the internal affairs of the church.

In 1968, during the brief spell of recovery, Bishop Jan Korec was released from prison and even rehabilitated a year later. The judges found that he was sentenced unjustly. He was even permitted to travel to Rome, where Pope Paul VI gave him the miter and the bishop's staff which he once wore as archbishop of Milan. Against all expectations Korec was even permitted to bring both items home.

But the cold awakening came to him as it came to his country: in spite of his rehabilitation he was prevented from exercising his office of bishop. He was only permitted to be the spiritual father to a small group of nuns

in Bratislava. Later also this was denied him, and the bishop was assigned to cleaning streets in Bratislava. In 1974 he was again brought into court and sentenced to serve the remainder of his sentence. He was granted deferment "for reasons of health."

The collection of documents "The Situation of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia," published in late autumn of 1976 by the Swiss National Commission Justitia et Pax, demonstrates on the basis of official documents that the Vatican's Ostpolitik has not changed anything in the situation of the Church, and that Jan Korec's fate is symptomatic of that of the believers of his country (according to the last census which recorded religion in 1948 there were 10.1 million Catholics in the CSSR).

#### Religious Laborer or Educated Atheist

Even though bishops--loyal to the government--are now again active in some bishoprics, through the application of intensive pressure, for example in Central Slovakia, which is especially religious, participation in religious instruction in schools dropped from 78 to 28 percent in 7 years, according to the December 1976 edition of the teachers newspaper UCITELSKÉ NOVINY. Parents had a choice: their child would either become a religious laborer or renounce the faith in favor of atheism and acquire a good education.

Because of the--denied--state approval to exercise their calling more than 800 of the roughly 4,000 Catholic priests are no longer permitted to discharge pastoral duties. If they do it secretly they receive high sentences. In the entire country only 50 young men are permitted to study theology each year. Any type of religious service or assembly of believers requires a specific written approval by the authorities.

When in 1973, in the country with the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion and the historical consciousness so emphasized at other time, the archbishopric of Prague celebrated its millenium, representatives of the state were ostentatiously absent.

But in spite of all the persecution the Prague authorities have not yet succeeded in walling the church in.

Article VII of the final act of the Helsinki conference bearing also the signatures of the representatives of the Vatican also guarantees specifically freedom of religion. The fate of Bishop Jan Korec proves what this guarantee is worth in the CSSR.

8664  
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EAST GERMANY

PARTY DISCIPLINING BUT NOT SUPPRESSING CRITICAL WRITERS

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Dec 76 p 21

[Article by Marcel Reich-Ranicki: "Mild Severity? Penalties for GDR Writers"]

[Text] The SED leadership may find comfort in the fact that the move against Biermann was half successful. They wanted to expel Biermann, and he is indeed gone--if not forever, at least for a long time. The fact that his true effectiveness would only just begin once he was outside the GDR was calculated in advance. They preferred to have the protest singer singing in the hostile West rather than remaining silent in his own country.

It may have surprised the SED slightly that the Western communist parties, particularly the Italian party, would line up decisively with Biermann. But East Berlin is willing to accept even this. To put it simply, it is still Moscow that matters and not Rome. And in Moscow the opinion has prevailed for some time already that expelling inconvenient intellectuals is more practical than punishing them.

In addition East Berlin may take solace in the fact that Biermann's attractiveness in the West is not likely to grow but rather to shrink. This is at least probable. And up to this point, their calculation seems to be correct.

Nevertheless, with the expulsion of Biermann they wanted--and this was presumably the most important aspect among the considerations of the SED leadership--to bring the writers in the GDR to heel. The writers were to be taught emphatically that in matters of literature the party decides, as it always has. They were to see the need to toe the line.

In order to achieve this, the leadership decided on a severe and unpopular measure. In other words, the SED acted according to the old Roman maxim "Oderint dum metuant" (Let them hate us, so long as they fear us.) The party obviously saw no other way to get the writers in their own country back into line. But this part of the plan obviously failed.

Many writers and artists of the GDR have protested against the revocation of Biermann's citizenship. The SED has been criticized publicly, even (and especially) by party members. This has never happened before. The SED leadership cannot under any circumstances tolerate this.

At first the columns of the party press were filled with declarations of loyalty. But that didn't take care of the matter. For after the exemplary expulsion of Biermann, those who showed no understanding for this measure had to be punished as an example.

But what to do if the upstarts include the country's most important writers? For years now, indeed for decades, children in the schools of the GDR have been learning by heart the poems of Stephan Hermlin and Guenter Kunert, Sarah Kirsch and Volker Braun. Christa Wolf, Jurek Becker, Guenter de Bruyn and Ulrich Plenzdorf have long been among the most popular prose writers in the GDR.

The SED obviously knew that on the one hand these authors are indispensable but on the other hand they must be clearly punished. Apparently the first victory in the party went to those who advocated a compromise solution as follows: The disobedient ones are to be called to order but will not be hampered in practicing their profession (at least for the time being). Above all, avoid excessive haste, handle each case individually, and prevent further trouble.

Now a few facts: Stephan Hermlin received a "severe reprimand" from the party organization of the Writers' Association, while Volker Braun was punished only with a "reprimand." Jurek Becker and Gerhard Wolf were expelled from the party. Christa Wolf and Guenter Kunert are menaced with party proceedings against them, but the authorities are taking their time, particularly since Christa Wolf has not been in the best of health recently. Jurek Becker, Volker Braun, Guenter de Bruyn, Sarah Kirsch, Ulrich Plenzdorf, and Dieter Schubert were all expelled from the executive board of the Berlin section of the GDR Writers' Association.

Will the works of the disciplined authors really continue to appear in the GDR? People familiar with the East Berlin scene believe that the answer is definitely Yes. In support of this view they point to what is in fact a remarkable event: Christa Wolf's new novel "Kindheitsmuster" [Patterns of Childhood] was delivered last week by East Berlin's Aufbau publishing house and is already reportedly sold out. At the same time the official news agency of the GDR called special attention to this novel, although such announcements are not at all customary. Jurek Becker has received word in the last few days (rumors to the contrary notwithstanding) that the new edition of his novel "Jakob der Luegner" [Jacob the Liar] will soon be delivered.

No one can predict the course of further developments. Some people are moderately optimistic about the literary scene in East Berlin despite all

the expulsions and reprimands; the month of January will tell whether such optimism is justified. One thing is certain, that the SED is not interested at the moment in escalation. The party is trying to save face and also to come to an accommodation with those writers who have not given in to pressure. This gives us grounds for hope--for these writers and for literature.

We don't know, of course, whether the telephones of the punished writers are being monitored. There is certainly no truth to the rumors and assertions that they cannot be reached at all any more by telephone. And anyone who thinks that these writers are speaking nowadays with a trembling voice is wrong. This too is a symptom.

Leading politicians and cultural functionaries of the GDR have often proclaimed in formal speeches that literature in the communist countries is a power to be reckoned with. This may be an exaggeration, but it is not altogether false.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE AS AGITPROP 'INSTRUMENT' DISCUSSED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 24 No 10,  
Oct 76 signed to press 6 Aug 76 pp 1260-1266

[Article by Prof emer Werner Kirchgaessner, Institute for Philosophy,  
Ernst Moritz Arndt University, Greifswald: "Function of Language and  
Effective Forms in Oral Agitation and Propaganda"]

[Text] The importance of agitation and propaganda is constantly growing in the political-ideological life of developed socialist society, in as much as all working people have to solve with still greater awareness the various tasks in the further construction of true-to-life socialism, which because of our development are becoming ever more complicated, in moving toward the gradual transition to communism. Scientific party agitation and propaganda, in helping our understanding and guiding our actions, also is of greater importance to our foreign policy, as the incessant advance of socialism forces the imperialist rulers in the class struggle to pervert the latest scientific research data in psychology, information theory, linguistics and so forth, for the purpose of camouflaging their inhuman objectives, and to manipulate mass consciousness by means of ever more sophisticated methods. These forms of anticommunism, be they open or disguised by various kinds of manipulation, have to be countered by socialist agitation and propaganda in providing convincing evidence for the truth of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of our domestic and foreign policy. Science and party-mindedness, superior theoretical knowledge and skills and a variety in the forms of dispensing information, which at present is not as good as yet as it should be, must work together in our ideological class struggle against lies, fallacies, bourgeois party-mindedness and verbiage in imperialist agitation and propaganda.

The SED program makes reference to this basic concern of our agitation and propaganda as follows: We must "equip the working class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explain the party policy to them, develop their socialist thinking, feeling and actions, mobilize them in the solution of the tasks and steel them against all influences of imperialist and bourgeois ideology. Every member of the SED must be an active fighter on the ideological front."<sup>1</sup> It is understood that within these general tasks of political-ideological agitation and propaganda, certain particulars have

to be taken into account in disseminating the world-outlook of the working class in the training and education of youth, such as the students at our universities and technical schools. These particulars are the result of the ever closer unity between technical training and socialist education. At the Ninth SED Congress, E. Honecker commented about that as follows: "The unity of technical education and training in the spirit of the world-outlook and morality of the working class is a basic position for the work at our universities and technical schools. Basic Marxist-Leninist study has gained great distinction in the dissemination of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and of party policy. It remains a constant task to elevate the scientific-theoretical level, the ideological-educational effectiveness and the strength of political conviction in teaching activities."<sup>2</sup> Also at the 10th FDJ Parliament, a number of discussion contributions pointed to the need for utilizing in the development of young communists socialist agitation and propaganda with their potential for forming consciousness and stimulating action, so that in the elan youth has, and in its drive for innovation and progress, party-mindedness will, without loss of time, merge with science. This came out in particular in the contribution made at the 10th Parliament by Prof H. Klare, president of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.

Although the specific criteria in political-ideological agitation and propaganda have to be taken into account, for diverse pedagogic, psychological and rhetorical considerations, as they apply particularly to the development of consciousness and political conviction in young people, the points made in the following will not concern themselves with that in any detail. What I am rather mainly concerned with is to discuss the general methodological (philosophic) principles for an effective oral dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and to derive from such an analysis certain recommendations for the pitch any agitator or propagandist ought to make. Based on what I have to say here it would be advisable to treat in later articles any specifics in spreading the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, as through teaching or through textbooks.

