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CONTENTS

PAGE

ALBANIA

- Role of Ideology in Improving Defense Capabilities
(Vladimir Barjami; ZERI I POPULLIT, 15 Feb 77)..... 1

BULGARIA

- Training Exercises in Navy Examined
(Ivan Nikolov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 20 Apr 77)..... 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Deputy Minister Surveys CSSR Foreign Policy in 1976
(Milos Vejvoda; NOVA MYSL, Jan 77)..... 6

- Fojtik Addresses Liberation Anniversary Meeting
(Prague Domestic Service, 5 May 77)..... 18

- Zionism as Instrument of Anticommunism Discussed
(Karel Dobes; ZIVOT STRANY, Mar 77)..... 29

- Organization of Border and Security Units
(OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT,
May/Jun 76)..... 36

EAST GERMANY

- New Regulations Issued for Foreign Aircraft Penetration
(GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN
REPUBLIK, 21 Feb 77)..... 38

- Lt Gen Streletz Interviewed on Defense Tasks
(Wolfgang Gebhardt; NATIONAL ZEITUNG, 7 Apr 77)..... 41

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Infantry Antitank Training Described (Horst Spickereit; AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Apr 77).....	47
Motorized Training at 'Ernst Thaelmann' Officers Academy Discussed (Kinzel; MILITAERTECHNIK, Apr 77).....	50
Greater Road Discipline Urged for Armored Units (G. Geise, K.-H. Girt; MILITAERTECHNIK, Apr 77)....	55
Briefs FDJ Propaganda Campaign	59
 HUNGARY	
Foreign Policy Objectives Reviewed (Frigyes Puja; KULPOLITIKA, No 1, 1977).....	60
 POLAND	
ZHP Congress Focuses on Intensifying Activities Among School Children (SZTANDAR MLODYCH, various dates).....	73
Study, Work Activity--for Socialist Poland, by Jerzy Wojciechowski Resolution on Tasks Discussed	
Civil Defense Changes Cited (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 29 Apr 77).....	84
 ROMANIA	
Romanian Role in Liberating Balkans (Serban Radulescu-Zoner; ERA SOCIALISTA, Feb 77)...	86
 YUGOSLAVIA	
Defense Structure in Kikinda Opstina Charted (Mijo Vlasic, Petar Damjanov; FRONT, 25 Feb 77)....	95
Computer Data on LC Members Planned for in Rijeka (Milivoj Pasicek; VUS, 23 Apr 77).....	102

ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN IMPROVING DEFENSE CAPABILITIES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Feb 77 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Barjami: "Ideopolitical Work in the Service of Improving Defense Capabilities"]

[Text] Just as in the rest of the military forces, the naval personnel in the Navy are also studying zealously and with great care the materials of the Seventh Party Congress, considering them to be a great working program for completing the great tasks which the Party has set in the field of defense, to raise the level of political and ideological preparation of the Armed Forces, to thoroughly assimilate our people's military art and to even better master military arms and technology.

Through the multilateral ideological and political work of the basic organizations of the Party in the Navy and through the struggle to implement the teachings of the Party, their leading role and their responsibility for the entire process of political-military training have been raised to a higher level, this training is being further revolutionized, military rules and discipline are being continually strengthened, and the revolutionary vigilance and combat skills of our Naval forces in the defense of the territorial waters of our socialist homeland are improving even further.

The ideological and political work in our units has not been and is not a goal in itself. It has been developed and is developing in close association with the concrete tasks of the training process, in accord with the problems which have disturbed the Party and mass organizations our subunits. Thus, in a subunit during the training process the alien ideas of some soldiers were exposed, ideas such as "we have time to learn our functional tasks, so there is no need to hurry," and "learning to fight comes by itself." In particular there have some who, in order to put an end to their training, have come out with the argument: "I have no ability to handle these kinds of weapons." All of these concepts of alien origin immediately attract the attention of the basic organization of the Party, which immediately makes the matter a problem of the entire group. The lively and convincing education work, which the organization has developed for the youth who bring up such ideas and for some others who remain indifferent to them, is interwoven

with themes and discussions which analyze, in an ideological and political way, the principles of our people's military art. Meetings have been organized with lively and heated debates, in which young soldiers themselves stand up and criticize the alien ideas which their comrades expound, opposing them with revolutionary ideas saying: "Let us enter the battle educated," "let us have faith in our ability and our forces to assimilate and use the modern arms and technology which we have available with great effectiveness," and "let us increase performance in training while struggling to gain even minutes." This universal ideological and political work has led to the attainment of great results from all of the personnel of this subunit in fulfilling the program of political and military preparation.

But this has not been the case everywhere! There have also been cases where the ideological and political work was developed in a comprehensive manner, without fixing on any subject, and without any direct connection with the problems existing in the subunit. This has paved the way for formalism and working for publicity, something which has also influenced the training results. The basic Party organizations of the Navy personnel have developed a continuing struggle to eliminate such weaknesses and to raise ideological and political work to the level of the demands set by the Seventh Party Congress. They have severely criticized the underestimating ideas of some cadres who reduce ideological and political work to just reading the materials of the Party and of the press. In this way they have gradually, continuously and better reinforced its organization and the demand for an accounting of the execution of planned ideological and political measures. Now the study of the Party materials is closely connected with the concrete tasks which every subunit has and which are incorporated with other forms of work, such as discussions, lectures, competitions, meetings, visits, propaganda in art forms and so forth. All of these have further increased the mobilization, spirit and revolutionary enthusiasm of Navy personnel to fulfill the program of political and military preparation. This is demonstrated still better by the results achieved during this period by a number of units in exercises carried out under difficult conditions, day and night, outside and with hardship, on the basis of requirements of our people's military art. It is also confirmed by the good results in all of the firing exercises with all the types of weapons used by our Navy.

In order to raise the effectiveness of ideological and political work in favor of strengthening defense capabilities and to make them as concrete as possible, the basic organizations of the Party have given special importance to enlisting the ideas of the naval personnel and of the cadres in drafting a program of ideological and political work. In a number of subunits the programs worked out are good and are applied exactly because they maintain the spirit of the ideas of the personnel. This happened, for example, in the subunit where cadre S. is, in the one where cadre V. is, and in a number of others where the theme and the plan for the masses of the personnel have been drafted and approved after the thoughts of the naval personnel and cadres have been heard. They have also been the source of great results from these subunits in training, in firing, in physical conditioning and so forth.

The organs and the basic organizations of the party have levied special care on work to further invigorate the basic youth organizations, so they will completely fulfill their role as faithful auxiliary levers of the Party in the education of the personnel with the Marxist-Leninist teachings of the Party and of Comrade Enver, and with our people's military art. This work has further increased the mobilization of the youth organizations in accepting and completely carrying out initiatives, pledges and actions of an ideological, political, military and economic nature, as they have done in raising military preparedness to a higher level in order to strengthen fraternal relations between superiors and subordinates and between sailors, in order to perfect the moral and political image of the naval youth and so on. By espousing the "We shall work, live and struggle as a whole," and "We are the performers of the ideas of the Seventh Congress" movements, the naval youth, with Communists at the head, are shattering the norms of political and military preparedness and are overcoming all obstacles, assuring maintenance of constant readiness of weapons and of technological means for use, and struggling for the complete mastery of the special Navy weapons, to economize on and extend the life of military technology, to make repairs with their own forces and so on.

Without being satisfied with the results achieved and with the work done in this direction, with the guidance of the teachings of the Party and of Commander Enver, the Party organizations in all of the units in the Department of the Navy are working intensively to raise the level of ideological and political preparation to an even higher level through the teachings of the Party for all naval personnel. At the same time they are striving to increase training intensity on the basis of requirements of our people's military art for complete readiness and to be constantly more skilled, along with the other armed forces, and to confront every enemy and coalition of imperialistic and revisionist enemies who may dare to touch the borders of our socialist homeland.

Guided by the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, the personnel of the Navy, united as one body around the Party with Comrade Enver at the head, will strive unceasingly to carry out their tasks as well as possible in the field of defense.

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TRAINING EXERCISES IN NAVY EXAMINED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 77 p 2

[Article by Captain Ivan Nikolov: "Prerequisites for Improving Military Skills"]

[Text] Present-day naval warfare requires that crews on Navy ships have highly specialized and technical training, iron discipline, and physical conditioning and stamina at sea. This obliges commanders and specialists at all levels to seek out and make use of all the best forms and methods of personnel instruction and training, to constantly improve the effectiveness of military work. One of the main prerequisites for constantly perfecting combat skills and for making excellent use of weapons and equipment, is precise and full execution of directives and guidance documents on every vessel.

