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18 April 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1378

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRESENT STATE, FUTURE TASKS OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE EXAMINED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No. 2, Feb 77 pp 29-37

[Article by Tamas Palos, deputy chief of Department of Agitation and Propaganda of MSZMP Central Committee: "The Ideological Struggle Is the Objective Phenomenon of Our Times"]

[Text] During the last 2 years the succession of communist and labor party congresses in the countries building a new society has repeatedly given a comprehensive picture of the position and plans of our countries, of the policies of the parties and, along with these, of the collective development of socialism.

The picture has captivated international public opinion. It also aroused approval "within the family," in the socialist countries, partially because the congresses did not make any attempt to conceal the cares and difficulties involved in the constructive work. In the progressive circles of capitalist countries it strengthened the view that the congresses made the strength and viability of socialism remarkably visible, in comparison with the intensification of the political, economic, moral, power and ideological crises of capitalism. Although the opinions of the political groupings understandably differ from one another to a certain degree, in the final analysis the bourgeois world could not deny the tangible results of the building of socialism. The directors of manipulation would have had to leave the scene, if they had not found an "explanation" for this period. They announced that "just as the difficulties of capitalism cannot be attributed to the capitalist system, because the shaky, so-called global, problems afflict the entire world, the socialist countries owe their progress, not to socialism, but to the general scientific, technological and industrial development and to the development of civilization."

The Experiences of the Congresses

In contradistinction to this the party congresses confirmed that during the last 5 years our countries have progressed on the path of development by working to eliminate the difficulties and contradictions occurring from time to time in the many-sided development of society, by coming up

with new answers necessary for new questions, and through the outstanding results achieved in the work of building socialism. The success of domestic efforts and of multilateral cooperation participated equally in this. During the building of communism and of the developed socialist society more and more common elements appear in their politics, their economics and their social life. It is possible to trace the gradual equalization of levels of development, and in this sense we can speak of the approach of socialist countries to one another as a phenomenon of definite regularity. Indisputable facts prove that the international power and influence of the socialist world is constantly increasing, which appears in extremely complex forms in the struggle between the two world systems.

The congresses also gave a picture of the experience gained in the constructive work of individual parties. These experiences and the consequences derived from them differed from one another as a function of the position of the countries, their natural gifts, and the differentiation of their long- and short-term tasks. Along with this the general tendency of the socialist countries to strengthen their cooperation by means of Marxism-Leninism, and international outlook, equal rights and comradely cooperation also characterized the highest forums of the parties. The international proletarian resoluteness again appeared when the party congresses spoke of the strengthening of solidarity accepted by the progressive forces of peace and by the communist and labor parties struggling in the developed capitalist countries and in the developing countries.

With well-founded optimism every congress outlined the future of socialism, the world which, in the words of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU], "will undoubtedly produce newer proofs of the unbounded possibilities and historical superiority of socialism over capitalism."

The many typical features of the party congresses held in the socialist countries were also accented by the conference which was held last December by the labor parties and scholars of nine socialist countries. The socialist countries did not simply record the work of the party congresses, but examined their documents. Their rich material was the basis for a number of studies and articles which were published by the press in fraternal countries. However, the parties were not satisfied with individual elaboration of the most essential experience of the mutual decisions of the congresses. They considered it necessary to discuss together on the highest party forums the important theoretical and practical questions which were raised. In January 1976 in Warsaw the ideological and foreign affairs secretaries of the central committees agreed to call such a theoretical and political conference, and on the basis of this the Sofia meeting mentioned above was held. The participants surveyed the material of the party congresses. They clarified the attitudes of the parties more clearly in such questions of common interest as regularities in the building of communism and a developed socialist society, the current characteristics of joint socialist development, peaceful coexistence, the process of world revolution and the position and tasks of the ideological struggle.

The New Requirements of Ideological Work

As the congresses mentioned above have shown, the Marxist-Leninist parties highly evaluate the position and role of ideological work in building socialism, in the realization of the party policy and in the struggle between the two world systems. They begin with the fact that the strength of the socialist system is embedded in awareness of the masses, and that requires active educational work of a high standard on the firm ground of Marxism-Leninism.

The fraternal parties also face the new requirements of ideological work. In addition to the newer and more complex tasks of building socialism, they explain these requirements by the fact that new generations are turning into conscious builders of socialism, and that the level of capability of the masses is increasing. Answers must be given to new questions because the principles of Marxism-Leninism must be adapted to concrete conditions and changing situations. Significant theoretical and political problems are emerging in the international communist and workers movements in a new way or in a different light. In its content, means and methods ideological work must keep pace with the rapid development of science and technology. Under the conditions of peaceful coexistence greater stress is placed on the ideological struggle, and we must, for example, expect more sophisticated imperialistic propaganda.

What do the fraternal parties answer to these new demands? One part of the answer is that the effectiveness and quality of the ideological work must be improved in every respect. By this the fraternal parties understand more effective spreading of the idea of Marxism-Leninism, more attractive socialist propaganda and more valid exposure of capitalism.

The essence of the second part of the answer is that it is necessary to intensify the complex nature of the ideological work. This was defined by the CPSU 25th Congress in this way, "to create a tight unit among education for thought and politics, education for work and moral education, keeping in mind the peculiarities of individual groups of workers."

Last but not least a great deal of emphasis is placed on increasing the aggressiveness of ideological work. This, however, does not mean an escalation nor "an attack, such as the Hussars once made, to take the ideological ramparts." The "bearer" of the aggression is considered to be ideological work based on thorough acquaintance with the enemy and carefully planned for the long run, developed according to principles, expedient, springing from reality and dependent on convincing arguments.

The fraternal parties attribute a great deal of importance to a significant expansion of ideological cooperation. They share the opinion that an improvement and expansion of joint work will equally aid internal ideological work and the struggle of our ideas taking place in the international arena. The fraternal parties have repeatedly verified their need for further cooperation.

These common experiences of the party congresses which were held in the socialist countries agree in full with the findings of the 11th Congress of our party, according to which "the importance of the ideological activity of the party increases with progress in building socialism." The resolutions of the Congress oblige our party to "take part in the concerted ideological activity of the fraternal parties and, in company with them, to increase socialist propaganda and to expose the manifestations of the enemy against communism, progress and peace." The resolution of the Central Committee of 26 October 1976 levied on party propaganda the same requirements which the other fraternal parties consider primary: "The path of all further development in content and in organization," we can read in the resolution, "is an improvement in the quality of education."

How Are We To Classify the Ideological Struggle?

The ideological struggle on the international arena has come into the foreground and receives more emphasis today. We frequently refer to the animation of various imperialistic ideological activities to explain this. We point out the fact that the balance of power has evolved unfavorably to the advantage of imperialism and that therefore, without having definitively renounced armed force, it pins greater hopes on ideological detente. In itself this is valid. But if we ever stress that this is why the ideological struggle has come to the foreground on the international arena, we are characterizing the entire phenomenon negatively. Nevertheless this is an incorrect characterization. This is primarily because the Marxist-Leninists insist on a struggle of ideas in the broadest sense of the word. From the other side of the barricade they consider ideological diversion important. This is not a play on words but a fundamental distinction. The difference lies primarily in the fact that with the battle of ideas we wish to advance and accelerate social progress, while they, in contradistinction to us, are striving to obstruct progress and even to turn back the course of history. We express true ideas by faithfully mirroring objective reality, while the spokesmen of psychological warfare are unable to give true answers based on science to the most important questions of the times. We wish to affect the noble feelings and common sense of men, while the so-called psychological warfare opposes pure reason and builds on ignorance, prejudices, misrepresentations and possibilities of manipulation.

It may entail the implication that the ideological opposition is the source of international tension. In opposition to this historical experience shows that for centuries international conflicts have primarily been the result of a collision of class interests. Of course, the fact that in our days many hostilities appear in the guise of ideology is deceptive. The imperialists have a tendency to hide their aggressive plans and neocolonial ideas behind the slogan of the battle against communism, and thus appear as the defenders of the ideas of "freedom and democracy." Of course, this is naturally not proof that the battle of ideas causes tension. It is not the clash of ideologies which stops the course of disarmament, but the arms race dictated by the monopolies, and it is not the discussion about ideas

which causes tension in Asia or Africa, but re-colonization. On the contrary the battle of ideas aids in having the debated questions solved, not on the battlefield but within the framework of peaceful coexistence between the two systems. As we know from tragic experience, wars are not only prepared by military or economic action, but also ideological means. Thus, when we speak out against every kind of military instigation, against nationalism which inspires hatred toward other people, against chauvinism and against revolting racial discrimination, we are directly contributing to the propagation of the policy of peace.

The ideological struggle does not impede, but rather aids peaceful coexistence, since peaceful coexistence does not render the irreconcilable opposition between the two ideologies void. Marxist-Leninist dialectics considers peaceful coexistence between countries of a different social system to have two basic requirements, present and operative at one and the same time: cooperation between the states and the ideological struggle. This means that, without any kind of ideological compromise on the basis of principle, there is a desire to strengthen the bonds between the nations. However, the ideological struggle is waged in such a way that it does not harm, but rather helps, the development of interstate bonds. And this is not an impossible task. An example of it is the European Conference on Security and Cooperation. Lastly, in the Final Clause can be found the furthest limits of political compromise, under current conditions, which the socialist and capitalist countries can shoulder while protecting their principles.

But if we really wish to qualify the ideological struggle, it is necessary to review the motivation of the socialist countries, of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of the various types of bourgeoisie, which furthers their activity in the international arena.

The Struggle of Ideas, a Class Struggle

The Marxist-Leninists begin with the idea that their successful activity is the best guarantee of the development and productive use of their revolutionary theories. Only respect and enforcement of principle can result in a policy of principle and protect it from the tyranny of intuition and subjectivity. Of course the main task of ideological work is to expand the area of conviction of our ideas, but this is inseparable from our stand against foreign philosophies. Thus the socialist forces will affect the international ideological struggle first and foremost by means of our revolutionary spirit and our commitment to Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The requirements of constructive work today in the socialist countries make more and more ideological activity compulsory. Along with the development of the economy on every side, the main task during the period of building a developed socialist society is a socialist transformation of awareness. In its realization men must be educated who, to quote the declaration of our party program, "along with their good work, disciplined

in realizing our social goals, also participate in public affairs, recognize and follow socialist ethical norms, and inseparably connect their socialist love of country with internationalism." Along with this we must prepare society, on a firm basis of principle, to know how to select among the ideas and views streaming toward us from capitalist countries, that is to evaluate those which contain progressive, humane and general human values, and to criticize and reject adverse concepts and particularly unscientific philosophies. Thus, secondly, the main source of the building of socialism and of domestic development is for us to place greater stress on the international ideological struggle.

We would not be able to achieve peaceful coexistence nor the specific form of the international class struggle without a consistent and enduring ideological struggle. In its specific form the combat between the two world systems takes place more on the level of politics, economy and ideology, which of its very nature makes it objectively necessary for us to continually attack the position of bourgeois ideology from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. In the third place, in striving to change our international strategy, we must enhance our activity in the international struggle of ideas.

All of this must be done in turn because it has been demonstrated that the expansion and enlivening of the international ideological struggle is not contrary to the interests, ideas and practice of socialism. In the knowledge of their truth the socialist countries wish and are able to shoulder the ideological struggle proceeding with peaceful coexistence and its consequences. The proponents of Marxism-Leninism wish to win more and more masses for the most progressive view of the world. Naturally this has nothing to do with "the export of revolution," which we resolutely reject along with the violent spread of counterevolution. This means that we consider the struggle of ideas an organic part of our class struggle and an objective phenomenon of our times, and anyone who condemns the ideological struggle as subversion by imperial ideology is badly mistaken.

The Sophisticated Mind Industry

After this let us examine what the international bourgeoisie hopes to gain with the tools of ideology. For there is no doubt that the protectors of the bourgeois system attribute extraordinarily great importance to ideological factors. While they speak of "the decline of ideologies," and urge "ideological peaceful coexistence," the ideological activity of the capitalist states expands and their special apparatus increases. Along with this, non-state ideological machinery is also spreading, including the organizational elements of private contractors, parties, churches and so forth. The non-state mechanism consisting of an extensive network of private agencies, press, radio and television companies, "cultural development" endowments, "scientific" centers and so forth, dealing with information, is becoming more and more active. They are constantly becoming more involved with the state apparatus, which reflects the capitalistic tendency of state monopoly.