Within the system of oral means available to socialist agitation and propaganda, of first-rate importance no doubt are those oral efforts that serve the ideological-political training and education of the masses and their organizing the solution of the historic tasks of the working class. Yet in the class struggle against anticommunism, the matter that often counts above all is to unmask the fraudulent methods of manipulation and to improve the ability to see what is happening, principally on the part of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and to arouse the willingness, with patience and empathy, to deal scientifically with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. That kind of agitation and propaganda at times calls for an entirely different application of oral means from what is required of targeted dispensation of information to the working people in a socialist state. For example, extremely effective means of this form of class struggle for unmasking imperialist machinations are irony, satire and cynicism in their appropriate linguistic forms, provided they are embedded in a rich content of ideas. In the developed socialist society, on the other hand, ironic and satirical language is called for only in cases where it is a matter of subjecting existing improprieties to sharp justified criticism.

Cynicism, however, is educationally never valuable in that its biting mockery, inviting contempt, disrupts all fellowship, wherefore it does not suit propaganda and agitation in the ranks of our working people. Arrogance also, in disputatiousness or in a know-it-all attitude for instance, which also expresses itself in the gestures and body-language of a speaker, in his whole manner, ought to be alien to the agitator and propagandist in our society.

If agitation and propaganda is to be rich in ideas and orally mass-effective, it calls for the dedication of the speaker's entire personality. Otherwise it could never fully meet the most important task of developing people into socialist personalities. Oral agitation doubtless makes the highest demands on the socialist agitator and propagandist, for it is through the vivid encounter, in the dialog, between speaker and listener, principally in the political confrontation with opponents, where class standpoint and party-mindedness, the truth content of words, the logical cogency of thoughts, the reaction capacity, the skill in the use of linguistic means and, for example, a passion that captivates through expressive means of expression, and the credibility of the unity between word and deed, become particularly evident. It is not by chance that persons who experienced the speeches of our great revolutionary working class leaders or ever talked with them, along with their wealth of ideas also always remember the powerful effects those personalities had on their fellowmen. All memoirs or articles, for example, which dealt with the life and work of Wilhelm Pieck, mainly early this year, in addition to mentioning the scientific quality and party-mindedness of his revolutionary manner of speech and the mature wisdom of his talks, time and time again are pointing out how his words fully merged with his deep humanity, his humility and equanimity, and with his unbending confidence.

As man's language is inseparably connected with human consciousness, principally with conceptual thought, emotions and utterances of will, the highest possible mass effectiveness of agitation and propaganda can be attained only if these interrelations between consciousness and language are always kept in mind. For that reason scientific treatments of the functions of speech and of the various forms of conveying information should, especially in agitation and propaganda, mainly deal with language as expression of practical consciousness "as it really exists for other people too" (Marx/Engels). Among the characteristics of language is, first and foremost, its reflective property, its cognitive function. Only when by means of the "internal language" -- which is frequently also called "inner dialog" -- the stimuli affecting men's sense organs have been translated, in the mind, into sensory data, information and, ultimately, into insights, convictions and attitudes, the decisive mental premises have been established for the thoughts, ideas and motivations, as objectivated by the oral medium in accordance with the specifics of any given system of signs, to become effective guides for action for the partner in a conversation. The communication function of language can thus only theoretically be separated from its cognitive characteristic, for it goes without saying that the just mentioned translation of external stimuli into "facts of consciousness" (Lenin) not last depends on what a human mind has previously stored in information, acquired through the process of communication and on the basis of the reflective function of linguistic signs. A. A. Leontyev

gave a striking definition of this reciprocity between consciousness, language and speech when he said: "Consciousness is realized in speech, or by means of language."<sup>3</sup>

If, however, in contrast to the above conception of the primacy of the cognitive function, as compared to the communication function, of language, the emphasis is placed, by linguistic investigations, on the survey and description of classes of communications projects, or on analyses of systems of signs, going into fine details, of the physiology of speech and so forth, a trend toward structuralism often becomes unavoidable. The danger will be all the greater, the less such investigations are placed on a general (philosophic) methodological foundation, that is, on the theoretically established understanding of the joint effects of ideological, epistemological and logical aspects in acts of language and speech, in as much as the effectiveness of the words a socialist agitator or propagandist uses decisively depends on what he says, even if it remains a fact that how he expresses himself can by no means be separated, in a pragmatic sense, from the content of the words he uses. In the process of progressive cultural education for the broad popular masses, the working people in the developed socialist society more and more acquire the ability to distinguish fatuous babble, however beautiful the words may be in which it is dressed, however much pathos may be used, and regardless of how much voice training the speaker may have had, from speech that really means something and reflects the speaker's entire personality. These remarks are not to be misconstrued in the sense that turning a class-conscious speaker who knows Marxism-Leninism well into an excellent agitator and propagandist could, as it were, come about automatically. Certainly, sound knowledge of certain details in phonetics, vocabulary, sentence construction, syntax and points of style will help improve a person's skills as a speaker, provided he will constantly try in the process of communication, with the help from the best qualified speakers, to do away consciously with linguistic shortcomings and to enhance the effectiveness of his words by educational skills and training in language, by an analysis, for example, of his words recorded on tape. But when a speech or language specialist falls prey to pedantry, it will have none but detrimental effects on the entire development of the agitator or propagandist. It will, however, continue to be a priority task for a class-conscious speaker to appropriate comprehensively the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the most important party and government documents and, furthermore, to expand and deepen his knowledge in some fields of the natural sciences and technology. On the basis of this unity between general and specialized knowledge, that is, in the dialectic of the general, particular and single, he can then also lift onto a higher level of theoretical knowledge, through the process of abstraction and generalization, what experience he has made throughout life and make use of such insights in his speeches. These processes of consciousness which will always be, for the reasons discussed above, interlinked with language, also offer him insight into some aspects of linguistic science. And who is there indeed who would fail to significantly expand his active vocabulary, in harmony with the gain he makes in insights and convictions, or to improve the accuracy of concepts, and thus the use made of certain terms, as well as of their logic and effectiveness in sentence structures, if he is reading with scientific care and attention the linguistically and stylistically fully matured works by Marx, Engels and Lenin?

In placing speaking and thinking in apposition we wish to emphasize the unity between thinking and language under the primacy of thinking and that thought and speech processes, typically and fundamentally, aim at the solution of specific tasks. Political agitation and propaganda essentially aim at encouraging, guiding and stimulating the thinking, feeling, willing and, above all, the actions of the listeners on behalf of social, and thus also of their personal, development. In principle, political-ideological speeches rich in content ought to grant the listener a margin for his own intellectual effort, not put him on a string in such a way that he will be deprived of all joy in gaining understanding himself, in creative thought, in making decisions and in taking action. And precisely in these requirements circumspect planning is necessary and the use of suitable forms of communication, together with a thorough analysis of general and particular speech situations. As far as the concern for actual social circumstances and certain intellectual and psychological peculiarities of any given circle of listeners goes, with respect to communications projects, the political speaker, first and foremost, must be in the clear about the specific criteria of agitation and propaganda. If up to this point we have dealt with the characteristics that these two forms of a target and purpose-directed dissemination of political-ideological information have in common, we shall in the following comment on what is peculiar to each.

As V. I. Lenin remarked variously in his works,<sup>4</sup> agitation picks up social manifestations directly, especially "practical" issues of the day, and thus it proceeds inductively, from the particular to the general, in its mode of presentation. Furthermore agitation, as compared with propaganda, aims more strongly at arousing and encouraging worthy motivations in the listener, in as much as, indeed, psychological motivations are of extremely great importance to conscious action on the part of socialist personalities. For these reasons as such then will the agitator try not to demand too much of his listeners' intellectual receptivity, lest the effectiveness of his emotive words suffer. Rather he should seek to use the emotional elements of language, as for instance expressive modes of speech or metaphors, together with the rational elements within the system of signs, and this as much as possible with the purpose of having the audience not only recognize and acknowledge the truth and party-mindedness of his words by making it share them, but making it dedicate itself to them with all its strength. Utterances of agitation are simple and loose in their sentence structure. In consequence of the customary shortened idiomatic forms, mainly with respect to the bracketing of the predicate, in line with E. Riesel's "Everyday Speech" (Stil der Alltagsrede), the sentence structure remains plain and comprehensible. So-called supplementary remarks are more often of any type rather than couched in science language, and so forth. As to the mode of speech, there usually is much liveliness in it and informality, and the agitators also uses more gestures and body-language than the propagandist.

Propaganda, in contrast with agitation, primarily uses systematic presentations and analyses, on a high level of scientific abstraction, mainly of the ideas of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and of party and government materials. In this, it makes a special point of laws and inevitabilities in nature, thinking and, especially, in society and explains in depth the strategy and tactics of

the working class party. The logical structure of propaganda speeches normally is more deductive than inductive, that is, it goes from the general via the particular to the single instance. That requires a strong degree of accurately using scientific concepts and definitions and their frequently necessary detailed explanation. Propaganda beckons in particular for awareness, for the qualitatively highest stage of development in the listener's consciousness so that, affected by the combined action of semantically worthy, grammatically correct and esthetically effective words, he will be guided and led into socialist modes of conduct and action. As to some linguistic peculiarities in the sense of E. Riesel's "scientific style" (Stil der Wissenschaft) within propaganda, in comparison with certain linguistic usages in agitation, the following criteria ought to be mentioned: Vocabulary serving objectivity, lucidity and the power of conviction; thrift in the employment of emotive turns of speech; a relative loss of verb forms, on account of the highly abstract mode of presentation, in favor of nouns; a frequent use of the passive, which is at times indispensable in order to convey the highest degree of objectivity in the presentation; a type of speech that is more formal and more in line with the subject matter than it is the case in agitation, and a certain constraint on gestures and body-language. The transition between these two forms of conveying information certainly is fluid, in that the entire process of thinking and speaking proceeds in the unity of analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, and in the dialectic between comprehending the general, the specific and the single instance. The degree to which forms of political agitation change into propaganda, and vice versa, depends on the subject under discussion, the linguistic intention and the given communication situation. Decisive is here ultimately also the entire personality with his knowledge, skill and abilities also in the linguistic field, his ideological and moral maturity and his personal uniqueness.