The importance and flawless execution of regulations and the standards stipulated in them constitute an essential condition for the successful solution of problems in both peace and war. The experience of leading personnel convincingly proves that they owe their accomplishments primarily to the fact that they know their duties superbly, as specified in directives, courses of training, and instructions, and do not depart from them for an instant. The sea does not forgive those who perform their functional duties in a careless, formalistic, and irresponsible manner. Sea warfare is short in duration, but by nature and dynamics is extremely tense and bitter. It demands complete synchronization and precision in the actions of the entire crew in order to achieve sure victory over the enemy. The basic condition for this is impeccable performance of the duties stipulated in military and operational directives.

Taking all this into account, most ship commanders set an example in the performance of shipboard directives and instructions. One such is Senior Lieutenant Atanasov. Although a relatively young commander, he strives constantly to act in full accordance with the requirements of the guidance documents, to decisively cut short the slightest violations on the part of his subordinates. Learning from their commander, Lieutenants Petrov and Nikolov, and all the other officers and petty officers, hold strictly accountable those personnel who ignore directive requirements. The persistent efforts

and high principles of this commander have already yielded excellent results. His ship passed its first training mission with a mark of excellent. Officer Porozhanov works diligently and closely with the personnel on complying with guidance documents. But during a recent cruise, just because of one sailor, the ship was not able to detect the mines in the training area. One could sense the great anxiety of the commander, who had been overconfident. The cause of the failure was that the sonar operator had ignored regulations and had not carried out instructions with respect to preparation of the sonar set under base conditions. The set proved to be out of adjustment, its settings inaccurate, and so it was not able to pick up the necessary signals.

High-quality performance of military training missions at sea depends not on the number of miles sailed or the hours, days, and nights spent at sea, but on how well they are utilized in order to improve the military skills of the officers and men. And this is possible only when every member of the crew accurately carries out his duties with respect to directives and instructions in preparing weapons and military equipment and in using them.

Ships of the Navy are engaged in a vigorous sea exercise for the preparation and execution of fire and specialized missions. Artillery firing at water and airborne targets is being carried out, torpedoes are being launched, mines and sweeps are being set out, efforts are being made to improve damage control operations, and so on.

Checks made show that most of the sailors and officers of the ships know and perform their duties superbly, as specified in directives and instructions. But it must be noted that there have been proven instances, though isolated, of weakness in the organization of on-board duty, which have occurred because of failure to comply with ship regulations, directives, and instructions. This has been due to certain shortcomings in the organization of types of defense and protection of the ships in observation, in carrying out damage control efforts, and so on.

These days, all officers and men must have even more knowledge and practical skill in specialized training, and assignments must be prepared and carried out in complex circumstances, without allowing even the slightest assumptions or oversimplification.

A vital prerequisite for the execution of ship directives and instructions is constant supervision on the part of commanders and senior leaders. The guidance documents stipulate precisely how weapons and equipment are to be prepared for action, the organization of watch duty, inspections, repairs, and checks. And the slightest departure from them can lead to accidents, damage, and the failure of a particular mission. The period of active military training at sea requires that commanders and party and Komsomol organizations mobilize even more fully the efforts of every sailor, petty officer, and officer to fulfill pledges in socialist competition and to carry out every military mission superbly. This can be accomplished if all regulations, directives, and instructions are flawlessly understood and unfailingly executed.

DEPUTY MINISTER SURVEYS CSSR FOREIGN POLICY IN 1976

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 1, Jan 77 pp 99-109

[Article by Milos Vejvoda, deputy minister of foreign affairs]

[Text] To a considerable extent, 1976 was a year for stocktaking, a year which afforded an opportunity to carefully review the past and to assess and make plans for the future. Communist party congresses were held in a number of countries, and the highest-ranking representatives of the European communist and workers parties held a meeting of major importance that dealt a strong blow to the forces of reaction and to anticommunist luminaries and inflammatory scribblers. Elections were held for seats in the representative bodies of many of the socialist countries, and as a result the strength of the working class was reinforced. Elections were also held in some of the western countries, during which the various individual factions of the bourgeoisie competed for power. At the close of 1976 an important session of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Committee was held in Bucharest.

The best basis for evaluating the foreign political situation of the past year is provided by the materials of the 15th Congress of our own Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and, in terms of the general international struggle of the working class for peace and the promotion of socialism in the world, by the results of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The documents adopted at the conference of European communist and workers parties and at the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Committee are also of outstanding importance.

The 15th Congress of the CPCZ devoted a great deal of attention to the current international situation, and it came to the unequivocal conclusion that the development of our socialist society is also conditioned by events in the international arena and that, for this reason, it is not possible to assess the situation of our own country without also making a thorough assessment of the world situation. Nor is it possible, therefore, to evaluate our foreign policy without placing it within the overall context of international relations. We are not and there is no way we ever could be the focal point of world affairs. But, by the same token, neither are we on the periphery of world affairs. On the contrary, we are an active component of the worldwide struggle of the working class for peace, for the security of

nations, and for socialism and communism. Thus, our entire foreign policy is based on the effort dedicated to strengthening our cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with whom we must march forward shoulder to shoulder as we work to carry out all fundamental international political tasks. The complete unity of views and action that characterizes our mutual relations with the Soviet Union has been strengthened. Thanks to our socialist economy, backed up by our close cooperation with the Soviet Union, which was marked by increased mutual collaboration and integration, we were spared the shocks which during the past year as well struck the capitalist economies and the economies of those other countries of the world which have not yet given up on the capitalism-oriented mode of economic management. This fact was also instrumental in strengthening our international political position and increasing our prestige in the world arena. We were also able to continue making positive contributions to the action-readiness and solidarity of the international communist and workers' movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our party is in complete accord with the peace program which was further elaborated at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, which has opened up new opportunities for us as well in line with needs, interests, and foreign policy objectives of our country, and which is fully compatible with the interests and goals of the entire socialist community and the international revolutionary workers' movement.

The Helsinki agreements of 1975 marked the beginning of a process in the course of which Europe has entered a new era, an era that is fundamentally different from anything that ever existed before. During 1976 it was necessary to further consolidate this process. The struggle for the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was one of the characteristic features of the overall international and political effort of the communist and workers parties of Europe. In the future as well, it is necessary that all of the conference participants should live up to all of the principles set forth in this document, completely and without exception. For its part, the CSSR has consistently abided by the terms of the Final Act and endeavored to work toward the goal of seeing to it that its principles and provisions are realized in a comprehensive manner and further developed. Our bilateral negotiations aimed at strengthening security and advancing cooperation in Europe have been conducted in a manner that is entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Helsinki accords. We have endeavored to proceed along these lines when drafting treaties and agreements. These principles have been reflected in the final communiqués adopted during negotiations between the representatives of our country and the representatives of a number of European countries, of which particular mention should be made of the visit to the CSSR by the federal chancellor of the Austrian Republic, Bruno Kreisky, the visits to our country made by the ministers of foreign affairs of Portugal, Greece, Cyprus, Iceland, and Norway, and the visits made by our minister of foreign affairs to Belgium, Luxemburg, Denmark, and Great Britain. The long series of talks between the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs and his counterparts from several other countries on the occasion of the proceedings of the U.N. General Assembly in New York are also noteworthy.

An important aspect of economic cooperation in terms of the Helsinki agreements is the drive to increase the rate of expansion of our economic ties with the developed capitalist countries through the use of new forms of economic relations. The range of these new kinds of relations is highly diversified, and one of the most important formats is economic collaboration at the enterprise level.

As part of the effort to expand economic cooperation with the capitalist countries, the Ministry of Foreign Trade promulgated a decree On the Conduct of Foreign Trade Activities on Behalf of Foreign Firms. This decree encompasses the legal framework for regulating the representation of foreign firms in the CSSR. The decree is based on the Final Act and makes it possible to evaluate the qualifications of firms [applying for representation rights] in accordance with their importance and the role they play in developing relations with countries with different social systems.

At the 31st session of the European Economic Commission the Soviet Union launched a proposal calling for the convocation of regular pan-European congresses on transportation, energetics, and the environment. These congresses would respond directly to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Further, they would be devoted to the discussion of questions affecting mutual cooperation between countries with different social systems. By no means would this cooperation be based on the adoption of abstract resolutions, rather it would take the form of concrete action in areas of vital importance to the peoples of Europe. The CSSR ardently supported this proposal. The facts of the matter are that our country is traversed by some of the most heavily used transportation arteries in Europe, that, as a landlocked country, we are dependent on inland waterway ship transportation for our access to the sea, and that, as a highly industrialized country, we have a number of problems connected with air pollution. All of these questions could be resolved much more easily through the close cooperation of all the European countries. Joint research projects could be organized, joint action could be taken to provide faster transportation, and new water transportation routes could be built by digging canals that would connect natural waterways. It was not only in Geneva that the CSSR took a position in favor of this Soviet initiative aimed at a better life for the peoples of Europe, rather it is also promoting it in the United Nations and in all of its bilateral dealings with other countries.