This does not surprise anybody and we do not condemn our political opponents for implementing their ideological arsenal. We are very clear about the fact that, considered in its essence, imperialism is aggressive and that the aggressiveness of its propaganda feeds on this. Still, the fact that the influence of socialism and of the revolutionary workers movement is increasing, with capitalism being forced into a defensive position, in the historical sense, greatly limits the possibilities of rough and overt forms of anticommunist ideology. On the other hand it also affects the many new technical elements of bourgeois propaganda. In connection with this we cannot expect monopolistic capitalism to give up its hopes connected with ideological disintegration. Then what can we expect from it? At the beginning of 1975 we would still not been able to compose as concise an answer as now: faultless execution of the Helsinki Final Clause. But this has a double meaning. It first means that the means of ideological subversion should not interfere with the political efforts aiming at security and cooperation between states, efforts which certain circles of the capitalist world also support. Secondly, in cultural and educational contacts, and in the area of information and contacts between people, the basic principles and objectives drafted in Helsinki should be adhered to.

Naturally all of this can only be understood in terms of the consistent struggle, since the monopolistic capitalists are stimulated to ideological subversion by a number of reasons at the present time. We can begin with the fact that imperialism is trying to realize its unvaried strategy by varying tactics to have an overpowering effect on the modification of the balance of power. The tactic of instigation, an organic component of which is propaganda, one of the most apparent manifestations of psychological warfare, has come to the foreground against the socialist countries. This is also well demonstrated by the fact that certain imperialist circles still maintain, as a legacy of the cold war, their developed means of propaganda (for example, Radio Free Europe) which, although efforts are made to use them tactically, belie *detente* by their very existence.

By means of more vigorous ideological activity the bourgeoisie tries to offset the beneficial effect exercised by socialism on world development. Furthermore this effect is not a purely progressive idea or theoretical consistency, but rather one of the most important objective factors which can determine the course of world history.

On the one hand the results achieved in building a developed socialist society and communism and on the other hand the processes which are accomplished beyond the limits of the socialist world further increase the international influence of socialism. As a result of the intensification of the general capitalistic crisis, more and more masses of the populace are losing faith in the fact that it is still possible to escape unemployment and other evils caused by the domination of monopolies within the capitalist system.

The processes taking place in the countries of the "Third World" are prompting these countries to seek socialist solutions to their problems more and more often. Life itself confirms that development in the direction of socialism creates great possibilities for surmounting the gigantic difficulties associated with the elimination of the colonial legacy.

Imperialism and its ideologists do everything to conceal these connections and to drive wedges between socialism and other groups of revolutionary forces. Their latest device is so-called Eurocommunism, which they display as the point of view of West European communists. However, the bourgeois schemers have announced this "concept" with a very clear goal, to hammer home for the populace of capitalist countries that "socialism is unacceptable for the developed European countries." And if it wants to bolster this opinion, it holds emergent socialism up to ridicule, on the one hand by falsifying and slandering it, and on the other hand by exaggerating its difficulties and weaknesses.

The sophisticated methods of bourgeois manipulation, concealing their hostile nature, claim that they are closely concerned with the questions actually in the order of the day in the international communist movement. Theoretical and practical questions associated with special routes leading to socialism have really come to the foreground, along with progress in the world revolutionary process and with the development of the workers movements in many West European countries. It is natural for these to be discussed in the movement, since it is a matter of comparing special positions, fundamentals, experience and viewpoints. The communist parties have independently determined their strategy, tactics and policies, not international centers of directions. Analysis and evaluation of the new position, determination of the new joint tasks and harmonization of actions, which every party demands, take place partially in regional councils and in international councils of a wider area, and this cannot occur without discussion and exchange of ideas. However, discussion within the movement is one thing and our party must remember this, insisting on the importance of a theoretical summarization aiding development, while bourgeois propaganda appearing under the catchword of "Eurocommunism" is quite another thing, with a fundamental standard of **judgment** which does not offer a socialist alternative, and does not argue for one route or another, but opposes the historical route followed by socialist countries, and equates socialism in the state of realization with real socialism, and rejects its ideas and practice.

In addition the above-mentioned bourgeois propaganda spreads the rumor that "the communists struggling in the capitalist world only consider socialism a strategic goal to pressure parties in power." However, this is an obvious falsehood, as the communists of both East and West Europe know equally well. In our times the most important regularity of every revolutionary movement and transformation is that their tendency is identical. The current revolutionary process aims at leading humanity from capitalism to socialism. There can be and are different experiences in building

socialism under different circumstances, there have been, are and obviously will be different points of view among communist parties, and discussions about the solutions to various ideological, political, tactical and strategic questions, but none of this contradicts the regularity that in our days revolutionary trends are moving in the direction of socialist views.

What is the consequence of this? The consequence is that things must be put in their proper place. First of all we must accept as an unchanging reality the fact that experiences are being compared and points of view exchanged about the different routes and methods of achieving the revolutionary purposes. Lenin wrote that the revolutionary theory "is derived from the totality of the revolutionary thought and revolutionary experience of the entire world," that these experiences and thoughts, even though they have a common essence, reflect the characteristics and traditions of individual countries. At the latest meeting of the European communists and workers parties in Berlin, Brezhnev stated that "there is still one area in our cooperation which is worth speaking of separately. A combination of efforts is needed to generalize revolutionary experiences, to further develop the theory of scientific communism formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin." We treat these exchanges of ideas, not as opposing thoughts, but as friends in principle professing a standpoint close to ours, and we must take part in them in the future by keeping our common thoughts, interests and goals consistently in front of our eyes, with firmness in principle and with an all-embracing goal of progress, with a great deal of patience and understanding, that is, in the Marxist-Leninist international way.

From these discussions and exchanges of ideas we must particularly select the struggle which we are to wage against every form of right and "left" opportunism which extremely distorts Marxism-Leninism. In this case it is not merely a matter of simply comparing different experiences, but of the necessity of our protecting Marxist-Leninist purity from dogmatism and revisionism in a two-front struggle. We must keep before us the statement of the 11th Congress, according to which "the tightening of the ranks of the communist movement and every concentration of anti-imperialist force is inseparable from the theoretical and political battle waged against right and "left" types of opportunism and the new-left varieties of opportunism cropping up in different places today."

Aware of all this we can precisely separate the above-mentioned two phenomena from "Eurocommunism." Comradely discussion and the struggle against opportunism are reality, while "Eurocommunism" is a pure fiction which only "takes shape" in bourgeois ideology. To be more exact capitalist propaganda is trying to "assume a shape" and thus to artificially nourish the fiction created by it. From outside they hope to "sneak Eurocommunism" into the movement by using the tools of the sophisticated bourgeois thought factory, and in this lies the essence of capitalist machinations! The Moscow KOMMUNIST put it very well: "Nowadays the strategic plan following the line of the bourgeois ideologists is becoming more and more clearly

outlined. The struggle against Marxism-Leninism cannot be won by traditional methods, and so the "pluralistic" doctrine must be encouraged to conceal the fact that "Marxism" can be and will become as many things as there are countries and nations on our planet." (1976, No 18).

No matter how it is camouflaged, "Eurocommunism" cannot convince anyone that it expresses the views of our West European fraternal parties. This is not only because these parties separate themselves from it in their different forms, but also because it gradually becomes exposed as soon as it is compared with the reality of the revolutionary movement struggling in the capitalist world. How else can we explain the fact that, while the West European parties have always shaped roads leading to socialism in keeping with the particular conditions of their countries' capitalist development, the capitalist schemers only brought "Eurocommunism" to the fore when the West European workers movement prospered and when the Italian and French communists had begun to directly attack the ramparts of power? Can we imagine that the West European fraternal parties, which have understandably attributed great importance to national peculiarities in their daily struggle, should now simply accept the tag of "Eurocommunism" as identical in every respect to the workers movement in the western half of the continent?

On this basis every Marxism-Leninism standpoint can be considered as valid if, on the one hand, it considers it natural for every party, whether operating in a socialist or non-socialist country, "to use the generally valid teachings of Marxism-Leninism in a creative way corresponding to the historical, political, economic and other traditions" of their homeland, as Comrade Kadar outlined in his article entitled "Some Hungarian experiences in the building of socialism." On the other hand, however, from every point of view it has justified the communist parties in rejecting the "well-poisoning" actions of bourgeois propaganda, attaching "Eurocommunism" labels to everything. This internationalist behavior also characterizes our parties which, on the basis of the resolution of the Central Committee of 26 October 1976, will do everything to "proceed in the direction of the international communist movement and revolutionary unity which has reached the point of development sloping upward."

Returning to the causes which stimulate the bourgeoisie to ideological diversions, we must again mention the deepening of the general capitalist crisis. This gives the theoreticians of monopolistic capitalism at least three things to do. In the first place they must work on domestic public opinion, where more and more confidence is being lost in the daily activities of capitalism. After all, the capitalist system is still strong enough to make itself attractive with temporary prosperity, artificially inflated consumption, the glamour of science and technology and in many other ways, but when prosperity disappears this is only possible through special interventions and manipulations. Secondly, the long-drawn-out crisis prepares the schemers to paint capitalism rosy. The third effort of the bourgeois ideologists is connected with this, to provide an explanation and a theoretical basis for the "secure" future of capitalism.

However it is interesting to note that here even the best prepared defenders of the capitalist system do not speak openly of future capitalism.

Without dropping the term "capitalism," theories speaking of the "welfare state, the "post-industrial society," the "humanized technological society," the "new industrial society," and the "technocrat society" have been announced one after another. However, in the final analysis all of these are explanations.

At the present time the leading large capital groups consider it more advantageous for capitalistic reformation to appear with a slogan, and by means of various "improvements" they strive to overcome the growing social problems and contradictions. On the ideological level this trend is defined by an extensive collection of concepts speaking of capitalistic "transformation." According to them the "reformed society" preserves all of the essential traits of the capitalist system while at the same time freeing the capitalist system of contradictions.

Thus, taking everything together, it is evident that the bourgeois interests lie in making efforts on the ideological plane to stop the process of world revolution. And there is no doubt that here and there their actions make the international ideological struggle more violent and intensify it. But they are still not the main beneficiaries of the battle of ideas.

"If there is not a suicidal atomic war," wrote W. Dizard in a book entitled "The Strategy of Reality" (Washington, 1961, 188 pp.), "the balance of power between us and the communists will be mainly determined by a struggle waged for world public opinion." The adherents of socialism are confidently ready to duel. In the past our ideas have also broken their own trail, and conquered 100 million. But that was when only small groups of fighters in the vanguard struggled to achieve the ideas of communism. Today, however, the numerous peoples establishing socialist states and the socialist world system, and with them the powerful social forces in non-socialist countries, look to Marxism-Leninism for the guide to action. The working masses are aroused to historical action by the example of communism and of socialism in the process of realization.

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BULGARIA

REPORT ON YOUTH UNION PLENUM

Sofia NARODNA MLADZHZH in Bulgarian 3 Feb 77 p 1

[Report: "The 16th Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee"]

[Text] The 16th Plenum of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Central Committee was held yesterday in the Central House of the People's Army in Sofia. In addition to Central Committee members and candidate members, and members of the DKMS Central Auditing Commission, it was attended by the first secretaries and secretaries of DKMS okrug committees, first secretaries of DKMS city committees, and senior Central Committee workers.

The following participated in the work of the plenum: Boris Velchev, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary; Dimitur Dimitrov, BCP Central Committee member and head of the party's Central Committee organization department; and Velko Palin, BCP Central Committee member, and head of the party's Central Committee military department.

On item one of the agenda the DKMS Central Committee Bureau report "let us enhance the quality and effectiveness of DKMA activities" was delivered by Boycho Shteryanov, DKMS Central Committee first secretary.

The following participated in the debates:

Anton Iliev, Sofia City DKMS Committee first secretary; Teodosiy Enchev, DKMS Central Committee deputy head of the Ideological-Educational Activities Department; Anastasiy Donchev, DKMS Central Committee secretary; Boris Dikov, secretary of the DKMS committee at the Lenin VMEI [Higher Machine-Electrical Engineering Institute]; Asen Kolchagov, chairman, DKMS Central Auditing Commission; Totyu Totev, first secretary, Lovech City DKMS Committee; Vulko Kovachev, DKMS Central Committee Bureau member and first secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug DKMS Committee; Elka Stefcheva, first secretary, Ruse Okrug DKMS Committee; Georgi Georgiev, mechanizer, General Toshevo APK [Agro-Industrial Combine], Tolbukhin Okrug; Ivanka Vasileva, DKMS Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Central Council of the Septemvriyshe DPO [Dimitrov Pioneers Organization]; Khristo Penchev, first secretary, Gabrovo

Okrug DKMS Committee; Temenuzhka Dimitrova, student at high school number 32 in Sofia; Stoyan Stoyanov, first secretary, Khaskovo Okrug DKMS Committee; Magdalena Yankova, secretary, Plovdiv Okrug DKMS Committee; Ivan Kirov, principal of the Georgi Dimitrov TsKSh [Central Komsomol School]; Anka Mladenova, first secretary, Sofia Okrug DKMS Committee; Ginka Nikolova, secretary, Resen Village Obshtina Komsomol Committee, Veliko Turnovo Okrug; and Petur Mitev, director, Center for Youth Scientific Studies.