Agitators and propagandists must thoroughly analyze the communication situation if it is to "get" to the listener, if the words are to have the intended effect. In this analysis of the prevailing conditions on behalf of influencing through language, the concrete historic social circumstances must be greatly taken into account, especially since men's real life's processes crystallize in what happens in language. Nor must the agitator or propagandist ignore ongoing developments in the social, collective and individual consciousness of our working people. If he fails in that respect and, for example, uses concepts such as Germany, nation, fatherland, party-mindedness and so forth, plus their derivatives, unscientifically, he runs the risk, even if he only commits a few violations of this kind, of losing his fine reputation as a speaker no matter how skillful his use of language may otherwise be. Furthermore, the agitator or propagandist would be well advised to provide himself with a general impression of the social composition of his audience. That will put him in the position meaningfully to insert in his speech, along with conveying general, essential information, some utterances responsive to specific occupational or other cultural needs and interests on the part of certain occupational and age groups. For if the speaker confines himself exclusively to political remarks, he will most of the time sound dogmatic and stereotype; if, on the other hand, he sticks with single instances, with appearances, he may lose himself in subjectivist notions or in such that are mainly concerned with practical utility.

It will never be possible, however, through absolutizing the general, particular or single instance, to improve the listener's ability, through this appositive speaking and thinking, independently to comprehend more complex connections and consciously to follow the cognitive principle of proceeding from the abstract to the spiritual-concrete, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism have exemplified it many times.

The main target of both agitation and propaganda in the developed socialist society is to disseminate the truth. Not by chance E. Honecker in this regard emphasized the importance of organizing the membership meeting and the circles of young socialists when he spoke at the 10th FDJ Parliament, saying: "And for that reason precisely everyday political discussions deserve the greatest attention. Ask questions and insist on answers, and use your own heads, and above all: spread the truth among all youth."<sup>5</sup> Only when the truth is recognized and experienced as the adequate reflection of objective facts in the form of scientific concepts, statements and statement systems, socialist convictions will form which, in turn, when the proper will is there and the skills for it are there, will turn into socialist actions. The language efforts in agitation and propaganda can under the conditions here discussed stimulate these processes of consciousness, in the unity of semantics, syntax and pragmatics, and function as guidelines for action.

As to the analysis of the communication situation, its culmination, as it were, lies in the effort by the agitator or propagandist of taking into account, within their total linguistic intention, matters that are important even to but single sign recipients. That, however, is only possible when the number of listeners is relatively small, the speaker knows each of them very well, close ties of trust exist among the referents, and the agitator also has some basic technical knowledge about the individual needs and concerns of the people involved. It goes without saying that that much of a range, extending from the general via the specific to the single instance, from the social via the collective to the individual consciousness, makes above average demands on the agitator or propagandist, merely in terms of his appositive speaking and thinking facility. And thus he must, from the vantage point of linguistic theory and based on his knowledge of the primacy of the cognitive function of language, use the various linguistic means and their combination, in form of stylistics, in such a way that the various communicative intentions, like comparing, observing, informing, contending, explaining, demonstrating, refuting, unmasking, describing, explaining, imploring, demanding, directing, commanding, questioning and so forth, become effective to the highest degree in the process of overall personality development. Each of these communicative intentions indicates its particularity in the forms of speech used, which may more or less clearly be reflected, for instance, in the emotionality of words or in their expressivity within word groups or whole sentences, in short, in the shadings of style. Language as a richly tuned "instrument" for objectivating contents of consciousness offers the speaker rich possibilities for expressing even the finest nuances of his meanings.

Finally the speaker must keep clearly in mind that there never will be rigid rules, ready-made recipes, for effective oral agitation or propaganda. The variety of ideas in Marxism-Leninism, the opulence of our living in developed socialist society, the individuality of each personality and his model effect, mainly in what he does, are bringing it about that the various forms of presentation, for objective as well as subjective causes, continually fuse into one another and, in living speech, appear in a "pure" form only over brief stretches. These fluid transitions of one form of presentation into the other become most evident in political discussion, the most convincing way of individually spreading the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and working class policy. It can always be only of advantage for the speaker, to be sure, if he also concerns himself with problems in communication theory. But if such studies deteriorate into sophistry, at times even into frivolity, which I think is something some linguistic treatments actually challenge the reader to get into, then all efforts the speaker may make at acquiring that kind of details may mean nothing but a waste of time, as far as his work in agitation and propaganda is concerned. Anyone, however, who wishes to pour the ideas of Marxism-Leninism into the hearts and minds of men should be clearly aware of this: The power of the word "is growing from out of the correctness of our theory and policy, which is confirmed in the life and by the experiences of the people."<sup>6</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, p 66.
2. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 95.
3. A. A. Leontyev, "Psycholinguistische Einheiten und die Erzeugung sprachlicher Aeusserungen" (Psycholinguistic Units and the Production of Linguistic Utterances), Berlin, 1975, p 179.
4. Cf., e.g., V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats," "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Berlin, 1961, p 331.
5. E. Honecker, "The Ninth SED Congress Decisions Are a Fighting Program for Youth," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5/6 June 1976, p 4.
6. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc. cit., p 68.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DRAFT OF NEW LABOR CODE PUBLISHED

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 21 Jan 77 pp 1 - 14

[Editorial Report] In a supplement East Berlin TRIBUENE in German Issue No 15 on 21 January 1977, pages 3-14 publishes the draft of the new GDR AGB (labor code). In an editorial article on pages 1-2 of the same issue TRIBUENE comments that the draft, which is divided into 14 chapters (e.g., Chapter 1, principles of socialist labor law; Chapter 2, wages and bonuses), is thus submitted for discussion at trade union meetings until mid-March 1977. The editorial points out that this discussion is a part of GDR trade union activities in preparation for the Ninth FDGB Congress. It further states that a new labor code is necessary because socialist development in the GDR has made rapid headway since the first labor code was established in 1961: "It is therefore necessary that GDR labor legislation be reconciled with the significant changes which have taken place in the development of socialist society."

CSO: 2300

OPPORTUNISM, CAREERISM AMONG PARTY MEMBERS DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 6, 13 Nov 76

[Article by Eva Katona: "Let's Talk About the Comrades, Comrades"]

[6 Nov 76, p 16]

[Text] In a quiet moment of an unpleasantly sharp debate my opponent put this question to me:

"Why? How many true communists do you think there are in Hungary?"

I answered that it was impossible to answer such a question because the party has about 700,000 members, but there are more and fewer communists than this. Not everyone who belongs to us is a party member, and there are those in the party for whom I would not dare take the first oath.

"So, we cannot go with numbers. So be so kind as to say, 'About whom can we say that he is a good communist?'"

So, about whom can we say it?

The Organizational Regulations of the party precisely set down the demands to be made of members. But the prescriptions are terse summaries and contain both the ideal and the minimum behavior. Since they are not categorical commands, they show the way but do not provide a precise guide for every life situation. We do not read this basic document of the party to rags as religious people do the Bible. He who requests admission to the party reads it through, accepts it as a principle of life and then takes it out only rarely if he seeks the text to judge some concrete case. So one cannot answer the question as to who is a "true" communist on the basis of the Organizational Regulations.

M. is a famous writer, a veteran party member, who likes to surprise his audience with sayings he considers important. And now, without hearing the question to the end, he says:

"He is a communist who believes in communism despite everything!"

We laughed a lot at the pronouncement. We are comrades who have worked together for a long time; none of us need hold back for thinking that the other is a cynic. The effect had been made and we could continue seriously:

"He who has a pure character, who speaks the truth, who sympathizes with those who suffer any sort of oppression, with the poor; he who expresses his opinion even at the risk of losing his position; he who reacts to questions reflexively, I might say with a collectivist instinct. He who regards another as his comrade, and not as a tool. He whose coordinate system in understanding the world is a dialectical materialism which is not handled in a doctrinaire fashion. He who understands and takes hold of every other ideology by this token."

"By these standards party membership is not a condition for being a communist."

"The universal meeting of interests was created for the first time in history by the program of socialism. This program provided a foundation for the broadest national union; but the greatest opportunity for realizing it appears in the party. Unfortunately mutual misunderstandings and mistakes could occur and have occurred, but in general one cannot call someone outside the party a good communist. To join the party is to show one's colors and to undertake common action."

"In a country which proclaims equality among citizens, the greater freedom of action of party membership can be thought of as a form of discrimination."

"Every society has needed and needs an elite which embodies the spirit of the age. The unique aspect of this elite in socialism is that while it poses for itself a high standard of public morality it is compatible with everyone. Certainly the assumption of greater responsibility and the prescribed discipline contain certain limitations, but they make possible the concentration of forces in the most essential matters."

N. is a reputable critic, a conscientious nonparty person famous among those who know him for viewing everything in the world, in addition to art, from a great distance.

"Half the party members are not true communists," he said sadly. "What are they? They are playing a role for advantages, for positions or to be careful."

"You are not a party member either but you cannot complain of neglect. And it is well known that very many nonparty people here are in very high positions; indeed, I dare say that sometimes--not to give offense or cause

misunderstanding--an apolitical expert may have a better chance for promotion than a party member who has the same training."

"Yes, it can happen. But let me give an opposite example: when they ignore the antipathies of the community in some place of work and force on them a cast-off or a 'student leader' who was in somebody's way."

"They could not do this except to cowards. But there are good boys everywhere who drive others into a state of siege, without intending to, for the sake of their own tranquility. We should have learned by now that in their different ways the appointed officials and their subordinates will sooner or later run afoul of such compromise decisions."

"And when the comrades ask for help? Or when their children's wagon needs a push in the desired direction? The little red book doesn't hurt then!"

"Let me add something to that. I do not know how it is elsewhere, but here in Hungary there are so many forms of alliance and mutual support that they cannot be counted. Ardent Catholics, members of the Reformed Church, Jews, members of religious sects, the former bourgeoisie, students at the National Association of People's Colleges, former leftists and former rightists, members of the Christmas group, members of the Gyorffy group, Armenians, Soviet scholarship students, people from Debrecen, Transylvanians, heirs of old families, those who had been expropriated and those who moved in, former Social Democrats and former members of the Small Holders' Party, one-time police, contemporary Foreign Ministry people or foreign trade people, members of the same nationality, people set aside, sports people, prison mates and pals all trust delicate matters to each others' hands and help each others' children. In this impenetrable web of solidarity among groups it is difficult to establish who is benefiting or when and why. There is no certainty that party membership is the only or chief advantage! And let us not ignore the fact that the party, as an organization, condemns those methods of making a career, or even prospering, which are not based on accomplishment.