Likewise in the area of cooperation on humanitarian and other similar issues, which according to the Helsinki accords we refer to as the "basket three" area, the CSSR took a number of concrete steps last year. We made it easier for people in general and for journalists in particular to obtain visas; we took steps aimed at increasing foreign travel, and we took a number of concrete actions of a humanitarian nature, for example, in connection with the unification of families, easing restrictions on emigration, and so on. At the same time, however, we made it quite clear that we will cooperate with others only within the framework of the Helsinki accords and that we will not tolerate any infringement of our national sovereignty by means of pressure,

blackmail, and attempts to abuse our goodwill through improper actions on the part of the western communications media which in their virulent anticommunism, often bolstered by the generous financial subsidies provided by the capitalist intelligence agencies, are unleashing campaigns whose goals are far removed from the humanitarian intentions they so loudly proclaim and whose end result can only be the violation of the Helsinki agreements and the wrecking of prospects for the future growth of mutual understanding and cooperation.

Thus, entirely in keeping with the spirit of Helsinki, the CSSR has done its part to contribute to the further improvement in relations between countries with different social systems. At the 31st General Assembly of the United Nations our republic's minister of foreign affairs was able to say that, "we have achieved a great deal as far as our immediate neighbors, the FRG and Austria, are concerned, even though there is also a great deal that yet remains to be done. Clear progress has been made in our relations with France. We are engaged in fruitful cooperative relations with Belgium, Finland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Great Britain, and Turkey, and we are interested in the future expansion of these relations. We have also taken note of favorable trends in terms of our relations with Italy and Canada."

However, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is not just a matter of pan-European importance. By virtue of the example which it sets it also has an impact on developments in all the rest of the world, and so what is necessary is to see to it that the conclusions arrived at by the conference are broadened so as to enjoy worldwide validity. The Soviet Union has always been mindful of this principle. For a number of years it has continued to advocate the realization of the idea of collective security in Asia. It made a substantial contribution to the victory of the patriotic forces and the restoration of peace in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, which in turn helped to stabilize the situation in Southeast Asia and had a positive effect on the just struggle of progressive forces throughout the world. The Soviet Union is helping to promote the complete decolonization of Africa, where last year there was a further consolidation of the progressive governments in the former Portuguese colonies. The CSSR also strengthened its contacts with Mozambique and Angola and assisted other progressive African forces in their struggle against the criminal policies of the racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

An important action aimed at consolidating peace throughout the world and broadening the applicability of the Helsinki conference resolutions to include the rest of the world was the initiative launched by the Soviet Union and the United Nations on the basis of the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, namely, the proposal for the conclusion of a worldwide Treaty on the Renunciation of the Use of Force or the Threat of Force in International Relations. This turned out to be a key issue on the agenda of the 31st General Assembly of the United Nations in terms of the struggle to persuade the U.N. to take a decisive stand in support of the worldwide drive for peace, the relaxation of tensions, and world security. This amounts to a concrete step toward the creation of an atmosphere of trust among states.

This initiative relates directly to the U.N. Charter and seeks to give a deeper significance to the Charter. If this proposal were to be implemented, it would reduce the chances of an outbreak of new wars and promote the restructuring of international relations on a peaceful basis. The U.N. General Assembly took a positive attitude toward this Soviet initiative, with which a number of other countries, including the CSSR, associated themselves, even though it was necessary to wage a struggle against certain western countries and the People's Republic of China which tried to quash the whole issue and sidetrack it as best they could. In regard to this issue too, the vacillation of certain developed western countries, including the United States in particular, when it comes to the question of promoting the further relaxation of international tensions became apparent. Last year it became evident that the imperialists are in the process of reassessing their situation and looking for some kind of new strategy to guide their actions in the international arena. It should be clearly understood that the consent of the imperialist countries to follow the path of international detente was the result of their own expectation that in the near future it would be impossible to count on any significant changes that would be advantageous to imperialism.... The capitalists have realized that a return to the cold war would also have a negative effect on the capitalist world itself in the form of the increased danger of nuclear war and a further increase in arms spending, which would entail the aggravation of economic and social problems and a further deepening of the crisis afflicting their domestic and foreign policies. These were the reasons for their willingness to commit themselves to a relaxation of international tensions, to a reduction in the high level of political and military confrontation, and to greater cooperation with the socialist countries. But, at the same time, this change in attitude was intended to foster conditions that would be conducive to weakening the anti-imperialist struggle of the popular masses for peace and to the enactment of essential reforms aimed at overcoming the crises of capitalism and stabilizing the rule of state monopoly capitalism.

On the other hand, a second rationale is now beginning to emerge, one which also stems from the recognition of the change in the international balance of power, but which is trying to modify this process by resorting to all available means, including maintaining or occasionally heightening international tensions, raising the level of political and military confrontation, and curtailing cooperation with the socialist countries. According to those who support this approach, this destructive policy should strive to create more favorable conditions under which, by means of misrepresentations of the foreign policy goals of the USSR, it would be possible to exert more pressure on the democratic movement of the popular masses, win arguments in favor of strengthening the apparatus of domestic repression, more easily overcome the crises of capitalism, and stabilize the ruling system. The principal advocate of this rationale is the military-industrial complex.

The confrontation between these two rationales came out into the open in the United States, especially during the contest between the Republicans Ford and Reagan for the nomination to run for the office of president of the

United States. As is well known, the Republicans were eventually defeated in the presidential elections, since Reagan, who of course lost the nomination race, succeeded in infecting the election campaign of former President Ford with his right-wing theories. Nor did President Carter, who was chosen to represent the Democratic Party, demonstrate during the election campaign that he was immune from the effects of this clash between the two rationales of bourgeois theory on current international relations. The question now is how successful will these theories be in influencing practical policies. The common goal of both arguments, i.e., the strengthening of the position of capitalism, is in fact leading to their intermingling in the practical work of the leading Western politicians.

It is to be expected, however, that, on the whole, relations between the United States and the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, will continue to develop in a positive direction. In the fourth-quarter issue of last year's volume of the American theoretical journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS the well-known ideologue of American foreign policy, George Kennan, wrote an article entitled "The United States and the Soviet Union," in which he stated that, "American politicians will have to learn how to resist the temptation to indulge in assaults against their powerful external rival in world affairs as a rhetorical means of demonstrating their militant vigilance.... American statesmanship will have to make greater progress than it has so far in controlling the pressures of the military-industrial complex, and it will have to take a serious approach to the problem of reducing the scope and intensity of the arms race, either on the basis of a mutual agreement or unilateral abstention, or both."

These words can clearly be interpreted as representing an appeal for a more reasonable approach to the so-called propaganda war and as being an assertion of the indispensability of disarmament in the interest of the United States themselves.

As far as our own relations with the United States are concerned, their normalization continued to be as much of an unsettled question last year as it has been in previous years. As the CSSR minister of foreign affairs declared during the general debate at the 31st U.N. General Assembly in New York in October, "we anticipate that the government of the United States will finally sign the agreement on property ownership questions which was initialled as early as 1974 and thereby clear the way for the normalization of relations and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between both of our countries."

The countries of the socialist community have not yielded nor will they ever yield in their efforts, which were so prominently manifested last year, dedicated to the further advancement of international detente. On the contrary, they intend to persevere and even redouble their efforts in this direction, and in particular they will strive to insure that detente in the political field is also supplemented by detente in the military field. And, in this respect too, a great deal was accomplished last year, even though the results achieved in the disarmament drive are only very rarely proportional

to the amount of expended efforts. There were three basic thrusts to negotiations in this area. The Soviet Union held talks with the United States on the further limitation of strategic arms. These talks (SALT II) did not come to a successful conclusion, because the U.S. leaders, who were subject to the influences of the presidential election campaign and the above-mentioned confrontation between the two competing rationales of imperialist policy, lacked the courage to come out in favor of an agreement, which was otherwise very close to being concluded.

Talks were also underway in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, of which the CSSR is also a member. The results of the work performed by this committee last year tend to justify hopes to the effect that a treaty banning environmental modification for military purposes will soon be appended to existing disarmament agreements. After working on this subject for 2 years, the Geneva Committee completed a draft version of this treaty. Talks were also held on banning the development and production of mass destruction weapons and weapons systems. Experts from a number of countries, including the CSSR, deliberated on this important initiative launched by the Soviet Union within the framework of the Geneva Committee. As a member of the Geneva Committee, we have been trying for a number of years now to encourage the reaching of an agreement that would ban the use of chemical weapons. As early as 1972, Czechoslovakia was one of the co-authors of a draft convention on the complete ban and destruction of these weapons presented by the socialist countries within the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. We have also declared our support for proposals made by the Soviet Union advocating the systematic reduction of defense spending, and we have expressed our willingness to participate at any time in talks dedicated to the formulation of a specific agreement along these lines. We also attach great importance to the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. Consequently, we have actively supported a Finnish proposal calling for a thorough study of this question, and we have taken part in work concerned with outlining the principles according to which nuclear-free zones are supposed to be established in such a way so as to be genuinely effective, so that they do not discriminate against anyone or place anyone at a disadvantage, and in particular so that the end result is a truly nuclear-free zone, and not a mere propaganda facade. But the main objective of the disarmament drive must continue to be general and total disarmament, the kind of disarmament that will make armaments, weapons, and armies anachronisms. And we were constantly mindful of this objective during last year's disarmament talks, even though it should be realized that under the present circumstances this goal cannot be achieved all at once, but rather by means of gradual measures. In order to clarify the situation surrounding general and total disarmament, as well as in order to make progress in the settlement of secondary disarmament issues, it would undoubtedly be helpful to convene a World Conference on Disarmament. The convening of such a conference has been blocked continually by the opposition of the People's Republic of China and the United States. Consequently, last year a number of countries began to consider the idea of convening a special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, which

should be held no later than 1978. Such a special session of the General Assembly could go a long way toward helping to convene a World Conference on Disarmament, and it could also assist in working out a schedule and working agenda for such a conference.