Boris Velchev, BCP Central Committee secretary, and Politburo member, delivered a statement.

The plenum approved a decision and measures on enhancing the quality and effectiveness of Komsomol activities on the level of the party requirements.

On item two of the agenda, the DKMS Central Committee resolved that the 13th regular Komsomol congress will be held from 9 to 12 May 1977 in Sofia (decision published separately).

On item three of the agenda, the membership of the national preparatory committee for the 11th world youth and student festival, which will take place in Havana, in 1978, was approved. Boycho Shteryanov, DKMS Central Committee first secretary was named chairman of the national preparatory committee.

The plenum discussed organizational problems as well. Doycho Dinev, DKMS Central Committee secretary, was relieved from his position as a result of his enrollment as regular postgraduate student at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. He was presented the honorary certificate of the DKMS Central Committee and the badge "for active work in the Komsomol."

For purposes of expediency the Plenum relieved from their positions Krasimir Angelov, DKMS Central Committee Bureau member, and Dobrin Dolzhev, DKMS Central Committee member.

This completed the work of the plenum.

5003
CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VACULIK SATIRIZES POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Rome LISTY in Czech No 1, Feb 77 pp 24, 25

[Essay by Ludvik Vaculik: "Prague Autumn"]

[Text] What have I done! Six months ago I promised that next time I would write about something nice because--as I said--after all, a healthy man could not fail to notice also the nice things around him. As a somewhat indolent but otherwise conscientious student I felt that task gnawing at me all through the summer. Now, in the autumn, I am finally seeing some indubitably positive points from a greater perspective also because I, myself, need them to balance myself mentally against the negative points which are tightly squeezing my chest. Here then you have both the good news and the bad news as the autumn brings them. From the specific weight of each set of points you must determine whether they are properly balanced.

The good news is that, after all, potatoes apparently will be plentiful. A rumor had it that they might be rationed. Their price is higher than last year but in my opinion that means nothing more than a higher price of potatoes: let us cherish that truth; one would gladly pay good money for such truth in the whole non-potato area of citizens needs and interests!

The bad news is that Prof Vaclav Cerny, literary scientist without rights, was driven away for a cup of coffee to an enterprise where he would never think of going for a cup of coffee and where his old-time courtesy compelled him to answer in some way his host's questions, such as: why in his letter to Boell did he defend people who were no artists; how come that his works were appearing in the emigre journal SVEDECTVI; why did he put them in the samizdat PETLICE; what was his opinion of Vaculik; what did he think of Kundera in Paris and Skacel in Brno; and so on. I have the permission to divulge here one of his replies. To the oratorical question why didn't he offer his writings to the party cultural weekly TVORBA, Prof Cerny replied: "Gentlemen, even though I shook hands with you, I would never shake hands with Jiri Hajek."

The good news is that the national artist Jaroslav Seifert's 75th birthday was commemorated, at least to the officially permitted extent, by all daily newspapers and television. The minister of "cultcher" [sic] dispatched a delegation to ask the poet about the state of his health and about what he was writing.

On the other hand, it is no good news that Jan Vladislav, a poet and translator without rights, also was asked politely about things which--to put it delicately--were none of the questioners' damn business: what was his relation to Prof Cerny and Prof Patocka; how long did he know Vaculik; whom did he meet at Vaclav Havel's; why did he put his literary essays in the PETLICE, and whether he gets to read some of the essays circulating around. Furthermore, how was the luncheon at Mrs Gruender's and why was Mrs Gruender, the cultural attache of the FRG, so interested in Jiri Kolar's person and studio; what did she want when visiting Prof Patocka, and so on. In another conversation, still conducted in a friendly spirit, Vladislav had an opportunity to refute the opinion that Seifert was getting senile, to reject an official warning against Vaculik and Havel, and to hear a recommendation that he shouldn't mention that discussion to Vaculik because it would enrage him.

Also, the meat supply (in Prague) is good news; some meat is always available (in Prague), as much of it as you want. And anyway, we are getting too fat, aren't we?

The organist at St Anthony's church in Prague-Holesovice, Prof Milan Machovec, a philosopher and educator without rights, was asked to help refute an anonymous denunciation concerning himself. It mentioned that for those few minutes of music per day he possibly could not earn enough to be able to live...let us say--seemingly above the means of an organist at St Anthony's (the anonymous correspondent expressed it in such terms that the investigators were justifiably ashamed of him). At that occasion Machovec was asked how did he really support himself and where were his royalties from the foreign publication of his book "Jezis pro Ateisty" ["Jesus for Atheists"].

Recently the wood maze of the makeshift installations under the Hlavni nadrazi [Main Railroad Station] was demolished and there appeared a neat and elegant space of the new hall connected with the entrance to the subway station. When I too went to take a look at that half-a-billion worth of labor, a railroad worker was just going around with a rag, polishing those terrific yards of shiny bannisters, singing loudly: "That's why..." What and why--that I don't know.

Mojmir Klansky, a journalist without rights, was supposed to explain how come a manuscript of his novel "Vyhnanstvi" [The Exile] in which the Fischer Publishing Company had shown interest happened to get to the FRG. Why did he put it in PETLICE; how much was one copy and what was his relation to Vaculik whose activity allegedly was not friendly to our state.

The editor in chief of the party weekly TVORBA, Jiri Hajek, was fired on the spot.

Petr Kabes, an editor and poet without rights, now observing the weather on the Milesovka mountain, was asked for information needed to capture a gang of thieves who were stealing art objects. He was supposed to identify some text confiscated from a suspicious foreigner. It was--a copy of one of his poems written in August 1975 at the occasion of the Helsinki Conference. On its reverse side was a sketched plan of the monastery where Kabes had worked as a night watchman 9 months before. There were several foreign names inscribed on the margin. Did he happen to know any of those persons? Had he met any of them while visiting that lady who is Mr Vaculik's typist? How would he characterize Mr Vaculik? Did he give him any of his poems? To whom else did he give them? After having been fingerprinted the poet was warned and released.

With the help of the Soviet excavator the excavation for the subway tunnel in the section A 1 has been completed 2 days ahead of schedule.

Lubos Dobrovsky, formerly a journalist, now a window washer, was asked to explain his participation in drafting a proclamation which was to be smuggled out by some Spanish guy. When Dobrovsky asked what kind of proclamation it was supposed to be he was told that it had not been written after all. At that occasion he was asked about his contacts with his former colleagues and friends.

Visitors from the West and from the East admiring the autumn beauty of Prague are envious of the care given to it by the socialist state which can well afford it. A new theater and music season has begun.

Lumir Civrny, a translator and poet without rights, was invited for a talk the purpose of which was unclear to him: it began with the question how was he. The conversation progressed on to his unpublished novel from the period of the last year. Why did he give it to PETLICE? How had he enjoyed the party at Mrs Chramostova's (an actress without rights) who in Jaroslav Seifert's honor recited excerpts from his new manuscript? Did he know anything about the scandal Mrs Vaculik had caused at that party?

According to the news from Moravia, this year's vintage is excellent. A part of it will reach Prague.

Ivan Klima, a writer without rights, was called to sign a warning with the following meaning: his new novel had an anti-state meaning; if he published it abroad or in PETLICE he would court the danger of criminal charges. Klima rejected the warning because the last version of his novel had not been completed, its contents did not have any anti-state meaning, and it did not even have a title yet.

Within 2 hours, the disproportionately small, 20,000-copy printing of Hrabal's "Postriziny" [The Ritual of Tonsure] was sold out in Prague; because of its author's kindness we made its acquaintance 3 years ago in PETLICE. Right on! Three other new works by the same author are awaiting their publication in PETLICE.

Vaclav Havel, a playwright without rights, announced that the building inspection commission arrived with a 6-year delay at his house in the foothills of the Krkonose Mountains where for years, he has agreeably lived and received visitors from afar (which was a mistake, dear Vaclav!). It found defects, declared the house unfit for habitation and ordered him to move out or else pay a penalty of up to Kcs 20,000.

On the other hand, the good news is that tomorrow the exciting pre-election campaign, so exceptional in the world, will be all behind us with a result no worse than 99.98 percent.

Well, nothing more is left now except myself, of course! For a start I was offered some coffee and then a passport to take a 2-year trip somewhere in the world. After I had refused both these offers, it was suggested to me that I stop my involvement with PETLICE and the essays; for myself I could write whatever I pleased. If I should refuse their offer they have yet another possible solution for me, which they outlined for me so I would understand. Thus, I learned finally why they had kept for such a long time some things which they so vulgarly took from my apartment 18 months ago. Had I not known at that moment where I was sitting, I would have thought that I was in a movie theater watching some idiotic gangster film. Then I walked out from that place into the sun and as my depression wore off, I realized suddenly: this, after all, could mean one thing only--that legally they don't have a thing against me. Not a thing!

While in the department store windows the ultra-latest Prague autumn fashions are displayed floating on paper dragons, someone has again furtively put boxes with superannuated Christmas flasks on the counter in tucked-away taverns.

9004
CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR PRESS CRITICIZED FOR SLANDEROUS ARTICLES ON SLOVAK BISHOPS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 77 p 6

[Text] The Catholic Newspaper Agency of 4 March 1977 published the information according to which the Catholic bishops of Slovakia did not publish any protest declaration against Charter 77 nor did they co-sign the declaration of other groups. The Catholic Newspaper Agency found that out from reliable church sources in Slovakia itself. Namely, it is known that the CSSR press published the fact that three Slovak bishops together with the clergy association "Pacem in Terris" and some other groups, have condemned the aforementioned charter and their signatories. Even the "Declaration of Slovak Bishops" text appeared in the press. The Catholic Newspaper Agency claims that the KATOLICKE NOVINY must have published that text, although the bishops neither wrote it nor signed it. The entire case leads to the reception that the Slovak minister for culture, Valek, prepared on 17 January 1977 for bishops Julius Gabris of Trnava and Jan Pasztor of Nitra. The bishops on this occasion, it is claimed, warned about some insufficiencies or irregularities in the work of the government commission for religious questions. Not one bishop paid attention on that occasion to Charter 77; only the clergy present from "Pacem in Terris" association spoke against it. Citing its own sources the Catholic Newspaper Agency claims that the Czechoslovak press fabricated the fact that on that occasion the bishops and some other representatives of the church informed Minister Valek "about the common stand taken" calling Charter 77 a slanderous pamphlet and an attack on the CSSR.

While the Catholic Newspaper Agency claims this, no declaration appeared publicly by which the Slovak bishops would deny what the press in their country had attributed to them.

As the Vienna church weekly of 13 March reports, a similar case happened in the district of Dolny Kubin: the local papers reported that local clergy of that district visited a local government representative and that on that occasion it condemned Charter 77. The dean of Dolny Kubin, member of "Pacem in Terris," protested against that article, for on occasion of that visit there was supposedly no talk on that subject. Then, the Vienna weekly

says, the dean was called by the local secretary for church affairs who demanded from him not to make any protests against the aforementioned article. When the dean held firm in his position, the above-mentioned secretary visited him in the company of people from the security police who asked that the dean stop his protests. The dean replied that the clergy and the believers demanded this from him and that if no correction is made, that he will have to publicly tell this to the believers in the church, during the Sunday sermon.

CSO: 2800

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POSTWAR STRUGGLE BETWEEN PEOPLE, DRTINA'S JUSTICE DESCRIBED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 5, Feb 77 p 63

[Article by Radoslav Svec: "Such Was Drtina's System of Justice"]

[Text] The controversy over "confiscates" i.e. about the confiscated properties of traitors and collaborators had been going on between the revolutionary forces and the domestic reaction already since the liberation in 1945. The constructive program of the government of Klement Gottwald and also the First General Trade Union Congress ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] called for attaching the confiscated properties to national enterprises, national committees or cooperatives. (The question was of basic importance because among the confiscated properties also were 3,939 industrial plants employing almost 13 percent of the work force.)