"Haven't you heard of the case of one 'communist' official? The one who wanted to make such a profit in the provinces that he got caught? Even he had well-wishers! They saved him from being expelled and locked up and got him an honorable position in Pest. A few cases like that and the weak spirits will take heart."

"I, too, get bitter every time I hear of such an anomaly. And it splatters mud on the innocent, too, when they make excuses for a corrupt man, overlook his crimes on the basis of past merits or, for example, close their eyes to it when the new boss trades in the perfectly good office furnishings of his predecessor or orders a better car, carpet and TV set, especially in a time of strict economy. Nothing remains secret to public opinion; but it is a bad custom that not everything is publicized if someone is removed or expelled for moral slips, or retired before his time. This gives cause for exaggerating things, for whispering and generalizing."

F. K. is a foundryman in a factory unit of a Budapest enterprise which was set up in the provinces. He has been a party member for 2 years.

"Why did you ask to join the party?"

"I would never have thought of it but they asked me if I wouldn't like to join. Because I am a very good worker and in a human way too they could count on me. I don't hold back if there is overtime and I always express my opinion. To those above me and to those below me. I was the most amazed of any when after 1 year here I was unanimously elected a steward at the trade union elections. Much has been accomplished, especially in regard to wages and the socialist brigade movement, but unfortunately we are lagging in work safety. The ventilation equipment is out, so it is very hot, the air is bad and productivity is less."

"You said they asked you to join the party?"

"Yes, that's right. I said, 'Let me think about it.' I wanted to talk to my wife. She didn't object, so I signed up. At the membership meeting everyone voted for me. They only said I should take it easy if I got involved and that I would have to study."

"So why did you finally decide to join?"

"From a down and out nobody I became a respected man. I grew up in the village and socialism meant nothing then; I got nothing out of it. I went to Pest and became an unskilled worker; the factory gave me my trade. I worked hard for everything and I had to move to the provinces to get housing, but it paid off. I do not lack for anything, and everybody gets what's coming to him if he is not afraid to work. My mother brought up four children, as a widow, and never got a red cent from anyone, had to earn the daily bread with her two hands. They paid my wife when she had two children, and there is great development everywhere. I am glad to be among those who move in this direction."

"How much do you know about Marxism?"

"I don't know much about theory. I am trying to finish the eighth grade at night, and then I will go to Marxist-Leninist secondary school. Frankly, this is the hardest part of being a party member. Study. Math is all right, but how one should split words, what you spell with two letters, where to put the period? I would rather work a 10-hour shift than write a lesson. But I know that if I must develop theoretically I will do it."

An excerpt from a cemetery conversation:

"Where are the real ones, the old ones? I look around. Nowhere, nowhere! Hardly any are on their feet. They are dead or retired or sick. Those who still have breath throw themselves into neighborhood work, and whittle

oatstraw in all sorts of social committees. They settle down, they have time for that! They tend the grandchildren (of course, according to the parents even that's no good), go to market, go to the store and standing in line in front of the bakery they agitate the good people not to waste time. The remnant, the ones who still have the strength, work, and even stand in for the young. If they speak about slackness and have the courage to object to the free Saturdays which begin on Friday and end Monday noon, the undisguised sham work and the play economy [jatt-vircsaft], it is easy to throw it up to them: 'You're a Stalinist-Rakosist sectarian longing for the old times back again.' Or in a better case they laugh at them behind their backs and call them simpletons and don't do like they did to P., whose very just observations were answered by the party secretary: 'This is a sort of 1945 nostalgia.' Can you defend yourself with arguments against such a charge? I sometimes feel that they now look on the 45'ers as we used to look on the 19'ers. They elect us to the presidium and we receive public honor, but they treat us as if we were wax works figures left over from the past."

"An exaggeration? It may apply to the very old but the 45'ers, those who were then 25 or 30 years old, are still active and for the most part they are the ones in leading posts. They still carry the weight of the world on their shoulders. And not only must they assume responsibility for the present economic policy, for example, but for all the earlier ones too. But we should not generalize even in this. Let us admit that a good number of the members of the communist generation which started after the Liberation cannot understand that one cannot preserve the atmosphere of revolutionary attacks and mass movements; one cannot treat the still-existing or newly arising social injustices by writing campaign prescriptions or by hard blows of the fist. Every time this method was tried again it only caused more trouble and confusion. And then we acted in confusion. The time is forever past when expertise could be replaced with revolutionary faith and ability to mobilize."

"I respect and envy expertise and knowledge. That which I have collected throughout my life, bit by bit at night while working, is less than we expect today from a secondary school graduate. And sometimes it makes me mad--how many college graduates and how much confusion! I do not say there is too much knowledge, but there is too little faith. Some of the younger communists think that because they graduated from the university and speak a couple of languages, know how many centimeters their shirtsleeve should stick out of their jacket and can find their way around in foreign words and in the international situation they are good comrades too. No, no! He is an official even if a hundred times a party member. And yet these are the ones they listen to up top."

The debate had to be broken off, the funeral services had begun.

[13 Nov 76, p 16]

[Text] During a recess in the conference I met with an old acquaintance from the Association of Hungarian Democratic Youth whom I had not seen for a long time. He characterized the lecturer, his boss, as follows:

"Comrade D. is a good comrade. If one can say it of anyone one can say of him that he has sacrificed his entire life to the cause. He is the first to the office and the last to go home. His day is divided into minutes. He holds conferences, receives officials, formulates presentations and studies, participates in a number of inter-enterprise talks and important committees, receives guests and guides them about and keeps firmly in his hands the many-branching reins of the institution. I respect him for his diligence and principles, but there is something in him which reminds one not so much of a communist as of a possessed monk. Comrade D. does not work, make friends, go shopping, love, joke or gossip, he does not feel disappointment or wonder, but he does his duty. He is a soldier. Maybe in his dreams he is at the front ready for battle. The tension never leaves his face for a moment. He is frightened and constantly watches himself lest by some innocent gesture he damage his honor and thus the cause he represents. He has no working time. When others rest or amuse themselves or make love Comrade D. takes a newspaper out of his clumsy briefcase or studies the daily backlog or the reports of the Hungarian Telegraph Agency, preparing himself for the battles of tomorrow. He rarely reads a novel and never reads poetry, and since he has close contact with art only at festive programs he has a very good opinion of the closing theme from the Ninth Symphony, of the drinking song from Bank Ban, of the Ecseri wedding march, of a few spirited choral works and patriotic poems. You cannot quarrel with him, you cannot condemn him, for there is no cause. Every day he devotes half an hour to his children, more on Sunday if possible. But he drags with him everywhere the grayness and seriousness of his life, and in his presence the joy of work departs and only its burden weighs on the spirits of his colleagues. Comrade D's face lights up only when a comrade of higher rank speaks to him or telephones him. At such times he blushes a bit, his forehead and armpits sweat and he quickly stammers: 'Yes, yes, yes sir.' If I think about the oath Comrade D. took when he entered the party, 26 years ago, to end social inequality I must meditate on the mystery: Does he owe his career to his personality or is it a result of his career that he is as he is?"

B. K. is director of a research institute and a respected old communist. He is an outstanding expert, his thinking is strictly disciplined, but he is patient toward others, his life is honorable and of human scale. According to him one can be considered a communist in whom there is a lively social interest and who struggles actively for every change which unambiguously furthers the realization of socialism. One who loves our system even with its faults, and B. K. emphasizes that he is not talking about the mistakes of people but rather about the deficiencies of the system because it is stupid to confuse socialism with the absolute good.

If the system itself did not have faults it would not be a transitional society but rather complete, worldwide communism.

"How can one know if his action 'unambiguously furthers the realization of socialism'?" I asked. "It is not easy to decide this especially in a job where the product can be measured with difficulty or hardly at all."

"The leader, if he takes his mission seriously, is responsible for everything which happens in the area entrusted to him. He selects the most mature workers and creates the conditions, including the atmosphere, in which the ability of everyone can produce good. There are relatively few party members among my subordinates, but everyone strives to produce. And why not, when the common effort is obvious and no one is subject to being arbitrarily exalted or under-valued? Public debate of work done is the most effective incentive against slovenliness."

"Are you a communist?"

L. S., a 26-year-old communist, thought a bit and then answered with determination:

"Yes."

"Are you a party member?"

"I would have liked to join at the university, they certainly would have accepted me, but I started thinking. When I noticed that in their fourth year some of my schoolmates suddenly began pushing to get into the party. I wanted to avoid even the appearance of careerism, so I remained a KISZ member."

"You have been working for years, you are respected in your place of work, you have been promoted, you no longer need fear the charge of seeking a position."

"I have other problems since then. I am married, we have two children. The alarm goes off at six and the whole day is one rush. I take one kid to the nursery and my wife takes the other to kindergarten. And after work we pick them up; shopping, standing in line at the counter and the cashiers, getting home, eating, bathing, washing and on free Saturdays the big cooking and cleaning. And there's always something--when one of the kids runs a temperature, who'll take the stool to the dispensary and when, going to the council for papers. My wife has a real case of nerves because she slaves at physical work in vain because 'you can't count on mothers with small children.' And, unfortunately, this is true. We rack our brains, how to get a somewhat more normal apartment, we are squeezed into 40 square meters. And even so we consider ourselves lucky because at least we are renting outright and we did succeed in getting the youngest into a nursery, even if it took pull."

"A rather alarming way of life! A veritable treadmill."

"One needn't break his heart. It is easier for single people; they are freer but they have fewer joys. And I do not feel we are diminished. We are both interested in our work, in every branch of art, in sports and politics."

"We started with politics."

"It is really natural that we are communists, but not like the older people. We have to pinch because the profession is developing and the country has to catch up and each one of us, individually, has to provide not for the 5 or 10 years until we retire but for a longer time."

"These are arguments for joining!"

"I attribute no significance to party membership; I consider it a formal question. There are both party members and nonparty people among those whom I respect professionally and humanly. There are many good communists in my circle, but I have had bad experiences too. Some reject in a superior way every criticism intended to improve things. They rebuff people and call them hotheads or nuts. I admit it, I am not yet fully mature. There is a lot I don't understand. Maybe sometimes I express my opinion without thinking enough about it. That is why the KISZ is better; they are less likely to misunderstand if someone's position differs from the official one. My old man is a convinced party member and we argue a lot, too, but he does not take it amiss if we do not agree on some question. I respect him the more because he takes freedom of conscience seriously and does not force anything on me. Perhaps this is why I have not made a final decision. Maybe when I feel more settled I will ask to join. I could find people to propose me even now."