Global measures in the disarmament field are also being supplemented by efforts aimed at the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments on a regional scale, specifically in Central Europe.

What is the current status of these talks? These are confidential negotiations, concerning which many future possibilities and proposals remain concealed behind closed doors so that the negotiators can be permitted to continue to wind their complex way toward the conclusion of a final agreement. But, notwithstanding this fact, there are two distinct positions that have come to light as a result of these talks, namely the position of the socialist countries on the one hand and that of the NATO countries on the other hand.

The countries of the socialist community base their proposals on the fact that there should be a substantial reduction in the concentrations of troops and armaments in Central Europe in the realistically foreseeable future. Consequently, they are proposing a balanced reduction of the armed forces and armaments of all countries by 15 percent over a 3-year period. In view of the fact that the military strength of each country is made up of the combined strength of three basic service components, i.e., ground forces, air forces, and units armed with nuclear weapons, the socialist countries are insisting that all of these components should be included in any force reductions. On the other hand, by trying to use the talks to gain military advantages for NATO at the expense of the security of the socialist countries the capitalist countries are slowing down the progress of the negotiations. It is precisely for this reason that the Western side has been trying and is continuing to try to see to it that all of those factors which form the basis of the talks--the mutual reduction of foreign and national armed forces and armaments levels in Central Europe--are excluded from the agenda altogether. In other words, the equal participation of each of the 11 direct participants in the negotiations is supposed to be replaced by the participation of only two countries in this process, i.e., the USSR and the USA; and instead of reducing the entire range of forces constituted by the military potential of the existing armies, that is, the ground forces, air forces and weaponry, including nuclear weapons, attention is focused exclusively on the ground forces.

The Warsaw Pact countries have made a specific proposal calling for the Soviet Union, in the first phase, to withdraw its 70,000 man armored divisions along with 1,700 tanks in exchange for a commitment on the part of the USA to reduce the level of its ground forces by a mere 30,000 men. The West is also rejecting all proposals calling for a reduction in armament levels. The entire Western plan is based on purely one-sided assessments and one-sided demands and amounts to an attempt to secure one-sided military advantages for the NATO countries. The NATO countries came out with some

amendments to their draft proposals in which they offered to withdraw 1,000 U.S. nuclear warheads and a certain number of air and ground nuclear weapon delivery systems if the socialist countries would agree to accept their basic plan for force reductions. However, it is no secret that the West is preparing to withdraw a certain number of nuclear warheads from Europe anyway, because they are obsolete. Basically, the Western amendments do nothing to alter the one-sided nature of the Western force reduction concept, which is still unacceptable as far as the socialist countries are concerned. In an effort to facilitate a compromise solution in February of 1976 the socialist countries presented their new proposals in which they take into account some of the western demands, for example, in relation to the two-phase reduction proposal. Of course, the principles of a forces reduction program that will be fair to both sides, principles which were after all already adopted during the preliminary negotiations, must continue to be the basis for all future talks.

The CSSR, situated as it is at a highly sensitive crossroads intersecting both military blocs, is a direct participant in these in these talks, and this means that it will be a party to any future agreements that may be worked out. The Czechoslovak delegation, working together with the USSR and the other socialist countries, is doing everything it can to push the talks in a positive direction aimed at the achievement of mutually acceptable solutions. To this end, the countries of the socialist community are demonstrating sufficient flexibility in an effort to find compromise solutions which would make it possible to work out a mutually acceptable agreement.

The struggle to advance the cause of international detente is also closely tied to efforts aimed at the creation of a new economic order and the initiation of progressive changes designed to hasten the final elimination of the heritage of colonialism in the developing countries. We are striving to help bring about the just representation of all countries in the international division of labor, the advancement of relations between states based on equal rights, and the elimination of those obstacles which still hinder the advancement of this goal. We fully support the right of every state to choose its own socioeconomic system and to exercise sovereignty over its natural and other material resources. These are the principles which form the foundation for the building up and constant expansion of relations between our republic and the developing countries. The struggle for a new international economic order is a very urgent and complex problem.

We are not only offering our political support for the just demands of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, rather we are also providing direct assistance to help them solve their economic problems and construct a national industrial base--the cornerstone of economic independence. And we have expressed our willingness to continue to promote cooperation with the developing countries on a democratic and just basis, to strengthen our economic and scientific and technical ties with them on a long-term, stable and mutually advantageous basis, to assist them in their efforts to exploit their natural resources, and to broaden the scope of technical cooperation.

The socialist countries are not responsible for the economic backwardness of the developing countries. This is a problem which these countries inherited from their colonial past. The socialist countries have never exploited nor are they now exploiting any country. They are not to blame for the serious consequences which the developing countries are suffering from as a result of the economic crisis, declining exchange rates, and the other manifestations of industrial anarchy in the capitalist system.

The aid which the socialist countries are providing for the developing countries is not compensation for past damages, nor is it a partial repayment for past sins; it is the aid offered by a friend and ally in the struggle against the common enemy of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

In contrast to this approach, during the course of negotiations that were held last year on economic questions, the West tried to blunt the criticisms and demands of the developing countries by promising to contribute to various kinds of joint funds, but such promises were of course always made on the condition that the door should be left open for private business activities, thereby permitting the continued penetration of foreign capital into the developing countries and continued foreign control of their raw materials resources. In promoting its interests the West did not even hesitate to resort to the use of threats to curtail food exports to those countries which might refuse to be obedient. However, these efforts on the part of the West did not produce the desired results. The countries of the socialist community, including the CSSR, have mounted a wideranging effort to assist the developing countries in all of their international negotiations.

Through the peaceful expansion of its own economy the CSSR is also directly involved in the advancement of the international division of labor. During 1976 as well we continued to try to expand our commercial, economic, and scientific and technical ties with all countries which expressed an interest in this kind of cooperation. By consolidating this kind of cooperation we are also consolidating our ties with the developing countries, which represent a major international political factor that in the present world situation is playing no small role in the effort to achieve peace and security. The fifth conference of non-aligned countries held in Colombo proved once again that the policy of non-alignment has become a dynamic factor in the international struggle directed against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and the oppression of nations. The CSSR has welcomed the results of this conference of the heads of states and governments of the non-aligned countries, which was one of the most important events to occur in the international arena last year. The non-aligned movement is making a major contribution to the further relaxation of international tensions and to the reinforcement of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations. For this reason, the movement has become the target of attacks by reactionary forces, which would like to crush the movement, sow division in its ranks, and, most of all, curb the influence of its most progressive members. We were pleased to observe that the non-aligned movement successfully resisted these various disruptive efforts and attempts that were inspired mainly by world imperialist circles. It is

necessary to mount a united effort and to cooperate closely with all progressive forces in the world in order to make sure that any new tactical maneuvers on the part of imperialism do not succeed. Such new tactics came to light last year both in the Middle East, in southern Africa, and in the course of negotiations on economic questions.

During 1976 events took place in the Middle East that had an unfavorable impact on the cause of Arab unity, thereby objectively aiding the cause of Israeli and international imperialism, which is striving to achieve a position of predominant influence in this area. This was primarily a question of the tragic bloodshed that occurred in Lebanon which not only caused this beautiful country to suffer enormous material losses, but which also resulted in the loss of many precious lives and the sowing of dissension where unity should have prevailed instead. Everyone's attention must be focused primarily on the need to put an end to the protracted conflict between the Arabs and Israel, for which Israeli expansionism is to blame. A political settlement in this area can only be achieved on the basis of three organically interrelated principles: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the enforcement of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine; and the establishment of international guarantees for the security of all states in the Middle East and their rights to an autonomous existence and development.