After the 1946 elections, the constructive program of the government of Klement Gottwald was approved and signed also by representatives of the non-communist parties of the National Front whose leadership at that time, however, was already completely dominated by the bourgeoisie. Soon after the signing these parties started a noisy campaign about the return of the confiscated properties into the hands of their former owners. But at the same time, for example, the central secretariat of the National Socialist Party asked the okres secretariats in a confidential circular to appraise the amount of profit of individual confiscated properties. They wanted to incorporate the unprofitable properties or the ones losing money into national enterprises and return the modern and profitable ones back to capitalists.

By the beginning of 1947, this campaign gained in intensity. The political game was joined by the Ministry of Justice led by a leading representative of the National Socialist Party, the notorious Prokop Drtina, and an extensive campaign was initiated with the objective of "cleansing" traitors and collaborators to enable them to regain their riches. The Drtina courts summarily passed judgments which voided national administrations and returned plants and businesses to their former owners.

The working class supported actively resolutions of the January session of the CPCZ Central Committee which, among other things, called for the

final resolution of the question of confiscated properties and the prevention of the creation of "residual factories." To achieve this goal, the important struggle tool--strikes and demonstrations--was used whose intent and significance, however, differed from those of pre-Munich years.

A classic example of the new concept of strikes as a means of struggle of the working class against the arbitrariness of the reaction and Drtina's system justice was the stand of the working people at Varnsdorf whose 30th anniversary we are marking these days. The textile workers from the Eichler enterprise (now the national enterprise Velveta) decided to take a stand against the former factory owner Emil Beer whom they knew as a merciless exploiter and Germanophile. At the time when the republic was endangered by Hitlerite fascism, Mr Beer sold the plant to the Nazi Eichler and left for Great Britain where, sheltered, he awaited the end of the war, did not join the resistance etc. Following the departure of the Soviet army in November 1945, he returned to Varnsdorf and began parading as a "victim" of fascist violence. As a "specialist," he even became manager.

He became very quickly acclimatized and began behaving as he was used to in the bourgeois republic. Before Christmas in 1945 he took possession, without the approval of the MNV [Local National Committee], of his former 14-room villa where factory workers had been assigned apartments. Mr Beer let them--obviously in the spirit of Masaryk's humanism--move into a stable. Only the strike, which was joined by all employees, forced him to return these apartments. At the same time the strikers refused to return to work as long as he remained manager.

But the former-new Mr manufacturer did not give up and kept insisting on the return of "his property." After stormy negotiations at the MNV and later at the ONV [Okres National Committee] at Varnsdorf, during 1946 his application was turned down even though the representatives of non-communist parties tried to support his demand by all means. In the new republic the demands of the workers could no longer be ignored when they asked for the incorporation of the plant into the national enterprise Tovarna na samety a plyse Varnsdorf [Plush and Velvet Enterprises Varnsdorf].

But under the pressure of reactionary forces, the ZNV [Provincial National Committee], to which the factory owner now appealed, rescinded the confiscation and nationalization decree of the ONV. On 4 March 1947, Drtina's justice brought Mr Beer into the factory through the Varnsdorf okres court and introduced him as the new owner.

The workers immediately went on strike with the slogans "The United Trade Union Movement Protects the Nationalization of Industry," "Down With the New Fifth Column" etc. Their just demand was joined by solidary workers from other Varnsdorf factories demanding compliance with the decisions of the factory councils of their plants about the incorporation of confiscated properties into national enterprises. They realized that what happened in the case of Emil Beer could happen also in other factories not only in

Varnsdorf but anywhere in the republic. On 5 March 1947, already 10,000 Varnsdorf workers were on strike. Their struggle found support from enterprises in Prague, Ostrava, Brno and elsewhere.

The general strike in Varnsdorf ended with a victory. However, the reaction did not capitulate. The okres court began to prosecute the organizers and participants of the strike, but without success. The aktiv which met in Prague after the action by the Varnsdorf workers supported the words of URO Chairman Comrade Antonin Zapotocky that, if need be, ROH would call a nationwide general strike.

The reactionary justice was opposed by the united working class which forced the bourgeoisie to retreat. At the session of the National Front on 14-18 March 1947 the CPCZ and ROH resolution prevailed which gave priority to the incorporation of confiscated properties into national enterprises. The bourgeoisie was defeated in this contest but the struggle against new provocations by the Drtina justice continued till the victorious February.

8664

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

CONTROVERSY EXPRESSED ON STIPULATIONS FOR DOCTORATE

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 53, 17 Mar 77 p 2

[Text] There have been protests against the plans of the GDR Academy of Sciences to reduce considerably the number of new scientists who can earn doctorates and against subjecting the certification for this degree to stricter criteria. Thus, according to Prof Helmut Haenel, director of the Potsdam Central Institute for Nutrition, the doctorate is evidence of scientific qualifications and differs from other certification of qualifications only with respect to the type of requirements. Therefore, no other conditions should be attached to acquiring the doctoral degree than for other qualifying certificates. Haenel stated that it is questionable to set up additional criteria--which are difficult to measure--in order to classify college graduates at such an early stage as suitable or unsuitable candidates for doctoral degrees, especially since most of those responsible for such decisions are lacking in the necessary knowledge of human nature. Similar to the situation of a physician, an academy scientist should hold the doctoral degree as a kind of occupational title, as a symbol of high scientific competence. However, this means that every young scientist should have the opportunity to acquire a doctorate.

Accordingly, the doctoral degree is not a symbol of membership in an especially gifted or successful group of people, but rather it is an entirely normal attribute of a successfully completed educational process, i.e., a kind of scientist's version of a "skilled worker's certificate of proficiency." This does not mean that everyone is indiscriminately capable of attaining the doctoral degree, but that everyone should have the opportunity to achieve it.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

LAW-MEDICINE INTERDISCIPLINARY COOPERATION DESCRIBED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 6, Mar 77 pp 175-176

[Report by Dr Ulrich Roehl, secretary general of the GDR Association of Jurists: "Conference on Law-Medicine Interdisciplinary Cooperation"]

[Text] The central executive board of VdJ (Association of Jurists) set up a law-medicine study committee on 21 January 1977. The conference was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry for Health, the Supreme Court, the Medical Academy, the Central Office for Medical Opinion and VdJ bezirk executive boards with legal and medical experience.

The participants were agreed that a central law-medicine study committee dealing with topical, theoretical and practical, issues in the field of "law and medicine" met a social need for interdisciplinary exchange of ideas and experiences.

Matters of legal work in health facilities, especially effective and interesting interpretations of socialist law for physicians and lawyers, are involved in this discussion of new legal issues resulting from advances in medicine and their practical application to public health, as they are in the discussion of basic legal issues of medical care. It also is important to become familiar with legal problems arising in the professional activities of the physicians, nurses and others working in public health and to lead in discussing the solution of problems that have legal aspects.

The study committee has set itself the task to provide information and recommendations to all legal and medical personnel in this special area of law propaganda, to help implement the high standards the Ninth SED Congress has set for law propaganda and legal education, and to pass on experiences about how the work with law, especially legal education, can become a component of management activity in the solution of medical and health-policy tasks.

The discussion brought out the idea that a certain degree of expertise in legal matters was part and parcel of the professional image of a physician,, a nurse, a pharmacist, especially of an executive type, and that socialist law in its totality, through its basic moral-ethical tenor, could help greatly

in developing and encouraging a sense of responsibility and duty and conscientiousness in every professional situation as well as security and order in health facilities. This law propaganda activity is to provide a clear understanding that this implementation of the socialist law also in the medical field aims at the fundamental social objectives as it aims at carrying out the medical profession with the greatest efficiency, protecting patients from harm through conduct that would violate the requirements of their occupations and protecting their rights, and providing security for health employees, whereby again socialist social relations are protected and developed. The sense of legal security stimulates the professionals in public health toward duty-bound and creative conduct, especially in so many risk situations.

This objective in legal education is so realistic because the object of socialist law totally coincides with the humanistic nature of medical work and the socialist substance of socialist health affairs and the bourgeois confrontation between law and medicine has been abolished.

The discussion pointed to sets of problems that could become objects of deliberation in the study committee, such as the issues of the basic relationship between medicine and law, between physician and patient, the origin and development of the medical obligation for caution, pharmaceutical law, the implementation of human rights in socialist public health and the confrontation with the health code of capitalism. Quite rightly in this the reference was made to the importance of this and other questions to the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism, and it was brought out that the social solutions of socialism in the field of public health, meant for the good of man, ought to be regarded as an important aspect of our ideological work.

The point was made that, especially in public health, stimulating legal propaganda work should have to take into account the complex nature of legal requirements and avoid confining itself to any particular branch of law, especially criminal law.

It was also explained that various state and social initiatives for legal educational work have been developed and practiced in health facilities for years. In some bezirks, law-medicine study committees had given valuable support to it. Many-sided cooperation among the organs of law and the leading public health institutions, the participation by lawyers in advanced training provided for physicians and other medical personnel, and the frank and helpful discussions among legal and medical personnel in the study committees had helped answer legal questions in medical practice, support heads of medical facilities, especially in the exercise of their responsibility in implementing socialist law in their fields, and create an atmosphere of confidence in their interdisciplinary cooperation. The central study committee thus also considers it as a task to draw general conclusions from these experiences and to urge lawyers and physicians to follow those good examples and use the opportunities for cooperation that exist in each territorial domain.

The matter of perfecting the socialist legal order in line with the degree of maturity of socialist society -- which the SED program is calling for -- also brings up many new questions of legislation for the field of public health that ought to become important for the central study committee to discuss. And also under international aspects, numerous new rulings offer interesting solutions. Clearly there lies a great importance in the remarkable social effects of those newly created legal norms by which progress in medicine is effectively used on behalf of man and harmoniously combined with the protection of patients from going wrong and with providing social security for patients in case of unforeseen damage, that is to say, with social solutions that are barred to capitalist states, as for instance the decree on organ transplants, of 4 July 1975 (GBL, Part I, p 597), the 12th implementation regulation for the pharmaceutical law -- testing of pharmaceuticals for use in human medicine -- of 17 May 1976 (GBL, Part I, p 248), or the order on extending material support for citizens for damages incurred in consequence of surgery, of 16 December 1974 (GBL, Part I, 1975, p 59).

The participants in the conference were agreed that, along with further forms of interdisciplinary cooperation, the law-medicine study committee of the VdJ's central executive board could assist in meeting in this special field the higher demands placed on law propaganda and legal educational work, supplying impulses and recommendations for this work, organizing, primarily in the bezirks, exchange of experiences with the various study committees, fostering dialog between jurists and medical people on theoretical and practical problems, and providing information on the perspectives of medicine, health policy and legislation. Coordination with other state and social institutions also is in the offing.

Thus setting up the law-medicine study committee of the central executive board of VdJ is motivated by the social concern to support the important task of helping public health by the jurists' work in law propaganda, which the Ninth SED Congress has urged.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR HEALTH MINISTER OUTLINES CAMPAIGN AGAINST CANCER

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 17 Mar 77 DW

[Interview with GDR Health Minister Prof Ludwig Mecklinger by reporter Heinz Weber in Karl-Marx-Stadt on the occasion of the 4th Congress of the Society for Tumorous Diseases--Recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, about 1,000 scientists, specialists, and health officials are discussing in Karl-Marx-Stadt during the 4th GDR Congress in treatment of tumorous diseases actual problems of treating tumors. Mr Minister, how do you assess this task in connection with the general tasks of the republic's health service?

[Answer] Our intensified efforts in the fight against cancer, preventive measures, early recognition, qualified treatment--this great, great medical help for tens of thousands of citizens a year--is a most significant public health issue, which was strongly stressed by the 9th Party Congress. The fulfillment of this requirement is linked with great tasks for carcinoma research and for the consequential medical care, but also for the social care for citizens suffering from cancer and under cancer treatment. This, basically, is the decisive framework in which the topics of this significant health-science congress must be seen.

[Question] What, Mr Minister, is envisaged for the next few years to counteract this dangerous disease more effectively?

[Answer] What matters primarily is that we must become more efficient in preventing cancer. This means that wherever the scientific findings clearly tell us about the carcinogenic effect of substances--let me only recall the connection between cigarette smoking and the frequency of lung cancer and cancer of the bronchi--we will even more strongly enable the individual citizen, above all through enlightenment work, to manifest more and more clearly his share in the responsibility for health and performance capability.