J. G., secretary of the party committee in a machine tool factory, came to his office relatively young. He was still a KISZ member when the leadership of the party primary organization noticed this active young man, outstanding at his trade and popular among his comrades. He became a party member, won his secondary school certificate, finished the evening university of Marxism-Leninism and gradually received ever higher political office. At the party conference preceding the congress the membership extended J. G.'s mandate, electing him for a second time.

J. G.'s opinion about the comrades is especially interesting because I have no other acquaintance who does political work so close to life, among those employed in a hundred types of jobs and assignments. G. hesitated to "make a statement" because he does not like journalists but he finally toed the mark and was willing to discuss the elements of his summary statement: "This is a very good collective!" The emphasis must be placed on the word collective, he said, because the composition of the membership is mixed and it is not easy to deal successfully with the hierarchical relationships

which can be found even in the party organizations or with the various manifestations of vital individual interests. According to G. the criterion of a good communist is how the person behaves in simple and complex situations, regardless of schooling and assignment.

"There are plenty of opportunities for a test," I added a little resignedly, "for I cannot recall there ever having been a 'simple situation.'"

"You are right there. Many imagine that you have a party resolution and you have party discipline; they think it out 'up there' and we carry it out 'down here,' and the whole thing is a question of organization."

"I believe no one simplifies to that extent. But still, what is the difficulty with carrying out decisions?"

"Orientation and reconciliation. The resolutions are good: we must maintain the standard of living, must produce more and better and more modernly and more cheaply. We should help factory health and support population growth and housing construction for workers. We should help the advancement of women and youth. We should stick to the environmental protection prescriptions, set up nurseries, spend for culture and sport and, since there is a shortage of manpower and of import material, we must be thrifty with forints and foreign exchange. Prices and needs are increasing. There is not enough for investment and we have introduced larger income withdrawals to restore the balance of the state budget. Everybody you ask anything from refers to some valid resolution. They besiege us for nurseries, dispensaries, housing, a decrease in overtime and whatever you can imagine."

"I cannot imagine how so many, frequently conflicting demands can be satisfied."

"It is not easy. Not all the money, material, capacity and experts would be enough. So what can one do? The whole leadership racks its brains and we calculate, argue and pound on the table until a more or less optimal rank order develops. Then everyone does his own job--the economic leadership, the trade union, the KISZ, the party organizations. There has been no serious trouble so far; for the time being we have done the most important thing; we have fulfilled the plan."

V. is a 45-year-old secondary school teacher, one of those women with inexhaustible energy. She is an outstanding worker in public education, a careful mother, likes to cook and have company, has season tickets to the theater and the concert, does an enormous amount of social work and knows no shortage of time. Because of so many virtues those around her, excuse her short temper and her style of speech, which can be regarded as an occupational disease.

"For me," she said, "communism and becoming a party member are a life program. A conviction in the coming of an age in which mankind can win back dignity and the joy of life. Seeing wars, discrimination and political machinations, my faith may seem utopian but my place is still among those who do not withdraw but rather, in their own place and according to their own opportunities, do the least little thing against defenselessness and indignity. As I grow older I lose my illusions. I know that the fight even in our own ranks is no idyll, and yet I add: A lucky thing! A program which applies to the present, to decades, maybe to centuries cannot be interpreted in only one way. And I know that the necessarily military discipline of a small communist party forced into illegality is one thing and that of a mass party is another. Risking persecution and mortal danger was a filter; careerists, cynical frauds and bureaucrats did not push to get near the prison cells and gallows. The possibilities of a mass party are greater, but it must face different dangers. Defense against these is not a job for the leaders only. Sometimes it succeeds, sometimes it must choose the lesser evil, and in a few cases it will fail. So it makes me mad but it doesn't destroy me if X. corrects, in the name of the whole party, my ideas which he thinks are distorted when he hasn't had an independent idea in his entire life. So there was never anything in his head to distort. But don't I do exactly the same thing if I think my view of the world is the standard to which everyone else must conform!

"I am ashamed of the cowards who not only let self-satisfied and domineering big and little chiefs walk all over them but offer themselves as tools. I lower my eyes when somebody talks one way in the corridor and another in the council room and when it comes to voting watches not his conscience but the 'majority.' Every sort of skulking and evasion of responsibility makes me bitter, and so does the judging of anyone on the basis of the views of the moment. And it always gets my dander up if some kibitzer gives me tips on how I have to treat somebody or pits fate against some sly counter-fan. It gets me down when I feel impotent and it gives me strength if I succeed in accomplishing something or preventing something. My life is fuller with my comrades, in common with them. I know my friends are around me, my innumerable allied fellow citizens and comrades who think the same way I do here at home, in the Soviet Union, in Italy, in Chile, in the villages of the African jungles, at the North and South poles and everywhere, in every country.

"This awareness is in me so deeply and constantly that I am never alone. And it always moves me a little when I hear the national anthem or the 'Internationale.' Nowadays it is the custom at holidays to play the most outstanding orchestra or chorus from a record or tape. This sounds better, but still I prefer live and communal singing."

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TRADE UNION WORK AMONG INTELLIGENTSIA EXAMINED

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian No 11, Nov 76 supplement pp 1-12

[A resolution of the 8 October 1976 session of the National Council of Trade Unions: "Resolution Concerning the Development of Trade Union Work Done Among the Intelligentsia"]

[Excerpts] The National Council of Trade Unions surveyed the work done by the trade unions among the intelligentsia, evaluated several aspects of the situation of the intelligentsia and the participation of the intelligentsia in the work of the trade unions and summarized the pertinent experiences of the trade union movement. In the spirit of the resolution of the 11th Congress of the MSZMP and the party's program statement, the National Council of Trade Unions developed its position, taking into consideration the tasks awaiting the intelligentsia in building a developed socialist society.

The overwhelming majority of intellectual workers were educated by the socialist system. Nine out of 10 college graduates won their diplomas after 1949. A significant number of them are of worker-peasant origin and some were themselves workers or peasants. The intelligentsia today is one of the most dynamically developing social strata. They are present in every area of socialist construction.

Today the trade unions have about 300,000 intellectual members. Most of them are in the intellectual and white collar trade unions, but there is no trade union which does not have intellectual members. Dealing with them, bringing them into movement work, mobilizing them for the development and realization of the tasks of society and caring for their living and working conditions and culture are in the interest of the intelligentsia and are the mission of all trade unions. With this activity the trade unions strengthen the contacts between and the union of the worker class and the intelligentsia.

I.

In their own creative activity, their thinking and their goals the intelligentsia identify with the worker class and adopt as their own the

aspirations of the worker class. The intelligentsia supports the policy of the party, actively participates in its realization and is developing ideologically in a socialist direction. But the ideological, political aspect of its members is still varied--in level of awareness, world-view stability and degree of commitment.

The political goals of the worker class express the real interests of the entire society and thus the interests of the intelligentsia as well. This common interest is the foundation for the alliance and cooperation of the worker class and the intelligentsia. This alliance is the vital interest of the intelligentsia. The link between the worker class and the intelligentsia is realized in an identity of interest based on a natural alliance and corresponds to the needs and demands of the socialist social order. It rests on principled foundations and does not serve transitional or momentary interests. Its key question is joint participation in realizing socialist principles and carrying out the tasks of socialist construction. Respecting the intelligentsia and treating it as an ally are essential aspects of the principles and practice of socialism and are objective social necessities. This is an expression of the essence and content of the intellectuals policy of the party.

Society and public opinion recognize and consider important the social role of the intelligentsia and its ideological, political development. At the same time public opinion is confused in judging the intelligentsia by incrustations of awareness inherited from the past and by erroneous views of contemporary origin. The trade unions should strive to strengthen the commitment of the intelligentsia and the realization of this commitment, and thus to develop a true picture in our public opinion of the intelligentsia's real place and role.

It follows from the social division of labor that the immediate tasks and responsibility of those working in various intellectual areas are different, but intellectual occupations always have a public life effect. This effect can be and must be better realized under the conditions of socialism. All this is embodied in the discipline and content of work done and in the quality and social usefulness of the fulfillment of the mission. More and more members of the intelligentsia are undertaking important roles and difficult tasks in public life, in the development of science and technology, in medicine, in spreading the socialist world-view, in forming social awareness, public thinking and the socialist way of life, in education and instruction. They are represented in party, state, social and mass-organization public life and they effectively aid the activity of these organizations.

The work done by the trade unions among the intelligentsia is part of the everyday activity of the movement. The goals and aspirations are identical with those of the movement as a whole, but they often appear in a unique way and thus can be realized only with unique methods and tools.

In judging the situation, aspirations and unique problems of the intelligentsia we must proceed in a differentiated way because of the composition, stratification, professional divisions and territorial locations of our intelligentsia. It follows from the work and professions of the intellectual workers that their material, social and cultural opportunities and the demands and conditions for their participation in public life are differing and various. The trade unions are striving to discover, understand and to aid in solving the unique problems of the intelligentsia. But this requires that we deal even more directly and in a more varied fashion with the various groups of the intelligentsia.

The better part of the intelligentsia see ever more clearly and feel ever more consciously that with their social importance, training, professional activity and political behavior they occupy an important place in the ranks of society's great creative forces. They feel the respect for their work and the fact that they have participated in those results which our people have achieved in past decades. It is increasingly clear to the intelligentsia that strengthening the power of the worker class creates ever better economic, political and social conditions for their creative activity. It is also expected that their creative strength and public life activity will increasingly serve society.

## II.

Intellectual workers expect from society first of all that they be able to live, work and create under suitable conditions and circumstances. They expect from society what every working man expects--a tranquil, balanced atmosphere, security, improving living and working conditions, treatment in accordance with our socialist principles, support, respect and recognition. They want a social policy and place of work atmosphere in which they can develop their talents and abilities for the good of the socialist society. They expect help for their development, constant further training and culture and for improving their living and working conditions.

On the whole they are satisfied with their living and working conditions. But they do have a few problems awaiting remedy, and the trade unions regard a solution of these unique stratum problems to be a just demand.