It has been and continues to be the view of the CSSR that a political settlement based on these principles can only be achieved in an appropriate forum, that is, through the resumption of the Geneva Conference negotiations to be attended by all of the concerned parties, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Attempts at reaching a solution in any other way, regardless of whether it is called a step-by-step solution or whatever, are doomed in advance to failure. The CSSR has maintained and intends to continue to maintain friendly relations with many countries in the Arab world, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and it will continue to give them aid and to work for the fulfillment of their just demands.

In southern Africa the U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger tried to use the policy of "shuttle diplomacy," i.e., his incessant official trips to and fro, to influence the course of events in such a way so as to dampen the revolutionary ardor of the local national liberation movement and find a solution to the intolerable situation in that part of the world which would be acceptable to international imperialism and, above all, to the United States. He endeavored to make sure that those countries in which the indigenous populations are still ruled by the white minority, i.e., Rhodesia, Namibia, and eventually even the Republic of South Africa, do not turn into "other Angolas," that is, countries governed by independent, progressive regimes. Kissinger's initiative led to the convening of a conference on Rhodesia in Geneva and to attempts at the gradual transfer of power or the creation of mixed governments, in which the real power would still be retained by the white minority. The CSSR is a member of the U.N. Commission for Decolonization, within which it has worked jointly with other revolutionary forces toward the goal of seeing to it that the oppressed peoples of southern Africa achieve genuine independence.

We demand the immediate liberation of Namibia and the unconditional transfer of all power to the people of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). We have raised our voice in resolute protest against the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, where the present racist regime has resorted to the massacre of patriots fighting for freedom and fundamental human rights. We have been developing and we intend to continue to develop mutually beneficial relations with the majority of African countries.

Developments in the international political arena during 1976 demonstrated that the prestige of our republic in the world is constantly growing. There was not a single major issue of world affairs in regard to which our voice was not heard. Events have fully confirmed the truth of the statement made by the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, comrade Husak, at the 15th Congress of the CPCZ to the effect that, "our country enjoys the confidence and respect of the socialist countries, has the sympathy of the progressive world, and has become a respected partner for many states with different social systems."

The principle of the dialectical dictum which holds that all things are in constant motion is more than obvious precisely in the field of international political affairs. The socialist countries, and not least among them our own socialist republic, are striving to insure that this motion, in spite of its complexity and contradictions, evolves in a positive direction that benefits all humanity, toward the consolidation of peace and international cooperation through the further relaxation of the international situation, and to insure that this process is constantly intensified and rendered permanent and unalterable.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FOJTIK ADDRESSES LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1755 GMT 5 May 77 LD

[Speech made by Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a ceremony on 5 May at Prague's Smetana Theater to mark the 32 anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from Nazi occupation--(live)]

[Text] Dear comrades, dear friends, the people of the countries of the socialist community, and all progressive mankind are commemorating the 32 anniversary of victory over fascism. We have gathered here so that we, too, may recall this historic event, to pay tribute to our liberators, the Soviet Army, the Soviet people, and their vanguard, the CPSU. The Soviet Union bore the heaviest burdens in World War II. It played a decisive part in crushing fascism. It saved mankind from the darkest barbarism. Our people will never forget the heroism and merits of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War.

We have gathered here to pay tribute to all who, by the side of the glorious Soviet Army, fought for freedom and life in peace. Their heroic deeds will remind us that only he who considered freedom the most valuable asset, who is always prepared to defend it and guarantee its fruits by international solidarity of revolutionary and progressive forces, is worthy of freedom. With profound respect and emotion, we bow to the memory of the victims of the fascist hangmen. In the apocalypse unleashed by the most aggressive forces of imperialism, millions of people have perished. Their memory will always be alive. The glory of all who fell in the battle with fascism on the fronts, clandestinely, in partisan units, in Gestapo torture chambers, in concentration camps, on the barricades, is immortal. All the oppressed nations, united by bonds of fighting friendship, sacrificed what was dearest to them--the lives of the best sons and daughters. Their call pronounced by the Czech communist, patriot, and internationalist Julius Fucik, "People be on guard," resounds today with the same urgency.

It is symbolic that the last major operation of the Soviet Army brought to an end the years of war on the European continent. This operation was the

liberation of our most beautiful capital. This glorious operation is tied up with the armed uprising of the Prague people. On the basis of the shameful Munich pact which humiliated our country, German fascism was able to launch its crusade of war. The liberation of Czechoslovakia, which culminated in the liberation of Prague, put a seal on its destiny. The Munich betrayal was also redressed by the fact that, on 9 May 1945, the Czechoslovak people not only restored their sovereign statehood, but began to build new political and social conditions. Their most characteristic feature was the coming to power of the working class and of the broad mass of the people. Led by the Communist Party, which won a leading position in the antifascist struggle, the Czechoslovak people carried out a national and democratic revolution, and set up a people's democratic system.

The Slovak national uprising was a historic milestone on the way toward 9 May. Its extent and intensity, the ideas laid down by it, its internationalist character, place it among the most important armed liberation people's movements in World War II. In the spirit of Gottwald's strategy, the representatives of the Communist Party of Slovakia--who became the life and soul of the uprising, and included together with Comrades Smidke and Novomesky, Comrade Husak--shaped the aims and the tasks of the uprising, aims and tasks which, tried and tested, became the basis of the Kosice government program proclaimed in April 1945.

The key principles of this program--the restoration of a united Czechoslovak state on the basis of the national front of Czechs and Slovaks, two nations with equal rights, the setting up of power bodies of a people's democratic system, in particular in the shape of national committees, a foreign political orientation on friendship with the Soviet Union--were a reliable platform which arose from the united will of a people which had risen up, and which securely determined the direction of development toward the fulfillment of the national and democratic revolution.

The day of 9 May, the day of victory, thus became for our people a day of the start of a new life. The prospect of socialism appeared on the horizon. Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of our party Central Committee, described 9 May as the beginning of a new era in the history of our nation. One of the most glorious and most important days in the long and rich history of our country is 9 May 1945. The liberation started a genuine spring in our nation.

We know, however, that the struggle to set up the republic did not end in May 1945. The bourgeoisie, which quickly adapted itself to the situation, did not abandon plans for a return to the old, pre-Munich, conditions. It fought the development of the revolution. Though proclaiming cooperation in the national front, it sabotaged its program. It stood in the way of nationalizing industry, of land reform; it opposed workers control in enterprises, the unification of trade unions; it prevented the cleansing of the state administration and of public institutions from traitors and collaborators.

Friendship with the Soviet Union in particular was a thorn in its flesh. Its ideologs--those various Peroutkas, Cernys, Patockas, who succeeded in wintering the occupation, in saving themselves by means of loyalty or outright collaboration--came forward without delay, as soon as they acquired some self-confidence, with attacks against communism, the Soviet Union, and the new democratism linked with an upsurge of the people's power. They were especially angered by the way the new democracy, in all its forms and in particular in its character, was far removed from the formalistic, hypocritical and, in our conditions, already then obsolete bourgeois democracy, and by the way, even in its original lack of perfection, it exceeded in all its aspects the ailing pseudodemocracy by its capacity to act and create and by its moral elevation.

From the very outset, it put its instruments at the service of the people, and it also demanded this from all representatives of people's power. This concept of a genuine democracy, of a people's power in the true meaning of the word, was being fought through by the Communist Party. As a governmental party, it was well aware of its responsibility and of its task in the defense of democracy. All its activity was conceived in such a way that there could not be any doubt about its attitude to democracy, about the fact that it saw in a democratic political system, in its constant development, perfecting of its forms, strengthening of its proletarian character, the main prerequisite for the successful advance of the revolution in the economic and social spheres and, thus, a key for a full implementation of the historic, liberation mission of the working class.

The reaction feared nothing more than this new democracy, and though it proclaimed it, and though it swore by democracy all the time, it did everything to uproot and destroy it. It was aware that this was the only way to rob the working people of the achievements of the revolution and prevent its fulfillment. When it saw that a democratic development would lead to its isolation, that in the next elections, in the spring of 1948, it would lose its positions, it opted for a counterrevolutionary putsch. As is known, the people, unified by the Communist Party, repulsed its attack. They would not let it rob them of what they have obtained by means of enormous sacrifices.

It successfully defended the heritage of the antifascist fighters, the heritage of 5 May, its freedom, its democracy, its socialist prospects. It relegated those who had prepared the plot to where they belonged--to the garbage dump of history. Their exodus, which they had themselves staged, removed the obstacles to the further development of the revolution, and opened up the possibilities for socialist construction.

That is how 9 May and 25 February 1948 are linked and show the way from the restoration of national freedom and state independence as the starting-point of the revolution to its completion--to the consolidation of the rule of the working class in alliance with the wide strata of the people. Democracy and a state of a new and higher type were formed. From then on it was possible at last to attack with full success the age-old socioeconomic positions of

capital, to unite the working people, and concentrate all the required resources, the material and spiritual wealth of society for planned socialist construction.