Our efforts toward essentially broadening the early determination of cancer will be another main trend during the next few years. Here in the GDB we already have attained results in this respect which have met with considerable attention abroad, especially as regards the relatively early recognition of cancer in women. To the extent that science provides the required results suited for practical application, we will apply corresponding methods in this early diagnosis. I may state with great satisfaction, by the way, that the deepening of the scientific bases of the early diagnosis of cancer commands a very important place in carcinoma research of the GDR. But I would like to point out, too, that in the struggle against cancer during the next few years an even stronger concentration of our forces and funds in the specialized treatment of cancer patients will plan an even greater role than heretofore. This is very important since a successful cancer therapy requires very trustful, constructive, interdisciplinary work, meaning the concerted action of several specialized medical fields. Last but not least, the treatment of patients suffering from cancer will be much more marked by a more purposeful postsurgical treatment in the next few years. This will also be true for the questions concerning their re-integration in the society.

This means that I can say this for our republic: We do not consider the struggle against cancer exclusively a task of medicine but a task of the state, of our society as well; it is our common concern in public-health policy in which we are joined by all the forces at our disposal. I must also point out, however, that in so doing we may rely, above all, on the great, exemplary experiences of our Soviet friends in research and cancer prevention and counteraction. We are allied with our Soviet friends in a very close and very effective socialist cooperation in cancer research as well as in this exchange of experience. This is also true for other socialist fraternal countries.

CSO: 2300

POLAND

STUDENTS SURVEYED ON INDIFFERENCE TO SZSP ACTIVITIES

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 7 Mar 77 p 4

[Article by Leszek Gontarski: "Why on the Sidelines?"]

[Text] The third-year students at the Krakow Polytechnic were asked to write an "organizational biography." One-half of the respondents admitted active participation in youth organizations in secondary school. The same students belonged to the SZSP but they were passive members. What caused it? Why was there enough time and inclination in secondary school to be active and not in college?

The question asked at the Krakow Polytechnic is certainly repeated at other colleges. To search for answers is one of the tasks of the student organization before its second congress. We also tried to find the causes of this phenomenon. In addition to the Krakow Polytechnic, we conducted polls on this subject in two other schools: the University of Wroclaw and the Central School of Agriculture Agricultural Academy. The most commonly cited reasons why a former troop leader, patrol leader or chairman of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] circle in a general or technical secondary school has not actively joined in the SZSP work are listed below.

Studies are most important and the first year is the most difficult. The fear of expulsion, of failing examinations, is so great that the students assume in advance that the first year must be written off as lost. There are no other activities but those planned by the program. This is the argument often advanced by students coming from small towns. College grades are of immense value for them and they decide to concentrate on their scholastic record.

Studies provide so many opportunities that only the most interesting are chosen. After 4 or 5 years spent in secondary school, with its relatively hard discipline, college studies seem to be a "paradise." Suddenly, there is plenty of time, nobody is after you, examinations are in the distant future. Everything attracts and tempts: movies, theater, discotheques and

private parties. A young man plunges into these pleasures, often forgetting his basic duties and thus the work in the youth organization which forces systematic behavior.

I go my way and choose what interests me most. This is said by those who already went their own way in secondary school. There are in this group many able men, valedictorians who have their well defined interests and try to fulfill them. Since there is little time, one has to give up something. Despite the fact that the youth organization is close to their hearts, regretfully they part. Not forever--they remain members, but they stand on the sidelines and remember the organization when it is necessary to support the organization of a science camp or to speak up for a student who wants to study according to his individual program.

The organization does not care about me, why should I push myself? This is said primarily by those among the respondents whose first encounter with the student organization was not successful. For instance, the chairman of the department council was supposed to visit students on their factory training assignment. Everybody waited but he did not come. During that training there were conflicts between the employers and the employees. The SZSP protection was needed but nobody paid attention. During the meeting with the first-year students, the department council representative could not say anything definitive about what the organization does, how it does it or what it stands for. Joining the organization was based on the principle: pay your first dues and pick up your membership card later.

I was supposed to get a place in the student house but I did not. I went to the council and they told me to go see the dean. Disenchantment with the first contact, when the newcomer needed help, often leads to generalizations which lead to a withdrawal to the position of an observer and a passive member. We have collected only few such opinions but, together with the previous argument, their presence is significant.

These reasons can be easily sorted into external and internal. The former are caused by various attitudes of students who explain their indifferent performance simply by the changes which have occurred in their life and the different demands and opportunities provided by the college student status. The latter are the responsibility of the organization, which does not know how to introduce itself to the freshmen in a convincing and attractive manner.

Should this excuse--for that is what it must be called--purporting to justify the first-year students be accepted as satisfactory? Is it possible that an activist who for 3 or 4 years worked in the scouting movement or in a circle of the ZSMP has suddenly dropped out? the argument of fighting for grades is so serious that it is difficult to question its principle. Obviously, the studies are the most important matter for a young man. But is it not a pass-key argument which cannot be questioned and which can explain anything? In a few Warsaw schools I had talks with members of troop councils and student government. I asked why, for what reasons they did social work.

The majority were able to answer my question but I had a few surprising answers. This is what one student of a mechanical Technical Secondary School said: "In the first and second grade I belonged to the scouting movement but I did not shine in anything. In the third grade I understood that it pays to be seen here and there, then nobody is after you. The director looks at you benevolently, the classroom teacher does not investigate why you are late and you can skip shop. Briefly, it pays." To corroborate, here is the statement of a girl student at a small general secondary school: "Everybody knows that the school gives references. The classroom teacher and the director of studies see who belongs to organizations and the student government. And they give better references to those who belong, regardless of whether they excel in anything."

A student of a technical secondary school said frankly why in some schools it pays to belong to organizations and the student government. It pays dividends in more lenient treatment and at the time of issuing references. Thus, one belongs to a scout troop not for a reason but for the payoff. In college, when this distinction disappears, the motivation which propelled some to action also disappears. Of course, nobody will admit such duplicity but, after all, it is not the duplicity that matters. Also, nobody will say that he was a scout because it was embarrassing not to be one since practically the whole class belonged to the troop. These are the proverbial 'dead souls' which will be noticed sooner or later.

Their presence in school organizations does not bring credit to the work of troop councils and student representative bodies. Whatever we say, they are responsible for their members, their attitudes and their involvement. The appearance of activity and the pretending are the signals that something wrong is going on in the school. A few days ago, a letter was sent to the editors in which the senders, a student government, submitted an activities plan for this school year. It is so grand that it is hard to believe that it will be implemented. And there are many such plans prepared each year just to please the director. Nobody cares about their implementation. Nobody is called to account. Do we not teach this way how to pretend? Will it not have impact later on the attitude to the organization and social activities?

Another matter is the presentation of the organization to the potential members. It is necessary to answer now the question of what pays better: to wait until the candidate comes and says that he wants to join SZSP or to meet the expectations and introduce the school or department organization? Obviously, the active approach will pay better and those who talk about the activities of their organization will achieve more. But it must be a presentation at the highest level. No phoniness and no unfulfilled promises. Nothing discourages the potential candidates more than shoddy work by future partners and fellow members.

We have attempted here to present only some of the causes of poor performance of students who were considered energetic and enterprising in secondary schools. The conclusions from this discussion should be drawn primarily by the interested parties, i.e., the two organizations getting ready for their congresses. It is well worth discussing in the troops and in the groups, before the congresses the errors and the oversights which cause some young people to stand on the sidelines.

POLAND

POLAND PUBLISHES BREZHNEV'S WORK ON FOREIGN POLICY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 Dec 76 p 10

[Article by Henryk Zdanowski: "The Future Lies in This Kind of Policy"]

[Text] What is involved here, of course, is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It was with these words that Leonid Brezhnev concluded the international portion of his report at the 25th CPSU Congress. This is also the concluding statement in a collection of speeches and articles by Leonid Brezhnev from 1974-1976 entitled "The Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State," which was recently published in Poland.

When Gierek addressed the Sejm session honoring the 30th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, he said to the CPSU General Secretary, the honorary guest of this ceremonial occasion: "We warmly support and fully subscribe to Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's philosophy of historical optimism, his efforts on behalf of peace and his input into this major matter."

The term "philosophy of historical optimism" is a one with which Brezhnev characterized the philosophy of the foreign policy of the USSR and at the same time justified its premises. In his address, delivered at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, he stated: Our philosophy is a philosophy of historical optimism. Despite the complexities and differences existing at the present time, we believe in the success of the currently planned broad-scale peace offensive. What is this optimism based on? In the main, on the steady, powerful and dynamic peace factor of real socialism whose peaceful policy results from its very essence. Our optimism is based on the unity of views and actions of the majority of socialist states. Our optimism is based on the deep interest in a just and democratic peace in the numerous states and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, including the uncommitted countries. Our optimism is based on the already attained successes of the policy of peaceful coexistence, on the fact that there is a growing understanding among the ruling circles of many capitalist countries of the actual balance of power in the world and the uselessness of wars as a method for resolving international problems.

Our conviction as to the invincibility of the matter of peace is based on a deep faith in the great optimism and power of the love of peace by working man--the worker, the peasant and the intellectual. They constitute an enormous and overwhelming majority of the earth's inhabitants.

Finally, our optimism about peace is lined with the activity of all social movements speaking for peace, which are so widely represented here at this international forum, and with the further development of common action by Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and Christians.

It was in 1973, that is, the period during which people began to speak of the cold war in the past tense, in which the process of the easing of tension was unfolding at a faster tempo and it was already known that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was "destined to succeed." Therefore, is this "ex post" optimism? Not at all. In 1964, for example, when 58-year old Leonid Brezhnev (born 19 December 1906) in his role as First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee (he was to become the Secretary-General two years later) delivered his first speech on the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution, he said: "We are firmly convinced that world war can be prevented by the active effort of socialist states, the international working class, the nations freed of colonial oppression, and all peace loving groups. Peace on earth can be assured."

That was 12 years ago when there still was not even a planned agreement against nuclear weapons proliferation, the German problem exacerbated relations in Europe, American intervention in Vietnam was growing, and colonial powers were spilling blood to suppress national independence efforts.

However, Leonid Brezhnev believes deeply in the causative potentialities of Soviet power and Soviet policy supported by the power and policy of the socialist community. Thus, his speeches over the past 12 years indicate that the problems of this community are a fundamental, leading problem for him. He sees the source of positive changes in the world in the unity of socialist state action, and in the favorable conditions of this unity. In the already mentioned address in 1964, Brezhnev stated that there is every objective possibility to indicate that the socialist community would become stronger and stronger. Our countries are linked by common basic interests, we have a similar economic base--the social ownership of the means of production. We have a similar social system--the authority of the people with the working class at the head. We have one ideology--Marxism-Leninism. We have common interests in assuring security in the defense of peace and the security of nations, in the defense of revolutionary achievements against attempts from the imperialist side. We have one great goal: communism.

The attention with which each socialist state relates itself to the experience of building a new society in other countries is understandable. At the same time, we consider that it would be improper to impose the experience of any one party and state on other parties and states. The choice of these or other forms and means of building socialism is the sovereign right of each state.

This problem was developed at the 24th CPSU Congress in 1971. At that time Brezhnev said: "Success in the building of socialism is dependent in many respects on properly combining common and specifically national elements in social development. We now know, not only theoretically but through conviction and practice that the main qualities of the road to socialism are defined by general rules characteristic for the development of all socialist countries. We also know that general rules are manifested in various forms suited to actual historical conditions and national peculiarities. Socialism cannot be built unless it is based on general rules, and the existing historical peculiarities of each country are taken into account. Unless both of these factors are considered, it likewise is not possible to develop relations between socialist states properly.

Let us return again to his first declaration on this matter, the one made in 1974. At that time, Brezhnev said explicitly: "We proceed on the assumption that the specifics related to building socialism should not in any way interfere in the development of friendly relations between fraternal socialist countries. The propriety of this or another point of view in building socialism should, it seems to us, be verified in practice in the form of the effectiveness of results obtained in the building of a new society." Further: "The impact which the socialist world makes on the entire course of the history of mankind is stronger and stronger and is felt more and more day by day."

Leonid Brezhnev repeated these words almost verbatim in his report at the 25th CPSU Congress in 1976: "No objective person can negate the fact that the influence of the socialist countries on world affairs is becoming stronger and ever more intense."

To the extent, however, that in 1964 this philosophy of historical optimism was only partially justified empirically (the growing power of the USSR and the socialist community, the rising wave of national liberation movements, the increasing interest in peace and security by various countries) and was based primarily on the knowledge of scientific laws of social development, in 1976, Soviet policy can note concrete successes in the "peace program" formulated by L. Brezhnev at the 24th Congress.