1. The living and working conditions of the intelligentsia have improved together with the living and working conditions of the entire working people. Their moral and material rewards and living and working conditions and the care taken of intellectual workers do not in general lag behind the present possibilities of our society. At the same time, however, the trade unions agree that the living and working conditions and wage levels of certain intellectual groups (primarily those of teachers but to some extent those of doctors and those working in public culture and in some areas of state administration) are lagging and this causes problems. The trade unions consider it necessary that this backwardness be ended in proportion to the growing economic strength of the country.

The National Council of Trade Unions also considers it important that state, economic and trade union organs devote greater attention to a more perfect realization of socialist distribution when setting base wages and incomes for intellectual workers. We could end much tension and individual injustices with a more consistent realization of the basic principles of our wage policy, primarily with a more effective realization among intellectual workers of our principles pertaining to payment according to work, taking into consideration that intellectual work requires great expertise.

2. Social respect is especially significant for intellectual workers. In some areas, for example in the arts, this is really a vital element. In general the intellectual workers are satisfied with the social and moral respect, but they have a number of grievances. They feel, for example, that social and moral recognition are not always in proportion to individual activity and the value of creative work. Subjectivism is still a strong factor in respect; but another factor, primarily in the arts and in education, is whether one works in Budapest or in the provinces.

The trade unions must strive to remedy these grievances also. We must also take care that intellectual workers conceive of social and moral respect in a broader sense than they do now. Material recognition of work done is of primary importance, but it does not exhaust the many-sided concept of social respect, for this includes the appreciation of public opinion, the realization of our socialist principles and aspirations, and even that atmosphere in which the intellectual workers live and create. One of the chief measures of social recognition is the extent to which the intelligentsia can have a say in the development of their own lives and the degree to which our society counts on them in the formulation and realization of its goals. Strengthening, spreading and realizing such an interpretation of respect is an important trade union task.

3. There are many working women in the ranks of the intelligentsia. Some areas--for example health, teaching and state administration--are virtually feminized. The increase in the number of working women is a happy phenomenon but it is accompanied by new problems for which we must find solutions. A frequent problem of teaching and health careers is that while there is an unavoidable need for some male manpower it sometimes cannot be provided. Sometimes the problems pointed out in our resolution on women's policy appear in a concentrated form in intellectual careers. The women working in intellectual careers are also mothers and wives, and thus they have certain special obligations and burdens. As a result they have difficulties in the course of doing their work, in their private lives, in further study and in regard to getting leading positions.

The trade unions consider it necessary to urge everywhere, in a more determined fashion than heretofore, the overcoming of these difficulties. Means and methods must be found to make possible, even amid such burdens, further study which is vital in intellectual work, participation in social life and

promotion to leading positions. In overcoming these difficulties we could aid much by striving even more strongly to end the prejudices connected with women in intellectual work areas and to decrease subjectivity.

4. One of the chief problems of intellectual youth is beginning an independent life: in the course of this primarily housing, income, starting a career and fitting into work and the community. Although these are not unique stratum problems, still they appear in a unique fashion because young intellectuals start to practice their professions much later than other youth and thus these problems hit them suddenly and with greater force. They feel it a disadvantage that they can get housing with greater difficulty and at greater expense than young manual workers, and they find their starting salaries too small.

The problems of young intellectual workers are real problems, but they cannot be overcome today centrally although central aid is possible in the areas of teaching and medicine, especially if provincial assignments are involved. State, economic and trade union organs at the place of work can ease these problems. The trade unions should recommend to the appropriate state organs that they seek together those possibilities on the basis of which budget organs and official places of work could give greater aid to intellectual youth.

Great attention must be given at the place of work to easing the place of work integration of youth beginning their careers. An atmosphere must be created around the young intellectual workers in which they can perform efficiently and in which the community helps them solve their personal problems.

5. Intellectual workers frequently note that place-of-work democracy is not in the spotlight in their areas as it is in general. The inadequate realization of factory or place-of-work democracy in intellectual work areas brings to the surface the same sort of problems as in areas of physical work. A higher level realization of place-of-work democracy would mean much in the realization of plans connected with living and working conditions and in ending or preventing individual grievances. Without it that internal force cannot develop adequately which place-of-work democracy can offer for intellectual work, also for the completion of tasks and the creation of a suitable atmosphere. A role is played in this by the fact that in many intellectual work areas guidance is more centralized than in industry, and thus local opinions are realized with greater difficulty and in a more complex fashion.

The National Council of Trade Unions considers it necessary that state, economic and trade union organs deal more with this question and take care that place-of-work democracy be realized adequately wherever intellectuals work. The state laws and decrees and the rights of workers are adequate for this so that obstacles of this sort to the development of place-of-work democracy do not exist. But we must act in a determined fashion, in

intellectual places of work, against subjective and attitudinal causes which hold back the realization of place-of-work democracy.

6. Petty bourgeois behavior and thinking do exist and are even strengthening among intellectual workers. Even a good number of the intellectual workers themselves often note that a sufficient struggle is not being waged against such behavior and thinking. Some are striving for excessive gratuities, are acquiring second positions, and regard the acquisition of property as a goal of life; they close themselves off from public-life activity and the community, and all this casts a bad light on some intellectual occupations. A number of intellectual workers take exception to the fact that state, economic and trade union organs and public opinion do not always fight unambiguously against these phenomena.

The National Council of Trade Unions feels that we must act in a more determined fashion, together with the intellectual workers, against these phenomena and must create, by state and official means and by increased ideological struggle, an atmosphere in which petit bourgeois thinking and behavior and these harmful phenomena will become impossible. The National Council of Trade Unions considers it necessary also that in these questions the state laws and decrees take a completely unambiguous position.

These problems are general among the intelligentsia. But the situation and life of the intelligentsia are varied and many-sided and the tasks and problems appear with differing emphasis among us. In order to discover and document this we will deal below in detail with a few intellectual groups.

Intellectuals employed in industry constitute one of the largest strata, making up more than 25 percent of the intellectuals. In proportion to the increase in their numbers their role and significance is increasing in the introduction of new techniques and technology, in increasing the efficiency of production, and in formation of the social-political aspect of the places of work. The roots of the trade union movement reach deeply into their circle also. The intellectuals employed in industry consist essentially of two large, relatively homogeneous groups--the technical intelligentsia and the economists. Within both groups one can differentiate the leaders with independent responsibility and spheres of authority from the production leaders and employees active in execution who have narrower spheres of authority, the intellectuals doing analytical or expert work and often carrying out official tasks.

The general situation of factory technical and economist intellectuals is satisfactory. In comparison to their numbers a greater proportion of them participate in place-of-work political life and in social and public-life activity. They have good contacts with the workers. They rely on one another and have a mutual effect on one another. The knowledge of the technical intelligentsia and the experience of the workers are effectively merged in production, in the socialist brigade movement, in labor

competitions and in the innovation movement. The role of the intellectuals working in the economist area is a little different than that of the technical intellectuals. Their effect is not so direct and they do not have such close contact with the workers as do the technical intellectuals. The technocrat view can be found among some of the technical intelligentsia and a one-sided economic view is often excessive among some of the economist intellectuals. This holds back a strengthening of the contact between intellectuals and workers.

Scientific and technical progress requires a strengthening cooperation among theoretical and practical experts working in the universities, the research and development institutes and the enterprises. Such a concentration of forces will aid the swifter embodiment of scientific achievements in production and will make possible the production of greater volume more economically. The branch of industry trade unions could do much so that a staff of experts of suitable size and composition could develop in time those plans and ideas which could bring real economic results via those who carry them out.

The intellectual integration of experts and their outlook into the world are held back by the circumstance that many technical and economist intellectual workers do not know foreign languages and so learn belatedly the technical, scientific and economic achievements of the world. The lost time often causes serious damage to the people's economy.

A further improvement in the situation and general feeling of the factory technical and economist intelligentsia, and a better exploitation of their intellectual abilities, require that we increase their moral and material rewards, develop their political and professional further training and expand their participation in decision making. Their responsibility can increase only if they have something to decide. Without a sphere of authority the economic leader or the economist working in production is degraded into one who merely assigns tasks or handles administrative matters.

At the same time it is also necessary that the intellectuals working in production make better use of their already-existing spheres of authority to improve work and technological discipline and production efficiency.

The trade unions could help much to develop the abilities of intellectuals employed in industry to improve their living and working conditions and to increase further their role in making production more efficient and also their role in social and public-life activity. The trade union organs should support and popularize those creative people, innovators, inventors, outstanding organizers, sober judges and proposal makers and brave formers of collectives who leave the stamp of their personalities on some product, on the introduction of some new technique, on the domestication of certain technologies or on communal life.

The agricultural intelligentsia plays a decisive role in the development of agricultural production, in working out and introducing new production procedures, and in spreading modern agricultural production methods. They have an effect on the social and political life of agricultural operations, institutions, villages and cities. In the wake of the concentration and development of recent years there are now about 50,000 intellectuals working in agriculture, forestry and water management.

With the decrease in the total number of those employed in agriculture the ratio and significance of the agricultural intelligentsia increases further because the increased tasks of the agricultural operations can be carried out only with technical development, for example with the domestication of better and more economical types and with irrigation. As a result of increased mechanization the ratio and significance of the technical intelligentsia within the agricultural intelligentsia have increased. The intellectual workers, especially the technicians directly guiding production, either are members of or are supporters and patrons of the socialist brigades. They play an active part in solving work organization and operational organization tasks and inspire and aid socialist work competitions and the innovation movement.

The supply of intellectual workers to agricultural operations is uneven. The supply is satisfactory in the state farms, sometimes even excessive, but we find the opposite in the producer cooperatives--for various reasons about 3,000 engineer jobs are not filled. The failure to adequately delimit the work spheres of engineers, operational engineers and technicians greatly damages the efficiency of the work of intellectual workers. Many engineers are forced to spend much of their working time on jobs which do not suit their training. The mood and general feeling are also damaged by the fact that the technical workers have to carry out many administrative tasks.

Further training for agricultural intellectuals working and living in the villages, improving their living conditions and making it possible for them to "keep up" in their political and general work are tasks which are unsolved in many respects. The trade unions should give much attention to this.

Many intellectuals work in state administration, in the ministries and chief authorities, in the councils, in administration of justice organs, in public offices and public cultural institutions. The ratio of intellectuals in central and territorial state administrative organs is the greatest. Their composition in regard to professional training has been considerably transformed. Prior to liberation the great majority of them had legal training, but today they include teachers, doctors, engineers and economists. This development is in harmony with the changed tasks of state administration.