Events have confirmed that the development of the national and democratic revolution into a socialist revolution created the historical prerequisites for a swift upsurge of our country, for the all-round development of its economy, culture, and all spheres of life of society. It fulfilled the hopes and aspirations with which our people faced the future in the spring of 1945. In many respects, the social transformations effected during the past 32 years have surpassed even the boldest aspirations of that time. We may say without overstatement that our republic is stronger than it has even been before.

As regards the standard of living, social welfare, people's education, health, cultural growth, their role in society, their security in old age, present-day socialist Czechoslovakia provides an attractive example. People have never had it as good as they do now. [applause]

The successes we have achieved are not merely a mechanical result of economic growth and of the social policy of the state in the ordinary sense of the word, as is being asserted by those who would like to belittle our achievements, those who cannot deny the facts staring them in the face, but at the same time will not in any circumstances see the essence of the radical changes, especially those which have happened in the course of the last 8 years since April 1969.

I am referring to a fact which has a much deeper foundation. It results inevitably from the fact that socialism has gained a complete and final victory in our country, that we have done away with exploitation and every form of social oppression, that it has been possible to defend the socialist system against all its enemies, and that our party bases its policy consistently on the development and utilization of the advantages and possibilities of the most progressive social system history has so far known.

This is a determining factor in the flourishing of our country, of all the successes we are attaining. Socialism has raised people who in the past have been overlooked, an impoverished mass of people, most of them forcefully pushed to the fringe of political and social life in the running of the country. The revolution has once and for all swept away groups of parasites, financial tycoons, factory owners, big landowners, their bureaucratic henchmen and protectors, their political representatives, and their corrupt ideological advocates. And as developments have shown, all attempts to legitimize the remaining elements of this rubbish and their individual supporters for any kind of political activity--for example under the pretext of [word indistinct] improving socialism and of making it, so to speak, humane--are doomed to absolute failure. These elements represent prehistory; they can have no say in our political life, nor hold any positions. [applause]

There are states which do not conceal their sincere admiration for the achievements of our socialist construction in the economic and social spheres. But at the same time, they feel some sort of doubt about our democracy because of its clearly class character, or they criticize it because it is a democracy for the working people and not for hostile elements. They should not forget that a socialist revolution can never carry out its lofty ideals and insure that a vast activity and initiative of the masses should have a constructive character if it does not make absolutely sure that the stability of the new system is secured, and that hostile elements are not allowed to thwart the immense work of a united people.

Precisely because in the past few years we have been constantly aware of this fundamental aspect, namely the creation of optimum conditions for the work of the people, for the consolidation of our state and social system, for securing the protection of the results of people's work, of all achievements of socialism, all those who would like to take vengeance for February 1948 hate us and constantly besmirch us. We can understand their motives, we know why they simply do not want to come to terms with the existence of a socialist Czechoslovakia, even though world developments have compelled them to deal with us as partners. After all, they were used to regarding our country more or less as their property, as one sector of their sphere of influence. Let us recall that the U.S. Government is still unlawfully holding the Czechoslovak gold treasure stolen by the Hitlerites. It does this not because the United States is poor and needs our property, but because the usurped gold bullion symbolizes their superiority, and in their eyes, so to speak, confirms their alleged right to the wealth of our country, which the revolution has long since expropriated and handed over to its sole rightful owners, the Czechoslovak people.

We want to remind once again all those who have not yet awakened to the present that Czechoslovakia has once and for all extricated itself from the power sphere of the imperialist world, this self-appointed free world. The capitalist law of the jungle does not apply to us, and no attempts to introduce it in our country can be successful. Czechoslovak society has reached a high stage of development of which our people were only able to dream in the past only because, thanks to liberation by the Soviet Army 32 years ago, they were able to choose the road of sovereignty and independence, a road on which they were able to implement their will and their decisions side by side with equal friendly states of the socialist community, united by common objectives as well as by their firm organization of a united defense within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. And on this road they will continue to advance unflinchingly. [applause]

History, which is full of conflicts between classes and societies moved by antagonistic interests, has always been accompanied by paradoxes. It cannot, evidently, be otherwise in an epoch of the most significant revolutionary transformation inaugurated 60 years ago by the Great October Socialist

Revolution, in the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. The new system, which is formed by the revolution, is animated by an ideology in which reverberate the aspirations of the progressive forces of all previous societies for happiness and a better life, for the accomplishment of true humanity, which is conceivable only after the elimination of exploitation and class inequality, of classes as such. Until that time, all talk about "freedom as such," "pure democracy," and "humanism as such," cannot be anything but empty demagoguery designed to deceive ordinary people.

This is evidently why the defenders of capitalism pose as the champions of freedom, democracy, and humanism, and attack communism as if it imperiled precisely those possibilities which it alone can implement for the first time in history. And since the new world of liberated labor, which alone makes possible the full liberation of man, the deployment of his creative forces and capacities, can spring from revolution alone. On the basis of the rule of the working class and of all those formerly oppressed, consequently this rule is the worst evil for all our opponents. The very phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat"--the scientifically accurate definition of the new and higher type of democracy of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism--is meant to horrify, as if the domination of predatory big capital, of the supranational financial oligarchy, which strives to bolster its profits by organizing in cold blood the most cruel war massacres, suppresses with the help of machineries of violence any resistance which might weaken its influence--as if it were anything but a dictatorship! And as if the states of any class society could represent anything but the dictatorship of the ruling class!

There can be no greater arrogance or impudence, no greater perversion of reality than preaching about humanity, freedom, and democracy in countries where the dignity of man is trampled underfoot and his life and work are depreciated from day to day. The history of capitalism is the history of the greatest, most massive, and most horrendous violence, of mass oppression and subjection, by the use of the most modern and advanced instruments devised by civilization and the human spirit. As capitalism develops, as it concentrates its forces in the epoch of imperialism, so its methods of violation of man, entire peoples, and world zones become increasingly perfect. Crude methods of violence are increasingly supplemented by sophisticated methods of manipulation of the masses. As the consciousness of the working people awakens, as their resistance to the domination by capital grows, as their determination to change the existing conditions matures, so the spiritual forms of enslavement of people assert themselves, involving the news media of present-day imperialism and all its comprehensive network of mass propaganda, which devours colossal sums of money.

There are innumerable examples of the most varied forms of obscurantism: the fanning of the most retrograde moods and prejudices, chauvinism, racism, and the like.

It would seem that the most extreme limit of brutality had been reached by imperialism in the shape of Hitlerite fascism. The horrors of World War II as

as demonstrated by Nazism, can hardly be exceeded. But we must not forget the fact that present-day imperialism would hardly hesitate before staging a repetition of World War II in which no doubt, as shown by the shameful example of the American aggression in Vietnam, it would even surpass Hitlerite murderers in crimes against mankind if it did not run the risk of its own final destruction, if it were not prevented in doing so by the unshakable rampart of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries [applause], if there did not stand in its way a powerful anti-imperialist front which was created after World War II and which constantly gains in strength and restricts the sphere of possibilities of imperialist expansions. We witness how imperialism tries in every possible way to alter the balance of forces in the world to its benefit. That is why in some spheres of strategic importance it maintains, or tries to create, hotbeds of tension, steps up rearmament, and accumulates more and more types of arms. This must arouse extreme vigilance.

The most important task today is to strengthen the front of peace, to support all that leads to relaxation of tension, to the fulfillment of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to support what facilitates disarmament, and the liquidation of stockpiles of military materiel of mass destruction, especially of nuclear arms and strategic offensive arms.

An example of a country which consistently fulfills this primordial task which proceeds from the lessons of World War II, is the Soviet Union. By fulfilling the program of peace proclaimed at the 24th Congress, and developed at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union proves again that it pursues a policy corresponding to the vital interests of all nations, that it is the support and hope of all progressive forces in the world. The Soviet Government and its representatives, above all Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who devotes exceptional attention and energy to the question of peace, tirelessly come forward with initiatives and proposals on effective measures to stop the fever of mass destruction [words indistinct]. The activities of representatives of Soviet power gains them high authority and respect of all the progressive world public. It proves that socialism and peace are indivisible.

The CPSU, the leading force of Soviet society, thus fulfills the bequest of great Lenin, of the October Revolution, whose first enactment was the proclamation of the famous decree on peace. The Soviet Union, in the whole period of its experience, never betrayed this bequest. Its armed forces, crowned by deathless glory of victory over Hitlerite and Japanese fascism, were and are a unique army of peace. They stand firmly on guard of peace, and are an example for our people's army which maintains and develops the marvelous traditions and the fighting spirit of the Czechoslovak Army Corps of General Ludvik Svoboda, the hero of Sokolovo, Khar'kov, Kiev, and Dukla. Every government and its representatives reveal genuine humanism today above all in how they show concern in the preservation of peace. This proves how much responsibility they truly feel.