In brief: The Americans had to get out of Vietnam, the German problem was removed from the European agenda, 35 countries as well as the United States and Canada recognized the post-war political geography of Europe and established the principles of peaceful cooperation, American-Soviet relations having a bearing on the international atmosphere improved, certain method and system safeguards against the outbreak of nuclear war were created, a series of disarmament negotiations was commenced, the process of decolonization proceeded far along swiftly, fascist governments in Greece and Portugal were overthrown, and a democratization process began in Spain.

Here we come to the next element of Leonid Brezhnev's philosophy of historical optimism. He always held that Soviet foreign policy is a deep class policy. This means that its principles and successes promote progressive, national

liberation and revolutionary processes in the present day world: the fact of the matter is that in the situation of peaceful coexistence of the East and West, it becomes more difficult for the native bourgeoisie to deal with its own masses of people, and for colonial powers to deal with liberation movements. At the same time, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized: "We are not pacifists. We definitely are not for peace at any price and certainly not for all freezing of socio-political processes occurring in various countries." (The foregoing was stated at a meeting in Havana in January 1974). He stated this thought with greater precision in his report at the 23rd CPSU Congress in 1966: "It is understood that there can be no talk of peaceful coexistence when the matter pertains to the processes of class and independence struggles in capitalist or colonial countries. The principle of peaceful coexistence cannot be realized under conditions of oppressor and oppressed or between colonizers and victims of colonial oppression."

Nonetheless, peaceful coexistence remains the leading canon of Soviet policy vis-a-vis East-West, because, as Brezhnev stated at the 25th CPSU Congress: "We regard detente as the means for creating more favorable conditions for socialist and communist development."

Actually, because of this, peaceful coexistence favors socialist development, the process of decolonization and the struggle for social progress; Leonid Brezhnev has to be a realist in his optimism. He knows that there are forces in operation in the West which for these reasons would like to oppose detente.

Forces which are overly interested in increasing tension and expanding the armaments race. In a speech given at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in October 1976, (this text is not contained in the collection cited above) Brezhnev said: "Aggressive circles in the capitalist world react with feverish military preparations to their set-backs in social struggles, to the abandonment of capitalism in ever new countries, to the successes of world socialism and increased Communist Party influence in bourgeois states."

In other words, as Brezhnev said on another occasion, to make certain that detente becomes irreversible, a great deal of effort and persistence are still required.

The next element of Leonid Brezhnev's philosophy of historical optimism can be seen in the concept of conducting this struggle: Do not stop at that which has been attained but, step by step, bit by bit, construct new political and material conditions which will be a preventive against war, make for detente, security and cooperation. Brezhnev formulated these concepts in Uzbekistan in 1973 when he engaged in polemics with the views of people who asserted that the agreements and treaties reached by the USSR are only halfway measures because they do not resolve existing problems once and for all time. At that time he said: "One can only wonder at the naivete of this type of approach. It is clear that it would be good to be able to attain universal and complete disarmament, including in that the resolution of the nuclear arms problem as well as the matter of military blocs. The USSR has been struggling for these goals long and consistently. Unfortunately, as hitherto, our Western partners are not ready for this kind of solution. Should one wait without doing anything in such a case until manna

falls from heaven? No, the principle 'all or nothing' does not in any case lend itself to application in international policy. It is necessary in this area to move forward, taking advantage of each existing possibility."

One who does nothing, who foregoes the possibility of accomplishing even a small but real step forward does harm to the cause of peace. Our party and our country observe the Leninist principle: As few generalized declarations, ceremonial promises, inflated formulas as possible, and as many simple, clear resolutions and actions as possible which actually lead to peace. This is a method which brings real results. Thanks to it, the Secretary General of the CPSU could announce at the 25th Congress: "We are living in the fourth decade of peaceful conditions. Socialism's positions have become stronger. Detente has become the dominant tendency. This is the chief result of the party's policy. The Soviet people can be proud of such a result."

10,433

CSO: 2600

MEDICAL SUPPORT FOR MOUNTAIN COMBAT WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS NOTED

Warsaw LEKARZ WOJSKOWY in Polish Dec 76 pp 699-702

[Article by Major (MD) Henryk Kowalewski: "Problems of Medical Support for Combat Operations in Mountains Involving Mass Attack Weapons"]

[Text] Because of their difficult access, especially overland, and because they possess numerous natural covers, mountainous terrains offer good concealment against aerial and ground observation. It is mostly for these reasons that equipment and objects of great strategic significance are located in mountainous terrains.

In the event of armed conflict, the enemy's primary objective will be to capture such equipment and objects. Thus it appears likely that nuclear weapons will be used for their destruction. On the other hand, the utilization of nuclear weapons against an army operating in open terrain appears to be unlikely because the army will be dispersed, which will also be true of mountainous conditions. Nevertheless, we must assume that nuclear weapons will be used, especially when dealing with larger forces, and thus with a squad and up.

Providing medical support for casualties occurring under these conditions is a very serious problem for the army's medical service. For a more thorough understanding, it is absolutely essential to know the specifics of the operations of these weapons in mountains.

The radius of destruction of a nuclear explosion shock wave on the slopes of a mountain in line with the explosion depends on the slope's angle of inclination, the distance from point zero, and the location of the explosion relative to the base of the slope, but it is normally greater than the radius for flat terrain (up to 1.8 times). And it can be 2.9 times greater along the length of ravines. The radius of action for visible radiation under conditions of thick cloud layers is 1.2 times greater. In addition, after aerial or ground explosions near mountainsides, ravines and passes, the radius of action of visible radiation increases 1.1 times in the case of no snow cover and 1.2 times in the case of snow cover because of reflections from slope surfaces. Radiation activity on reverse slopes is weaker and poses no threat to troops and equipment.

After aerial and ground explosions are executed on mountainsides and ravines, dangerous doses of penetrating radiation occur at distances that are 1.5 to 3.2 times greater than for flat terrain for points located above the explosion center and 0.8 to 0.9 times as great for points located below the explosion center. Radioactive contamination in the immediate area of an explosion can be somewhat greater than that for flat terrain since radioactivity induced by rocky ground is greater than for ordinary ground. The distribution of contamination in the mountains normally will be very uneven and can differ markedly from predicted amounts. Flowing water will wash away radioactive substances and store them in ground hollows causing very strong local contamination. Radioactive clouds that arise after a ground burst can cause contamination of roads (in the direction of activity) for distances up to several dozen kilometers. In case the roads are blocked because of inflicted damages or in case it is impossible to maneuver out of the contamination zone, the irradiation doses and human casualties can be very high, even approaching 100 percent.

Serious losses can occur if nuclear mines are detonated prematurely or hastily in the direction of military actions. The strengths of the radiation doses in the areas of nuclear mine explosions can amount to a thousand to hundreds of thousands and even a million roentgens per hour. Contamination zones composed of layers of radiation clouds from several dozen adjoining explosions that create radioactive barriers several dozen kilometers and longer in depth can inflict serious damage to army personnel.

Mountain terrain operating conditions also favor the use by an enemy of chemical warfare to inflict direct damage on army personnel operating in a specified direction and to contaminate armament, equipment and terrain. Characteristics of the mountain microclimate as well as the shape of the terrain favor the formation of long-lasting, stagnant clouds of poisoned air in the valleys and forests. Terrain elevations and forests effect the extent to which these poisoned air clouds form. For example, every kilometer of forest (windward) decreases the extent of the poisoned air cloud by 2.5 kilometers. Also, for every 100 meters of elevation above the level at which the poisonous agents were used, the extent of the cloud decreases 1.5 kilometers. In case of inversion, which frequently occurs in mountains when the wind is weak and variable in direction, the direction of the poisoned air cloud changes according to the unevenness of the terrain and can penetrate along the lengths of valleys and ravines for distances up to 50 kilometers. This can cause a situation in which an army operating along roads that course along valley floors will have to wear gas masks for 5-7 hours. The large number of coniferous forests on mountainsides, the existence of air currents along mountain slopes, and the inaccessibility of the terrain favor the spread of fire caused by the enemy's use of nuclear weapons or incendiary agents.

Since battles in the mountains with larger forces most often will be conducted along roads, ravines or valleys, the use of nuclear weapons will not only cause deaths but, in most cases, make it impossible to reach the wounded immediately because of changes that will occur in the shape of

the terrain. That is why we will examine medical support primarily as a component of an organized, integrated defense against mass attack weapons in which all echelons and types of army personnel will participate. It will encompass:

Organizations to detect contamination;

Engineering preparation of areas in which military activity will occur and the securing of roads for maneuvering and evacuation;

The organization of military actions in contamination zones;

Eliminating the effects of mass attack weapons used by the enemy.

Conditions limiting visual observations (transverses, hidden terrain, fog and low cloud ceilings) make it necessary to organize more extensive networks than would exist for flat terrain to detect nuclear explosions and contamination. Sentries should be placed not only in depth but also at different elevations. They should be organized from the company echelon on up. It is especially important to inform the army when contamination is detected in the path of action. This can be accomplished with the aid of communication equipment and warning signals that are illuminated and easily perceptible day or night, executed by soldiers in helicopters. It is also necessary to conduct a constant search for the presence of poisonous agents in the air with the use of automatic and semiautomatic detection equipment.

Taking into account the characteristics of mountain terrain, one should make use of the natural masking and protection features of the terrain as skillfully as possible while implementing engineering support tasks. To avert the accumulation of radioactive substances in trenches, connecting channels and other areas, particular attention must be paid to draining surface water from them and to building waterproof roofs and coverings. Should it become necessary to evacuate army personnel from contaminated zones or areas threatened by radioactive fallout, subunits equipped with vehicles should be evacuated first and tanks last, since tank armor provides the greatest protection against radiation.

During long-term military actions in extended zones of radioactive contamination, a serious problem for the army is the necessity of using contamination protection devices for long periods of time. That is why it is necessary to organize to the greatest extent possible periodic rests that include the removal of masks for 1/2 to 1 hour after each 4 hours of action if the maximum dosage in the area does not exceed 0.5-5 roentgens per hour. Removal of masks should not be permitted in case of chemical warfare contaminants. For personnel who are subject to fallout during dry weather and are not sheltered, medical treatment should be conducted when the dosage in the area exceeds 1 roentgen per hour. Partial sanitary measures can be initiated immediately after a radioactive fallout but no later than 1 hour after contamination has begun; then again, in zone "A"

treatment must commence 10-20 minutes after contamination and again after exiting from the contaminated zone. Entering into "B" and "C" zones serves no purpose because of the high concentration of radioactive activity and the probability of irrevocable losses approaching approximately 100 percent. Complete sanitary measures are taken not later than 3-5 hours after contamination, with the use of special installations. If complete sanitary measures cannot be taken within 10-12 hours after contamination, partial sanitary measures and a change of uniforms is necessary because even the implementation of complete sanitary measures during this time will not prevent contamination by radioactive substances. Special and sanitary measures are implemented by the army while traversing mountain ranges with the aid of individual disinfection kits.

In the case of a shock wave induced by a nuclear explosion, not only will there be human casualties and loss of equipment, but in addition the roads leading to the explosion area will be blocked, making it impossible to reach the wounded and disabled and thus to give them aid. The so-called "forced break-up of our army" will occur. Up to the time it becomes possible for the army to evacuate and continue action with the use of forces and resources of the mopping-up groups (supernumerary groups organized in the event of mass casualties, especially if nuclear weapons are used, and composed primarily of engineering and chemical warfare forces), the medical service must organize the distribution of aid to the wounded and disabled in front of and behind the obstruction. In front of the obstruction, conditions exist wherein it is possible to bring in medical support units as optimally close as possible and to conduct an evacuation to the rear in the usual manner. Behind the obstruction the situation will be completely different. Medical support units (sanitation squads and company stretcher bearers) will be directed to the area of mass casualties. After being given first aid, the wounded and disabled will be moved by medical transport and above all all-military transport (inasmuch as the tactical situation will permit it), and they will continue to receive treatment until it becomes impossible to evacuate them to the rear or to neighboring areas. If this variant cannot be used, the wounded and disabled shall be gathered in one place, making use of the terrain's natural covers for this purpose, and left in the care of a medic until it becomes possible to evacuate. Of course, the second variation should be used only as a last resort since there exists a grave danger of delaying the arrival of first aid, and in addition the wounded and disabled could be captured by active diversionary groups.