Because of the social and political importance of their work and because of the political, professional and moral demands made of them the intellectuals working in public administration merit special attention. This must be reflected in social recognition and respect going beyond material rewards. In the course of their economically important activity, authoritative administration, regional guidance work and the organization of social, cultural and health services they come in contact with virtually the entire population. Satisfying needs and the manner and mood in which this is done have an effect on the temper and general feeling of the citizens and, in the final analysis, on the opinion they have of our political system.

Although measures taken in recent years to improve wages and working conditions have resulted in an improvement in tying manpower down, there is still considerable fluctuation in administrative workers, especially in the councils, and in administration of justice workers. There is still much to be done in the interest of having an increasing number choose public administration work as a career.

One of the largest strata and one carrying out a very important social task is the educational intelligentsia. The preparation of our youth for the future depends in large measure on their work, moral and political behavior and devotion. This is why the professional and political demands on teachers are so great, and these demands will increase in the future.

The educational work of the teachers and their activity directly serving the community extend beyond the school everywhere but especially in the villages' rural communities. The teachers are a public-opinion-forming force the influence of which is felt among parents, in the residential areas and in places of work. Thus there is all the more reason for anxiety that at this time several thousand teaching positions are unfilled and that there are many untrained teachers who are continuing their studies while teaching.

Respect for the career is not satisfactory and its attraction has decreased. Wages for teachers, which did not reach the wage level for other intellectuals with the same level of training even after the considerable increase of 1971, are still not in proportion to the social significance of their work. Despite the no small results achieved by central measures, their moral respect is still not satisfactory in many places.

Measures which even the teachers have received with recognition include the decrease in the number of obligatory classroom hours and the expansion of concessions which help ease the housing problems. While proceeding in an institutional fashion in this direction we must mobilize all reserves and aid which can be found locally.

A significant number of the intellectuals working in health affairs are caught up in that development which has taken place in past decades. They bear the burdens of this and are undertaking the increased tasks.

The number of physicians increased 2.5 times between 1950 and 1974. The number of pharmacists exceeds 4,000. The number of those without medical degrees (engineers, psychologists, economists, biologists, and so on) has increased in health affairs, though not to the necessary degree.

Of the 25,000 physicians almost 10,000 work in Budapest, more than 11,000 work in the large provincial cities and 4,000 work in the villages. Most of the unfilled positions are in the village districts, but unfilled positions come to 9.6 percent in the specialist clinics, 11.4 percent in factory health and 15.8 percent in school health.

The composition of medical doctors according to origin is still more restricted than for any other intellectual stratum. In the interest of resolving this we must create conditions for a greater proportion of youth of worker-peasant origin to get into the universities.

The general feeling of the health affairs intelligentsia is closely linked to the level of health services. The members of society hardly make such great demands on any other intellectual stratum as they do on doctors. The relationship between doctor and patient has an effect on the relationship between society and health affairs. A decisive role is played in this by the knowledge and political and moral behavior of the doctor, but one should not underestimate the behavior of the populace, of the patients, either. Ethical behavior is our especially sensitive point here.

The wage adjustment carried out in 1971 temporarily eased but did not end the disproportion in wages. The salaries of beginning physicians and pharmacists are not reassuring. The source of the tension is the great shortage of manpower in health affairs. Developing the system of medical training and improving working conditions are tasks to be solved. The better planned regional and specialist guidance about to be introduced may ease the problems of medical manpower supply and could improve the ethical situation also.

The activity of writers, journalists and creative and performing artists also has an extraordinarily great social-political effect. Artistic creations and accomplishments express the emotional and thought-world of millions and form the awareness, action, behavior, mood and general feeling of millions.

But there are contradictions in our literary and artistic life. The creative artists are not uniform in regard to world-view and ideology and are not yet sufficiently aware that they must stick to the essential problems of society and depict the life of the working classes, especially of the worker class, in proportion to their real significance. The obsolete nature of the artistic institutions also causes problems.

The trade unions, especially the Federation of Artistic Trade Unions, must pay attention to and must influence artistic life with their unique tools.

The trade unions should support even more determinedly realist literature and art which has socialist ideals and public life commitment, should support the development of the reality-disclosing and consciousness-forming activity of writers and artists. They should contribute to strengthening the socialist aspects of the arts and to increasing creative responsibility. They should aid in improving the conditions for artistic creative work, the ideological, professional and political training of artists, their public life activity, and also in improving their living and working conditions. They should inspire and support the public culture activity and initiatives of artistic life--especially those directly affecting worker culture--and the link between artistic life on the one hand and industrial and agricultural production units on the other. They should initiate and keep on the agenda the renewal and modernization of artistic institutions.

### III.

The program of building a developed socialism together with the progress of the scientific and technological revolution pose ever greater demands on the creative work of the intelligentsia. Amidst socialist conditions one of the fundamental conditions for reaching our socialist goals and carrying out our everyday tasks is that we constantly strengthen and increase the production and social activity of the workers, including the intellectual workers. Building a socialist society is the personal interest of the intelligentsia, too, because the development of the life of the intelligentsia is inseparably linked with the progress of the country and society. The living and working conditions of the intelligentsia can develop only in proportion with the strengthening and enriching of society. So the interest of society demands that every intellectual worker fulfill his responsibilities and consistently put his creative abilities at the service of the people and aid the growth of the economic and political strength of our homeland with his work and behavior.

1. A constant improvement of work, better quality, increasing the feelings of responsibility and precise and disciplined work are all basic requirements for intellectual workers too. This general social demand receives a differentiated role in intellectual work areas because here well-done and responsible work often has greater significance than it does in general. The quality of the work of the intelligentsia and its disciplined nature, important in themselves, have a great influence on production, on the level of health, on the preparation of the future generation and on the effectiveness of our socialist laws and principles.

It follows from this that the trade unions must turn greater attention than heretofore to all those local possibilities and labor movements which can aid further improvement in the work of intellectual workers. Unique forms must be created or developed which can strengthen production and social activity on a broad scale and create favorable conditions for this. We must strive for the everyday realization of the slogan "To work, live and study in a socialist manner," for the spreading and strengthening of

socialist human values, where possible within the frameworks of the socialist brigade movement but if the character of the work requires another form then with the use of other forms. We must strengthen in the intellectual workers too an aspiration for a correct life style, behavior and action corresponding to socialist principles, and we can mobilize this to a large extent by inspiring work. Opinions are divided as to whether the socialist brigade movement is needed among intellectual workers. The trade unions feel that where socialist brigades can be organized they should be organized but that in actuality the form is not the chief thing; rather, the chief thing is that we inspire intellectual workers, too, in an organized and consistent way for effective work and culture, and spread among them also the principles of the socialist way of life.

2. Professional further training, culture and self-improvement are requirements and interests of society and of the intellectual workers alike. One of the chief conditions for good work by intellectual workers is that we keep pace with the rapid development of science and technology and are acquainted with what is most progressive and modern. The trade unions should pay greater attention to seeing that every intellectual worker strives to increase his knowledge and "keep up" his information like the best. Those intellectuals who train themselves further professionally and politically, and constantly modernize and apply their knowledge, should receive greater recognition and respect and their example should be attractive to the intelligentsia as a whole!

3. The demands of society on the intellectuals appear increasingly in everyday realization of our socialist principles. The quality of the work of the intellectuals has an effect on the realization of our socialist principles and laws. A crucial role in their work is played by the extent to which the execution of their tasks affects in a many-sided way the work and human problems of others and thus has an effect on their contacts with the workers as a whole. It depends largely on the work of the intellectual workers how the affairs of physical workers, white collar workers and the population as a whole are taken care of, the extent to which this is done in a bureaucratic manner, and how many grievances and complaints they have. All this demands ever greater discipline, responsibility and commitment, but it also demands that we emphasize that the foundation and content of contact between physical workers and intellectual workers is that they jointly aid the everyday realization of our socialist principles, laws and tasks. The priority of social interests and attention to mutual interests are manifested in this.

4. One of the greatest achievements and noblest aspects of socialist society is that the workers have a way to have a say in the affairs of the community and thus in the development of their own lives. The conditions for this voice are constantly improving for intellectual workers too. But for the increasing possibility to become a rich reality, the intellectual workers must deal increasingly with the affairs of the community and must strive to participate more effectively in the exercise of place-of-work

democracy. The development of place-of-work democracy is an important task in intellectual work areas, also in strengthening the contact between leaders and subordinates, in improving the place-of-work atmosphere and forming the socialist man.

The contribution, especially of technical and economist intellectuals, must be made more effective in debating economic and production questions and in deciding debates, and a greater number of complex brigades must be created in places of work, brigades in which intellectuals and workers work together.

It is justly expected of technical intellectuals in enterprises and in research and planning institutes and of agricultural intellectuals working in agriculture that they will realize in their own areas highly efficient production, the production of modern products which are in demand, and the development of shops which correspond to the demands of our day.

5. The spreading of knowledge belongs to the essence of intellectual work too. The development of society will demand even more in the future from intellectual workers that they hand on their knowledge and actively participate in public culture, in creating communal forms of culture, in enlightenment and knowledge-spreading work and in popularizing and making a common treasure of the values of science, technology and the arts. The intellectual workers should help the culture of the workers primarily in the factories via the place of work communities, should support the socialist brigades and cultural work in the workers' barracks and should participate in organization of the "Everybody's School" and the "One Factory--One School" movements.

The best of the intelligentsia have always done self-sacrificing work in public culture. Greater publicity and greater recognition must be given to this activity.

6. It is a just demand that the arts should show and display before us our life and our society in its full richness, progress and formation with its beauties and its difficulties. Society expects that the creative artists will express what they have to say carefully and understandably. Of course it is also the interest of art that those who receive it should understand its thoughts and feelings. Progressive art and art of a higher order are not to be found divorced from the masses but rather in those forms of expression that give voice to, and those forms which are suitable for creating harmony between art and public and for the most faithful service to our great social goals.

7. The trade unions ask and inspire the teachers and educators, in the course of training the young intelligentsia, to educate them even better to an awareness of their mission, to a desire to act for society and to understand their obligations toward society. They should help the youth to find their mission where society has need of them and to consider it an

honor that their work is counted on in the most varied areas of life. Not only human honor and duty but also the obligation to social progress correspond to these requirements.