We are, therefore, seriously disturbed by the way some politicians in the West play with the questions of peace. They condition its preservation and prospects by various ultimatums to socialist countries. They try to utilize to their unilateral advantage the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe. They pretend--and act accordingly--as though some conclusions weakening the social system of countries of socialism had emerged from this exceptionally important conference, which took place on the initiative of the Warsaw Pact states and on the basis of their efforts, and as though representatives of these countries had assumed in this respect some obligations.

What is it all about? Anticommunism has for a long time harbored the intention of disintegrating the socialist community, to upset the internationalist ties between its individual states, by means of ideological subversion, and by gross interference in our countries to cause chaos and unrest in our countries, trying to use the conditions of peaceful coexistence, the process of detente, for a fresh offensive, for a new crusade against the Soviet Union, against communism, consolidating the positions of imperialism, and halting the revolutionary process in the world. How can we in this connection fail to recall the thirties when this same anticommunist demagoguery enabled Hitler to prepare the worst ever bloodbath for the nations? That is the only reason why World War II could break out. Hitler was being appeased from anti-Soviet and anticommunist positions. A considerable blame for this also falls on social democracy, whose fierce anticommunism prevented the formation of a broad, united antifascist front.

At the present time, a new anticommunist holy alliance is being formed concentrating chiefly on anti-Sovietism and the destabilization of the social system in the socialist countries under the smokescreen of a so-called struggle for the protection of human rights. And once again we encounter in it, in addition to the outright representatives of big business, rightwing leaders of social democracy, such as for example Chancellor Kreisky in neighboring Austria, where, with his blessing, the Sudeten German regional associations are to meet shortly at a provocative revanchist meeting organized in the Federal Republic of Germany. Today once again, perhaps under the impression that people have short memories, they try to pose as innocent victims of the war. It is incredible, but it is a fact. Our southern neighbors suggest that we should dismiss the whole matter merely by a wave of the hand. We do not overrate the specters of the past, but we are not so naive as not to realize that these are not merely innocent symbols of the past, that revanchism has its broad basis, influential and powerful protectors and supporters in the reactionary parties in the FRG, which have lately been dangerously increasing their influence.

As the capitalist crisis is growing deeper, as bourgeois governments are revealing their impotence in solving the fundamental problems of their societies, various neofascist and revanchist gangs are also raising their head and are becoming active once more in a number of capitalist countries. Under the circumstances, the fact that the new U.S. President, James Carter, has placed himself at the head of the newly organized crusade against the socialist

countries must cause even greater concern. This is serious, because in USSR-U.S. relations a certain amount of progress had been achieved in recent years, and it is vitally important for the whole of mankind for the negotiations between the two great powers to continue successfully, for the tendency toward irreversible detente to be reinforced. We are profoundly convinced that in the end nothing will come of this latest anticommunist hullabaloo. Now already the vociferous campaign around human rights is turning against its authors. People wonder: Why do people like Carter and Co not put their own house in order in the first place? Gentlemen, if you are really concerned about human rights why do you not defend them in those places where they are blatantly being suppressed, in your own countries? If you really want to defend them, you have every opportunity to do so, but in the first place you will have to do away with the inhuman system of exploitation, give people their fundamental rights, the right to work. You must eradicate shameful racial discrimination, the oppression of entire national and ethnic groups, insure a worthy and human life for entire social classes. You must insure the equality of women, eliminate the revolting exploitation of child labor, give prospects to young people who justifiably revolt against the immorality of your system and who cannot understand how it is possible that in your countries millions of people are condemned to forced inactivity while, at the same time, entire groups of parasites of society are enjoying the sunny side of life.

Put right the crimes committed by your governments in the colonial countries which you have been looting for centuries, and on whose wealth of raw material you want to continue making profits on the basis of neocolonialism. Stop supporting the racist regime in South Africa, the most reactionary regimes in Latin America, the fascist junta in Chile, all who are staying in power at the cost of bloody violence against the people.

The question of human rights concerns the actual position of man. Only socialism can insure a dignified life for the human being. Imperialism endangers it and prevents it on a mass scale. More and more people are coming, and will come round to this experience on the basis of unyielding facts.

Comrades, the road we have passed since liberation has demonstrated in our conditions as well the correctness and viability of Leninism, which for the first time triumphed 60 years ago in the Great October Socialist Revolution. The victorious advance of Leninism, which is the Marxism of our time, characterizes the spiritual development in this century. Our enemies are trying in vain to distort this or cast doubt on it with the help of revisionists. The most convincing proof of the strength of Leninism is the development of the first land of socialism which came into being after October--the Soviet Union. Its development is impressive in every way. One of the most backward countries, in the most incredibly difficult conditions anyone can image, has become a socialist power which has a decisive influence on world development.

In 1950, the economy of the Soviet Union still only stood at one-fifth of U.S. production at the time. Today, it is equivalent to more than 80 percent of

its present capacity. The political and moral influence of the Soviet Union has multiplied and is growing stronger. It is setting an inspiring example, as predicted by Lenin who, in the example of authentic socialism, saw revolutionary character as well as strength of historic significance. The validity and viability of Leninism is proved also by the existence and development of the socialist countries. We are proud that our republic is a member of the family of the socialist community. The world socialist community, which was born in the postwar years, is the greatest achievement of the working class since the October Revolution. It is only a young community but it has already taken firm roots. Even though the socialist revolution did not triumph in the economically most advanced country, the socialist countries situated in various parts of the world have attained immense successes, thanks to the new system.

Their basis is socialist internationalism, the principles of which have been manifested in the Warsaw Pact and in the CEMA which opens enormous possibilities for socialist economic integration. Fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries is multiplying the strength of each of them, as well as of the entire community. Our nations have learned a fundamental lesson in the war and in postwar developments. They have united in a firm indestructible bond of friendship with the people of the Soviet Union. This friendship is one of the main sources of our victory, of all our successes. It has deep roots in the common struggle and in common work. We will never forget that the Soviet Union saved our country from fascist slavery. It brought us freedom; with its help we have built socialism and saved the achievements of the revolution. Friendship with the Soviet Union is among the highest values which we will protect as the apple of our eye. [applause]

We are sending fraternal and fighting greetings to the Soviet Union, to the heroic Soviet people. [applause]

The comradely relations which have developed between the CPSU and the CPCZ are the core and guarantee of the firmness of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, the unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties.

We are especially proud of this unity, springing as it does from loyalty to Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism, as was said at the 15th Congress of our party, is the foundation of our policy. The criterion of loyalty to its principles consists, as Klement Gottwald taught us, in the attitude toward the Soviet Union, toward the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always been a patriotic party--and this is precisely why it has at the same time been deeply internationalist. In this--and in this above all--it remains loyal to the ideals from which it was born 56 years ago.

Comrades! The profound transformations achieved in the course of the past 3 decades open new and bold prospects and at the same time place high demands upon everyone of us. The 15th Congress of our party elaborated the program of the further construction of a developed socialist society, whose implementation

will bring us closer to our greatest ideal--to communism. As the past year has shown, the tasks set by the congress are being fulfilled successfully. Our people, firmly united around its Communist Party, continues, by its selfless work and civic activity, to implement the revolutionary mission which it assumed after liberation, and which was inaugurated on a world scale by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution 60 years ago.

Long live the Soviet Union, its heroic people, and its army--our liberator!
Long live the world socialist community! [applause]

Long live our socialist homeland and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!
[applause]

Let us hold firmly aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism! [applause]

CSO: 2400

ZIONISM AS INSTRUMENT OF ANTICOMMUNISM DISCUSSED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 6, Mar 77 pp 29-31

[Article by Karel Dobes: "Zionism, the Tool of Counterrevolution"]

[Text] The most reactionary forces of world imperialism have recently intensified their ideological diversion against socialist countries. World reaction has unleashed a coordinated assault directed from anti-communist centers in Western capitalist countries. Part of this assault is also the so-called Charter 77, drummed up by the defeated antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia. It is no accident that these forces came up with a counterrevolutionary platform this year, the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. One of the goals of the authors and signatories of the "Charter" and their masters from foreign anti-communist, espionage, and especially Zionist centers is to unleash a campaign of dirty slanderous lies against socialist countries designed to "prove" that the October Socialist Revolution in no way represented a fundamental break in the history of humanity, a victory of progress over reaction but rather that it led to the installation of totalitarian regimes, "Stalinist bureaucratic and dictatorial regimes," which have absolutely nothing in common with socialism. Zionist centers and their agents and sycophants in socialist countries are most active in this anticommunist campaign, including Czechoslovakia. This was again confirmed by this recent action of the anticommunist forces in Czechoslovakia. Let us now try to unmask at least partly the role Zionism played in the fight against the proletarian revolution in Russia and the role it plays in the preparation of a counterrevolutionary assault against socialism in our country.

The basic programmatic characteristic of Zionism as the reactionary ideology of the upper class Jewish bourgeoisie and one of the ideological forms of international imperialism and anticommunism from its inception to this day is the hate-filled struggle against the revolutionary worker movement, the proletarian revolution and socialism.