During mountain actions involving large forces, the medical service of the battalion infantry (medical squads) should be supplemented with a doctor who in specific instances would be able to supply initial medical aid during critical phases to the wounded and disabled located behind the obstruction. The possession of air transportation (helicopters) would make evacuation much easier and enable the transfer of designated forces and facilities behind the obstruction to administer initial medical aid.

It should be emphasized most emphatically that effectively eliminating the effects of mass attack weapons, and the giving of specific types of medical aid, and the evacuation of the wounded and disabled can be successful only through engaging all echelons and types of forces.

From the above it can be deduced that medical support for combat involving mass attack weapons is an unusually difficult and complex problem requiring further work in order to achieve the optimum model.

11899

CSO: 2600

POLAND

STUDENT THEATER, OTHER GROUPS RECEIVE AWARDS

Prizes Awarded

Krakow STUDENT in Polish 9 Dec-22 Dec 76 p 6

[Article: "Awards Given by the Editorial Staff of STUDENT and the Main Administration of the Socialist Union of Polish Students for the Year 1976"]

[Text] A jury consisting of Adam Czemarnik, Adam Kaczmarek (chairman), Krzysztof W. Kasprzyk (secretary), Hubert Kozlowski, Wacław Krupinski, Witold Nawrocki, Tadeusz Nyczek, Jan Poprawa, Włodzimierz Rydzewski, Janusz Zareba and Wacław Zurek gave the following STUDENT and ZG SZSP [Main Administration of the Socialist Union of Polish Students] awards for 1976:

In the sphere of scientific activity:

To the "Baltic" Scientific Circles Group of the ZG SZSP Committee To Control and Protect the Natural Environment for the practical implementation of complex notions regarding interdisciplinary research of the student scientific movement, especially for making real cooperation with the economy and scientific circles possible.

In the sphere of socio-organizational activity:

To Wojciech Siwek of Wrocław for his untiring and persistent efforts in organizing all the "Jazz on the Oder" festivals, and for his activities in the festival of high quality artistic events;

And to the Riviera-Remont Student Club Center in Warsaw for its overall activities, especially with regard to sociopolitical programs and the "Kwant" film discussion club, as well as for its ambitious search for new creative formulas for the student club.

In the sphere of cultural activity:

To the "Pleonazmus" Theater in Krakow for its consistent theatrical production efforts depicting basic social problems of life; for its innovative artistic forms that are without precedent, and not only in the art of student theater;

And to the "Academy of Movement: Theater in Warsaw for its theatrical creativity combining the best traditions of student theater action and pantomime, as well as for its productive quests regarding contacts between the theater and the public.

Also, the jury conferred its annual honorary award to Jan Sawiec for his excellent graphics, paintings and drawings, and for his active participation in stimulating the artistic life of the younger generation over the past several years.

Student Avant-Garde Theater

Krakow STUDENT in Polish 9 Dec-22 Dec 76 p 9

[Article by Zygmunt Korus: "Award Given in the Sphere of Cultural Activity to the 'Academy of Movement' Avant-Garde Theater by the Editorial Staff of STUDENT and the ZG SZSP for the Year 1976"]

[Text] The Academy of Movement, which came into existence at the Dziekanka Student Center for Artistic Circles in Warsaw, is already known to some extent by the academic community. It performed with good results during the Fifth International Student Theater Festival in Wroclaw, the Twelfth Theater Encounter in Lodz, the Fifth Student Festival of Artistic Schools in Cieszyn, at this year's "FAMA," and lately (18-21 November 1976) at the Young Theater Collation in Lublin (as a prize winner "for overall artistic activity during the festival, and creative espousal of important problems of our reality").

In meeting with the Academy of Movement, above all one is struck by the extensive talent of this group, the diversity of acting forms in the performances, and the avant-garde theatrical examination of problems of our world. Thus, they are accomplished spectacles, related to some extent to the traditional scenic view and contemplation ("Autobus"). They are open-air presentations, transported to today's conditions of busy streets in the form of the Italian dell'arte ("Lessons"). In addition, this group initiates numerous varied events and actions in the city organism for the public at large, taking on the characteristics of a happening, consisting for the most part of a course consistent with an earlier, broadly outlined scenario and established repertoire of created situations ("Colombo," "The Tower-Poster Proof," "Poetic Concert," and others). It also offers to the willing its customary workshops, rehearsals of an improvised play and scenic studies, rendering this in the city in full view of pedestrians.

The programmatic multiplicity of the academy's skills and its methods of creative communication with the audience are without doubt of purely artistic origin. Of significance here is the training of the group's leader, Wojciech Krukowski, an art historian of enviable knowledge (I was present when he expertly guided members of his theater group through the Leningrad Hermitage Museum on this year's Friendship Train Sojourn). In each and every presentation of the Academy of Movement, the spectator easily perceives plots and motives depicted in art, transformed pictures and concrete paintinglike and sculpturelike representations, revaluations into a modern scenic language and extrascenic stylistically formal and thematic resources. A new iconology is created from this, in which associations together with the set of inherent forms and content found in our culture become equally important for the dramatic form of the academy's given proposition and its true perception.

And thus in the static-in-appearance "Autobus," where a pantomimicly immobilized group of 10 actors contrast their inertia with the world of sounds (offered as if it was a report), and with the tempo of city life, only one of the girls, her appearance reminding us of the familiar character in Munch's "The Scream," changes, in comparison with the other members of the group, the expression on her face is somewhat faster, nonetheless slow enough and barely perceptible so that the spectacle lasts about 20 minutes. The imprisoned passengers of a vehicle standing in front of us have time to reach the zenith of expression and the startling, in this metaphor, horizons of existence. This is a spectacle so beautiful and so frugal in the use of artistic means of expression that it is terrific. Likewise with respect to opinions on the theme of the human condition as well as the scenic form in which the lack of motion and musically sounding orchestration already is expanding the limits of theater, not even the most searching stage director could surpass it by even a single step.

In street performances, the creation of so-called living pictures is perceived less often. Nonetheless, the essence of this kind of creative activity by the Academy of Movement is also of artistic derivation; it is descended directly from the modern art movement, the happening, the art of action, from provocation of a sociological nature, from all those propositions of a neodadaistic and iconoclastic character in the newest arts, proto- and postconceptual, wherein painters and sculptors with full responsibility pondered the question: "Works of art or action?". The Academy of Movement combined with good effects both of these avant-garde theatrical activities from the field of interhuman artistic mediation into its own acting-directing repertoire of scenic effects tricks. Beyond doubt this is necessary in order to effectively, and at the same time attractively, impart at this time weighty and often political messages. But they themselves speak on the subject best: "In our day-to-day activities we do not express our thoughts with a single spectacle or undertaking. The characteristic of our work today is--or rather is becoming--presence, improvised, artistic reactions to the situation at hand.

"We do not apply the academy's theme merely to activity related to department. Our actual relationship to our own experiences is schooling for presence."

YUGOSLAVIA

SUVAR DISCOURSE ON COMPLAINTS BY INTELLECTUALS

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 77 p 16

[Speech by Stipe Suvar 3 February at round-table discussion under auspices of KOMUNIST editorial board for Croatia concerning the topic "Ideological Struggle--Social Criticism--Everyday Polemics"]

[Text] If we are concerned about the main question in ideological struggle here, then it is unquestionably "where is this society going?" This society has opted for the further buildup of socialist self-management and for what we call "associated labor." This path is threatened by two orientations in the sphere of consciousness: one looks to the earlier tradition of bourgeois society, the other to state socialism. In the final analysis, this is a struggle over the evolution of our society--whether it will go forward along the path of socialist self-management, or whether the processes of restoration will gain greater or lesser strength.

I do not want to address myself to the ideological struggle in this context, in its full breadth. Instead, I would confine myself to one dimension of that struggle that is connected with the status of culture in what continues to be its main vehicle in the social division of labor, the intelligentsia, however the latter may be defined sociologically. In this narrower realm, an ideological struggle is being waged over a specific concern--very powerfully expressed--for the fate of culture and the intelligentsia under socialism. This concern derives from a failure to comprehend what Lenin had already defined as the cultural revolution under socialism. In a profounder sense, socialism is really a cultural revolution, a cultural movement.

Concern for the fate of culture and the intelligentsia is common in particular among those who consider themselves creators of culture. The fate of culture and the intelligentsia under socialism ought not now to be said to have been in some way inherited. The intelligentsia served the bourgeois class even when revolting against the latter. These revolts were often restricted by reservations, impotent revolts with words, rather like "conversations in an insane asylum" which cannot endanger an existing bourgeois society.

When socialism triumphed with a political revolution or any sort of political coup, the intelligentsia--both here and in the other socialist countries--shifted to the service of statist socialism. It just changed its master or patron.

Today, the program for the structuring of associated labor is opening the way for a profounder transformation in culture, and within that framework for the abolishment of the intelligentsia itself, which is a long-range goal, an aim that we cannot achieve so easily--we can only do so by abolishing the social division of labor with the arrival of communism. In this sense, I think that what we call the intelligentsia, which is the vehicle of culture, has largely failed so far to comprehend its fate and position. The urban intelligentsia--which it is in terms of its profile and orientation, not so much by its social origin--is still dominant, and its main motivations are worries: the intelligentsia preserves and develops freedom of spirit and creativeness, and likewise it preserves and develops the folk. Accordingly, the intelligentsia in Croatia, in Serbia, in Slovenia, in Macedonia starts firing in all directions at socialism whenever it so requires and whenever it feels intensified panic. It then builds the specific points of the indictment on that foundation.

One of the most significant points of the indictment that one segment of the intelligentsia is pronouncing these days is that the Yugoslav Communist Party was and remained Stalinist and did not settle accounts with its own Stalinism. In our party, to be sure, there are still remnants of Stalinism both in practical political behavior and in consciousness. However, the fateful conflict and break with Stalinism in fact dated from the time when the armed phase of the socialist revolution was being prepared and carried out. Our revolution was and has remained profoundly anti-Stalinist.

The most significant focus of the accusation of Stalinism and Stalinist politics is to be found in interpretations of conflicts among the "literary left" during the preparations for the revolution on the eve of World War II and subsequently. The book in which the Yugoslav Communist Party is accused of Stalinism on the "literary left" has perhaps acquired the greatest popularity in certain intellectual circles in postwar Yugoslavia.

What is built onto that? These to the effect that the party does not give scope to freedom of creativity. And freedom of creativity is comprehended as freedom for cultural creators, isolated from the process of the overall liberation of the person, really the liberation of labor. Of course, no cultural creativity can be freely developed if the liberation of labor is not achieved. To us, the liberation of the working class in the process of labor is the most important thing. This, then, can be the basis for genuine freedom of cultural creativity.

In this context, all sorts of things that are said about the relationship between the revolution and creativity become part of the traditional arsenal of petit-bourgeois sniping at the revolution itself.

In any case, during preparations for the revolution and during the armed phase of the revolution, the Yugoslav Communist Party consolidated such firm, broad cooperation with the intelligentsia as no other communist party in the world ever succeeded in doing. The party attracted into the liberation struggle a large portion of the "loyal" intelligentsia, which lacked a communist orientation but was patriotically inclined. This firm alliance, built up in the course of the people's liberation struggle, weakened in a certain way in the conditions of statist socialism in the postwar era.

Under the new circumstances, we were not sufficiently successful in altering the position of culture, and thereby of the intelligentsia as culture's vehicle by inheritance. When I say this, I know that there will be objections, because some people who think that the party's stance was always right. In my opinion, there were also certain mistakes and weaknesses in the party.

A protected and privileged position is sought for the cultural intelligentsia, and loud wails and exhortations are heard for new forms of patronage protection in society. This is sought without any awareness of what culture ought to denote under socialism. Instead of culture being folded into self-management, certain privatizing processes have been evolving; many bearers of our culture, whether institutions or individuals, have felt left to their own devices. And by the tradition of that structure, they take on a guild mentality and raise an indictment against society!

A word about party operating procedures, which are also involved here: we have a sensitive--if not necessarily subtle--party apparatus, which sounds the alarm about culture from time to time. The party apparatus carries most of this burden and thereby demonstrates concern for itself and for its position--so that it will not have to rack its brains over something that is not going well. On occasion, therefore, we encounter pronouncements at forum sessions; outside of that, only rare instances of name-calling. What happens is that we have an evolved political life inside the party, a political life that exists on its own, without our analyzing social actuality in any profound way and without our drawing any conclusions. We proceed more from what is desired than from what is actually occurring. Hence, it may happen that we fail to see the main thing, the profound substance. This is how a certain amount of name-calling may come to flourish and the forces of dogmatized consciousness be renewed. The universal medicine for that, so far as the methodological aspect is concerned, is just this: the fundamental questions should be openly discussed, and all should have the right to their say. I would allow even inveterate reactionaries to speak, but we would be devastating them with arguments in every discussion! We would be devastating them before our socialist public opinion. However, we often retreat when faced with the rules of political pragmatism.