One must examine in what way the trade unions can do more effective work among students in universities in the interest of helping to develop them for their place-of-work activities and for an understanding of the activities and goals of the trade unions.

The trade unions continue to consider it important in the renewal of the intelligentsia that the possibility of becoming an intellectual be insured to those of adult age also. The present forms for this must be maintained and strengthened. Care must be taken so that workers who go to academies or universities when adults should receive adequate support from their worker comrades, from trade union organs and from their enterprises.

8984

CSO: 2500

POLAND

ITALIAN CP PAPER REPORTS APPEAL RULING ON RADOM RIOTERS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 16 Jan 77 p 11 LD

[Unattributed report: "Radom Workers' Sentences Cut in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 January--The appeal court sentence in the retrial of some of those found guilty of setting fire to and destroying the Polish United Workers' Party offices in Radom during the 25 June 1976 disturbances following the price hikes seems to confirm the Polish judiciary's policy of the greatest severity with those who can be described as "recidivists" and relative leniency with others.

The sentence which was passed by the Warsaw Higher Court, in fact, confirmed the punishments of 9 and 8 years' imprisonment imposed on the only two previous offenders among the accused, while the other three, sentenced in the first place to 5 years each, had their sentences cut.

CSO: 3104

## ROMANIA

### HOSTILITY OF "FOREIGN NATIONS" TO ROMANIAN UNITY CITED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jan 77 pp 1, 3

[Article by Dr. N. Copoiu: "The Will and Struggle of the People, the Source of Union and Independence"]

[Excerpts] The Union of the Romanian Principalities--Muntenia and Moldavia--in January 1859 was, as we know, the result of a lawful historic process and had as a basis the awareness of the unity and independence, an awareness existing for ages in the broad masses of the Romanian people. History is witness to the constant effort which Romanians in Muntenia, Moldavia, and Transylvania made for many hundreds of years to defend their national identity and their states.

The historic process of the union of the Romanians and the achievement of the independence of their state was lawful--but we must state and even emphasize that this process was considerably hindered and delayed by hostile forces from outside. Therefore, the Romanian people in the three states in which they were organized for almost a thousand years had to carry on a constant struggle to keep alive the awareness of unity and their historic right to freedom and unity.

The most progressive political forces in Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia--having alongside them the entire people--formulated with clarity--and with sufficient energy to eliminate the old customs from the inside--the objectives of the unity, freedom, and independence of the Romanians. Marx spoke, referring to 1848 and the following years, of the "revolutionary spirit" of the Romanian people--that is, of their determination to be free, united, and independent. But foreign armed forces penetrated onto Romanian land in order to prevent the achievement of the objectives of the Romanians. The situation seemed desperate but the people, like their most enlightened representatives, kept their confidence in their forces and continued to struggle under different forms.

An especially significant fact which historians have not properly stressed is the fact that the Ottoman Porte and other powers were convinced that if

the Romanians were goaded into a war their first action would be the proclamation of absolute independence, that is, the breaking of ties of suzerainty with Turkey. The underlined words are those of the Turkish foreign minister and they were communicated to a French diplomat in 1855. It was no exaggeration but a sign that he knew the state of mind of the Romanians. Moreover, the prediction of the Turkish diplomat came true, although it took 22 years because of numerous international complications; in 1877, immediately after they were attacked by the Turks, the Romanians proclaimed absolute independence!

If we view with the eyes of our contemporaries the matter of the Union of the Principalities in 1859, in the context of international relations, we are surprised at the hostility of some European powers to this natural aspiration of the Romanian people. The fate of the Romanian countries, located, it is true, at a crossroads of geographic and political interests, thus became a "European problem."

The events of the 1857-1859 period which culminated in the union of the two principalities had as their principal source of strength the will of the broad masses of the people. They decided on the composition of the ad hoc assemblies in 1857 and, through their authentic representatives, called for the discussion of the most urgent problems, whose solution would lead, in the first phase, to the Union and in the next phase, to the achievement of independence. It can be said that these representative assemblies thought out and drew up the Constitution of the modern Romanian state, confirming the opinion of C. Hurmuzaki that "all the conclusions of the Divans [assemblies] will have a great echo in Europe, in the world, and in history."

The demands of the Romanian people, formulated at the ad hoc assemblies in Iasi and Bucharest at the end of 1857, were presented to the 7-power conference in Paris and were accepted only to a very small extent in the Convention of August 1858. However, it was enough to give the people an opportunity to continue their struggle to achieve their dream of unity.

The election of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza by the elective assembly of Moldavia on 18 May 1859 made a strong impression on Romanian public opinion. The name of Cuza embodied the aspiration of the people to renew the country and its institutions.

In Bucharest, where the elective assembly had not yet been established, the echo of the election of Prince Cuza in Moldavia was received in the same way.

The election of a prince by the elective assembly in Wallachia was influenced considerably by pressure from the masses of city dwellers and peasants who surrounded the assembly building. Here, the best choice of a prince from within the assembly was not sufficient. It was necessary to find another choice which would lead to the Union and this was to choose the same prince as the Moldavians.

Vasile Boerescu, through the patriotism of his arguments, played a remarkable role in the proceedings of the elective assembly in Bucharest. He succeeded in eliminating the danger of disunion and in assuring, as an expression of popular pressure, the unanimous vote of the assembly in favor of Al. I. Cuza. In his brilliant speech in secret session, Boerescu stressed to the deputies of the elective assembly that the consequence of disagreements about the future prince could only be invasion by foreign armies.

In his speech at the public session of the elective assembly, after the proclamation of the election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as prince of the united principalities, V. Boerescu explained, for the benefit of the representatives of the foreign powers present in the hall, the legality, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention of August 1858, of the election of the same prince in both principalities, an election which is inscribed in the political annals of Europe as a proof of the originality of the Romanian political genius.

Although there are many Romanian testimonials on the enthusiastic way in which the union was celebrated in Bucharest, we believe that the description in an official diplomatic report is most eloquent: "The applause of the tribunes, the cries of joy which were heard from afar, whose roar seemed to cover the entire city, the triumphal marches of military music, the church bells announcing the news everywhere--all these combined to give this scene a magnificent aspect."

On the basis of such information, the cabinets of the "guaranteeing powers," which did not approve of the union, hesitated to protest or intervene, so the process of the practical achievement of the union of the two principalities could continue.

Numerous official and unofficial manifestations further confirmed the idea that the double election of Cuza was the faithful expression of a profound popular sentiment. The young Muntenian deputy V. Boerescu stated that "the Romanians, even during the most confused times, considered themselves to be sons of the same mother" and that "superior spirits, such as those of Mihai and Stefan, were permeated even more strongly by this solidarity which nature created among all Romanians."

While the enthusiasm of the Moldavians was entirely justified, their haste to unify the assemblies, thus violating the provisions of the Convention, was premature. Some of the great powers did not delay in showing their surprise and dissatisfaction in regard to the election of the same prince in both principalities. The unification of the assembly in Focsani could have caused reactions compromising the results achieved toward the attainment of full unity.

In this sense, the appeal of minister of the interior Nicolae Golescu, addressed to the residents of Wallachia the day after Cuza's election, demonstrating the legality of the election of the same prince in both principalities

("something which is in no way forbidden by the convention") prudently and correctly called this act "a step toward union."

It can be said that if the foreign powers did not intervene to prevent the union of the principalities, this was because of the strong adherence of the people to this great political act. In his turn, Prince Cuza, in the face of threats, stated that any foreign intervention would be repelled by the Romanian people and that he, himself, would lead this battle.

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

MADRID PAPERS' CRITICISM OF USTASAS CITED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 77 p 15

[Text] In discussing the difficulties of establishing diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Spain, the Madrid papers write that the Ustasa status in that country is one of the most delicate problems for normalization of relations between these two countries. The Ustasas have had in Franco's Spain a sure refuge and protection; the killers of ambassador Rolovic among others have found refuge there.

Until the beginning of last year Ustasas had their special propaganda broadcast on the Spanish radio, intended for the audience in Yugoslavia. After the establishment of the first contacts between the two countries, this Ustasa broadcast was discontinued.

It has been pointed out in informed circles in Madrid that momentarily there are not many Ustasas in Spain, that the police control them and that their activity will be fully stopped upon the establishment of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

LETTER TO THE EDITOR URGES PUBLIC SALE OF EMIGRE PRESS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 76 p 2

[Excerpts] Several days ago, I went here in Belgrade to the offices of Jugoslavenska Knjiga publishing house, which specializes in importing literature from abroad, with the intention of taking out a subscription for a year to ZAJEDNICAR, a newspaper of our progressive emigrant organization of Croatian emigrants, Hrvatska Bratska Zajednica [Croatian Fraternal Association] from Pittsburgh, USA. I was unpleasantly surprised when I was told that they could not help me in this respect, because it is the regulation of Jugoslavenska Knjiga publishing house not to give subscription to Yugoslav citizens to all those newspapers published abroad in Serbo-Croatian or in other languages of our country.

I consider that such a decision of Jugoslavenska Knjiga publishing house is indeed out of place today--when what is involved is a subscription to newspapers of our patriotic emigre organizations abroad, such as Hrvatska Bratska Zajednica [Croatian Fraternal Association], for example. Recently at a symposium in Belgrade, it has been concluded that everything ought to be done so that direct cultural-educational links and all other friendly links with our Yugoslav progressive, patriotic emigre organizations abroad and all our working people will develop even more and much faster, and in this respect press and literature have indeed a very important role; therefore, much more yet has to be done than what has been done up to now so that Yugoslav press and literature will be more accessible to our Yugoslav progressive emigrants and their emigre organizations and vice versa, so that progressive emigre literature will be more accessible to us, the citizens from the SFRY.

In this respect, I also think that our publishing firms that import, and among them also Jugoslavenska Knjiga publishing firm, which indeed tries to be helpful to the readers and subscribers and gives subscriptions even to some marginal foreign religious sect newspapers, ought to also make it possible for citizens to subscribe without reservation to these progressive emigre newspapers, and by this, to help our citizens to subscribe legally and in the simplest and the easiest manner.

We should soon start seeing ZAJEDNICAR, NARODNI GLASNIK, AUSTRALIJSKE NAVOSTI, and other progressive emigre newspapers on our newspaper stands, and also in our libraries, reading rooms, cultural centers, something that unfortunately is not the case today.