In culture, the arts, and science, many imaginary geniuses are still being reproduced, are demanding privileges for themselves, are lamenting their evil destiny. Let us mention just one detail. There was a gathering of free-lance artists, and some of the latter announced the following: "If you do not accept us, Kaptol [seat of the archdiocese of Zagreb] will!" Fine, let such people go to Kaptol if they want to threaten that way. The struggle for the consciousness and commitment of the young generations in culture, science, and the arts is important to us in all respects. Under present circumstances, they are often left to themselves, turn into "academic" artists, yet cannot find a livelihood. Not a few of them take just a few years to evolve from angry, vague new leftists to traditional nationalists.

I would also mention the fact that cultural institutions and cultural life are still largely dominated by people of the old school. This suits the sloughs of the petit-bourgeois spirit, which are also to be found in some of our information media. This is the natural basis for the blossoming of "oppositionist" sieges and tricks. In those sloughs, the virtuous "oppositionists" move around like "fish in water," winning massive applause or earning "signs of the fig in pockets" on their behalf. A party offensive to drain these sloughs would not be a bad idea.

CSO: 2800

BAKARIC GIVES HIS VIEWS ON ECONOMIC, POLITICAL QUESTIONS

Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 77 p 13

[Account of interview of Vladimir Bakaric, member of the State Presidency, with direct quotes by Miodrag Djuric: "Be Critical Toward Everything"]

[Text] Why a Top Leader Sometimes Becomes Angry With Television and the Press. Clans Force Us Into the Most Backward Provincialism and Therefore the Central Committee Must Do Everything To Break Them Up

"Since the last congress we have done a very great deal, and if we are to compare intervals between congresses, I think that this one is one of the most fruitful and perhaps the most fruitful. At the 10th Congress we cleared the way for the new constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. We did not accomplish those things there, but we plotted the course, and we have now enacted the laws and regulations and sketched how it should look in practice.

"We can go to the next assembly of Yugoslav party members satisfied with what we have done and that we have been effective. On the other hand, one should never be satisfied, but I think that the principal topic of the 11th Congress should be implementing the documents that have been adopted, i.e., above all adaptation of the League of Communists to enforce those things, and then further adaptation of the entire rest of the social superstructure."

Summing up party activity in the past period in more or less these words our host, Dr Vladimir Bakaric, member of the State Presidency and the LCY Presidium, went on to say in this context that one of the central topics at the next congress would be "precisely the implementation and all the consequences of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, with special emphasis on the role of the League of Communists in that task."

"The League of Communists must again work a bit differently than it has up to now, with fewer leadership entities and more basic organizations of the League of Communists and greater competence on the part of basic organizations in mastering the problems they confront. This means that we must

devote greater attention to the direct producer and active worker, and less attention to the officeworker and official, who up to now have found it easiest to become a member of the League of Communists."

Why Are We Concluding Accords?

We reminded Dr Bakaric of his recent statements when in speaking about introduction of the new relations based on income in associated labor he criticized the number of occurrences which are not in conformity with the constitutional principles and the propositions set forth in the Law on Associated Labor. Noting that this was a topic he is indeed concerned with, "but not precisely as part of the preparations for enactment of the law," in which he also participated, but more in his "study of political economy and from the fact that in that respect I am still quite a bit of a student," the high government and party leader, according to the notes we took, elaborated these ideas as follows:

"As for relations based on income, I would say that these have traveled a long way to reach that system and that there have been various stages. I will immediately discuss this last stage and what I think is the problem. The most fundamental theoretical problem has been understanding that the making or creating of value in commodity production is not identical to the earning of income. One might say that income is one's claim check or money order when the time comes for distribution of the social product. As soon as one realizes that these three things are not identical, then the relationship must be found between them. Were they identical, that would mean that we are proponents of what is called the value price and that we are headed toward privatization of the business firm or of the producer, and a situation in which what he makes is his to dispose of just as he pleases."

In elaborating this idea, one of the things Dr Bakaric said is this:

"What stands in the way of that is the fact that the assets belong to society rather than to him. When income is like a claim check on distribution, there is still another inherent problem which we have now been resolving in the new law. There has been a long discussion about what the producer is entitled to in distribution of his personal income. There is the old theory of utopian socialism and so on. However, we have merged the worker as consumer and as producer. This means that he receives income according to what he needs for his personal life and according to what his public task is in the reproduction of society."

Passing on then to the assignment of value to work Dr Bakaric emphasized that in this field "there are still a number of things under discussion or being tried out in practice."

"Why are we concluding self-management accords concerning personal income? To make it more difficult for that part of income which is intended for

that part of income which is intended for the reproduction of society to flow into personal income and for personal income to go in the other direction. Of course, hard and fast criteria cannot be established for the assignment of value to work; this is, of course, an area in which there are exceptions, and the reason is that this is still not a planned society. We are not engaging in a division of labor, but in the production of commodities; those goods must prove themselves on the market, and if they do not, it is still in those proportions that the labor expended is concerned. This is always a practical matter which must involve give and take; that is, if we make it hard and fast, the result will not be social progress."

During our talk in his office in the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia we asked Dr Vladimir Bakaric to comment on the most recent cases and instances in which scientific institutions have been cooperating with organizations of associated labor in working out criteria to be applied in distribution of personal income.

"Science, not at the top levels, but run-of-the-mill science, is participating very little. It is overburdened with practicalism and certain conceptions which absolutely do not conform with the Law on Associated Labor and the constitution, so that you will come upon proposals which are not acceptable or proposals which are acceptable at this point because they suit a specific situation which will undergo reform to the same degree that society undergoes reform. The top level of science is very thin with respect to these transformations and, as Tito says, in this field science owes us a great many things, but there is no reason to be surprised about that. But that would be a summary or analysis of a society which, as you know, is undergoing transformation, and science is not keeping pace, at least not the common run of scientists."

"I Have No Fondness for Large Systems"

In his very notable speeches in party and other gatherings Dr Vladimir Bakaric has sometimes spoken critically about the model adopted for the entry of agricultural organizations into association. Our host jested a bit when he said that he was the one who advocated creation of big systems, but not because "I am against the peasants, though this is often said of me." Accompanying this observation with the statement that "if it comes to the number of written pages, I have written more than anyone in the country about activating the unused potential represented by our peasantry"; he then went on to say:

"You are right that I am not fond of all those organizations that represent big systems. The reason is that they carry us closer to the old logic, the logic of the Ministry of Agriculture, where everything or most things are concentrated in central headquarters, and for that reason what is sought is usually some kind of mean, i.e., a level that is to the detriment of the most highly productive and to the advantage of those who are unproductive, since they are maintained, and the responsibility borne by those with low productivity is very small.

"This is a technocratic approach which creates a monopoly on the market; that is, these systems are not tied closely enough to the market, and there is not enough concern about organization of the market. After all, a large system in agricultural production also needs a new market system. Who is going to make it if not that same big system in concert with the group of producers?

"If the old ways persist in production, you will get into an unhappy situation, as was the case with hogs, just as, say, there are seasons when dairy cows are productive and seasons when they are unproductive, seasons when they are profitable and seasons when they are unprofitable, so ways must be found, as in the time of Adam Smith they invented butter and butter oil to make the milk last longer, just as they invented refrigerators, ice cream and various custards to maintain consumption at the same level and to preserve milk. Much the same is the case with other products, with corn, which should not be used only in livestock raising, but also in industrial production, and then the feeding system in livestock raising should be set up differently, and so on. If this is tied to a big system, then it becomes sluggish, you get what the Serbs call the laziness factor, that is, inertia, things move slowly, but if you make that basic organization of associated labor independent, then it must adapt rapidly and must work on this faster.

The well-known agricultural theorist and author of many studies of commodity and other relations in agriculture also wanted to make this distinction:

"Consequently, at one time I was a critic of those big farms which we had at that time, I said that they were on a very low level and that our future lay in making modern productive entities from them. This we have done, at least to a large extent, and the peasant has not been threatened in any way. He cannot live off a small plot the way he might elsewhere, but--since there is always a demand for food--he is living well, better than ever before, since above all he is able to produce and to sell, and then he also has the possibility of improving his production through collaboration with the large organizations."

The Dangerous Trash Is the Trash That Wins Prizes

It had been more than 2 years since we last saw Dr Vladimir Bakaric. On both occasions he graciously agreed to an interview for our newspaper. We asked our host about his health:

"I am overtired, sick, I am undergoing treatment."

But this high-level leader still does find time at home to rest. Then he usually watches television, takes a book, reads the newspaper....

"When I look at television, I am just an ordinary citizen and I become angry when I see a political program which is not good, and sometimes I turn off the television set if I do not like the program. I mostly watch the news and documentary programs, I follow the political part almost regularly, and I also try to see films, since I do not go to the movies, but I don't see every film that is shown. There are also some entertainment programs I like, depending, of course, how well they are done. So, I manage to read some light fiction because this is a literature which I did not keep up with when I was younger. I read it and forget it at once.

"I read the headlines of the daily newspaper. I am not happy with the newspapers. The newspapers on the lighter side are better than the serious ones, since their news is brief, but they inform the public about everything. The analytical element is altogether lacking in these newspapers, so that they are a bit too pragmatic."

We asked our host if he followed events on what is called the intellectual front and the public dialog being conducted among the professional artists? Do these arguments contribute to the Marxist criticism which the League of Communists is fighting for and developing?

"I am not keeping up with the current discussions and arguments. I read Babic's first article and I have heard Davico. That is pretty much all I have read and kept up with. I would like to say that I am opposed to the idea, which has become dominant, that the party is sometimes acting as an arbiter. The party does not arbitrate anything, but is a vigorous fighter for the new society and consequently has the right to be a participant in all arguments in defense of that new society. We have been told that the party is an arbitrator and that the party is the final judge in some matters and that we're looking for a party literature. We are not looking for party literature, but we do demand that the League of Communists be allowed to be critical toward everything that is happening and that the League of Communists can look at something and say--I agree with this, or I do not agree with this, or this is a hostile act, or this is not a hostile act."

Our notebook also contained the following ideas of Dr Vladimir Bakaric concerning current affairs in the cultural field:

"The question of clans is quite relevant when it comes to polemics. This is the actual situation. The League of Communists must do everything to break up that clannishness. That is not an easy job. The clans force us into the most backward provincialism, and while in the world Yugoslavia is on top of events and is proposing solutions for the problems of the moment, these people pull us back into provincialism and award prizes to scribbling and all manner of worthless junk. When we become angry, we swear at the trash, but we do not swear at the trash which is given prizes. This trash, which is published, westerns and the like, is not a

dangerous kind of trash at all; the dangerous kind of trash is the trash that is given prizes.

"I think that the League of Communists must organize itself so as to be critical toward that situation. Without smothering anyone's freedom, we have to call a spade a spade. This goes back to our prewar situation, it is thought that we attacked Krleza because he did not obey party directives. That is not so, we were happy to have him with us. He had other political ideas. He was a party member like you were, but he did not believe that we would do what we have done, and therefore we had to engage in a debate with him. If you insist that the party means being a party writer, then we were wrong, but if you do not insist on that, then we were right. History has proven that we were right. We did not say that he was an enemy; on the contrary; he realized that, he realized that quite well, and we have with him the best relations which probably there could be...."

7045

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

HOSTILE PROPAGANDA SENTENCE--Tomo Svanovic, born in 1934, from Gornja Trebusa village near Travnik was sentenced yesterday to 5 years of rigorous imprisonment for the criminal act of hostile propaganda and attempt to commit murder while he was serving a 6 and 1/2 year prison sentence at the Foca House of Correction. This and the previous sentence were combined and an 11-year sentence of rigorous imprisonment was pronounced by the Criminal Council of the District Court in Sarajevo which was presided over by judge Nikola Vuletic. During 1975 Svanovic wrote letters of hostile propaganda content in which he maliciously and untruthfully presented the socio-political conditions in Yugoslavia and he blatantly insulted the top government leaders. Through the opinion of experts, it was established that Svanovic committed this act deliberately. [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 77 p 47]

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