Zionist organizations, the Bund (All-Jewish Worker Association in Latvia, Poland and Russia) together with the other landowner bourgeois and petit bourgeois counterrevolutionary forces unleashed an assault against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Bolsheviks right after the victory of

the Great October Socialist Revolution. A guideline issued by Zionist leaders already on 26 October (8 November) 1917 calls on their organizations to "help energetically those local organs charged with keeping the Provisional Government in power continuously and fight against the criminal attempts to wrest power from the hands of organs of the democratic self-government and state."

The Zionists also consistently obeyed this guideline; they fought the Bolsheviks furiously, took the side of the deposed bourgeois landowner government and of the counterrevolutionary forces of the White Guards and imperialist interventionists.

A widespread network of Zionist organizations existed primarily on the territories of the Ukraine and Belorussia. The Zionist party Poale Zion, the Zionist Socialist Party and other Zionist organizations cooperated with the counterrevolutionary "governments" of Skoropadskiy and Petlura and the Belorussian counterrevolutionary council. During the first years of Soviet power for example the Jewish Political Collegium was active in Rostov whose members were representatives of Jewish communities and bourgeois landowner parties. It was an auxiliary organ of White Guard General Denikin. In September 1921, the Zionists concluded an agreement with Petlura followers that "Jewish insurrectionist units" would be formed in the Ukraine in case of a new expedition by allied armies against Soviet Russia. Agent Peterson from the British Intelligence Service took part in these negotiations.

In subsequent years of the Soviet government, the Zionist underground cooperated closely with fractional anti-party groups, especially with members of the Trotskyist opposition. The Zionists appealed to L. D. Trotsky-Bronstein for united action as if he was their "brother." The Zionists never relented in this fight against Soviet power and intensified it especially in recent years.

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel stressed that "Zionism is one of the tools of imperialism in its general fight and subversive political and ideological activity against the USSR and the entire socialist world system."

Therefore, the history of Zionism is the history of the fight of the reactionary forces of world capitalism against revolutionary and progressive forces, the international communist revolutionary worker movement and the history of the struggle of the counterrevolution with the revolution. This is born out also by the experience gained in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The Zionists became one of the most aggressive and best organized components of the anticommunist forces which launched a counterrevolutionary assault against socialism in Czechoslovakia and its leading force--the CPCZ.

The principal organizational and ideological center of Zionism is the Zionist world organization--the Jewish Agency, located in the United States

and in Israel. Its highest organ is the Zionist World Congress which elects the General Zionist Council and the executive committee of the Zionist world organization.

The Zionist ideological, political, and organizational centers play an important role in the system of anticommunist centers. Zionist capital and its organizations are spending great financial resources on the ideological and political diversion against socialist countries and on activities by anticommunist and anti-Soviet centers in various parts of the world. Zionist organizations are fulfilling the assigned tasks either independently or in cooperation with other anticommunist and espionage centers. In the fight against their political adversaries the Zionists are resorting to fascist methods and means, primarily to extortion and provocations. Zionist extremists drill their followers just as members of Hitler's strike squads were drilled. The Zionists employ effectively all means to influence individual citizens of Jewish extraction using their religious feelings and traditionalism alive in a certain part of the Jewish population and their backward and conservative ideas.

The principal ideological and political tenet of Zionism is violent anti-communism. And its propagandist means is the fairy tale about antisemitism in socialist countries and especially in the Soviet Union. The spectre of antisemitism is the altogether most effective tool of Zionist ideological and political activity. It is Zionism which today is primarily interested in reviving antisemitism. Former president of the Jewish World Congress Naum Goldmann said for example: "The gradual elimination of antisemitism can become a new danger to the all-Jewish cause." Theodor Herzl, the founder of the world Zionist organization also used to state that antisemitism is useful to Jews. Therefore, Zionist leaders are organizing and supporting artificial centers of antisemitism. Members of Zionist organizations are initiating various provocations against Jewish citizens, memorials and cemeteries which are then instantly made use of by the Zionist propaganda machinery.

Zionists and their followers used similar methods in Czechoslovakia. Let us recall for example their effort to reconstruct artificially the danger of antisemitism in our country. Already in September 1967 LITERARNI NOVINY No 36-39 (until the change of the editorial staff of this paper) began publishing Observations on the Jewish Question by J. P. Sartre designed to alert our public to the alleged danger of antisemitism in Czechoslovakia and primarily influence public opinion to think that the aggressive and reactionary policy of Israel was defensive, just and progressive and that any criticism of such policy was nothing else but a manifestation of antisemitism.

In our country, the policy of Zionist provocations culminated in 1968-69 when the scandalous case involving an anonymous letter addressed to E. Goldstuecker together with his reply was published in the RUDE PRAVO edition of 23 June 1968 under the headline 'Citizens Beware'. The anonymous

antisemitic letter addressed to Goldstuecker and his reply were published with the aim of torpedoing the deliberations of the May plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee which warned against the grave danger from right wing and anticommunist forces. The principal objective of this provocation was to accuse so-called conservative forces in the CPCZ of preparing a program against our citizens of Jewish origin. In heart-rending words, Goldstuecker tried to present himself and similar elements as victims of antisemitism in Czechoslovakia. The so-called conservatives in the CPCZ were by him pronounced to be criminals, Nazis and "smugglers of fascism." On the basis of these accusations he called for a thorough purge of the CPCZ from those members who allegedly "smuggled Nazist demagoguery and the perverse thinking of Vlacka adherents into the party." In this way communists who stood firmly on the side of socialism and defended the accomplishments of the socialist revolution were pictured as ingrained antisemities and fascists who deserved only liquidation. In this way the spectre of antisemitism again served the purposes of the right wing Zionist and generally all anti-communist forces in Czechoslovakia in their attempt to achieve their counterrevolutionary objectives.

Already from February 1948 on, Czechoslovakia was the target of a broadly based political and ideological diversion by imperialism. One of the most aggressive agencies of international imperialism in the fight against socialism in our country was the group around Pavel Tigrid-Schoenfeld, the known Zionist and agent of the American intelligence service who became the leader of our post-February exiles. This agency in Czechoslovakia, however, became much more dangerous. In "The Lesson From the Crisis Which Developed in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" it says about the role of Zionist forces in the counterrevolutionary crusade against socialism in Czechoslovakia: "A considerable influence in the struggle against socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic wielded forces from the positions of Zionism, one of the tools of international imperialism and anticommunism. Their leading representatives in our country were Frantisek Kriegel, Jiri Pelikan, Arnost Lustig, Eduard Goldstuecker, A. J. Liehm, Eugen Loebel, Kamil Winter and a number of others."

Zionist and pro-Zionist forces in Czechoslovakia became very active already in the second half of the fifties and especially in the beginning of the sixties. They succeeded in occupying gradually important positions of power especially in the cultural and ideological sphere. For example they gained control of the Czechoslovak Writers Union and its organs, occupied important positions in other artists associations, the leadership of the Czechoslovak Newspapermen's Association, in scientific and theoretical work places, in academic, party, university and other state organs and institutions. The plans of these forces in Czechoslovakia were ambitious. Together with the other right wing and anticommunist forces with whom they formed a united counterrevolutionary front they made intensive preparations for a counter-revolution and the reinstatement of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. The most aggressive representatives of these forces even tried to gain the highest positions in the party and state. And they were succeeding. In 1968, F.

Kriegl for example became chairman of the central committee of the National Front and even member of the CPCZ Central Committee presidium. E. Goldstuecker became chairman of the Czechoslovak Writers Union and pro-rector of the Charles University. The leadership of the Czechoslovak Writers Union even proposed him for the presidency of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Ota Sik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee for many years and director of the Economic Institute of the CSAV [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences] was elected to the Academy through pressure by right wing forces and became deputy premier in the government. Zdenek Mlynar became secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and Jiri Hajek minister of foreign affairs. Jiri Pelikan, director of Czechoslovak Television was elected member of the CPCZ Central Committee at the Vysocany Congress. F. Kriegl, O. Sik, E. Goldstuecker, Z. Hejzlar and others were elected to the CPCZ Central Committee presidium at the so-called first session of the CPCZ Central Committee constituted at the anti-party congress at Vysocany on 22 August 1968. We could enumerate scores of other examples testifying to the penetration of Zionist and pro-Zionist forces into the highest positions of the party and state.

The leadership of the Czechoslovak Writers Union and its organs became the most aggressive and reactionary organ of the Zionist right wing and of all other anticommunist forces in Czechoslovakia. The leadership of the Czechoslovak Writers Union became the center of the so-called "intellectual elite" which prepared and directed the assault of these forces against socialism and the CPCZ and which led the so-called process of revival.

The attack was launched immediately after the 20th CPSU Congress, at the Second Congress of Czechoslovak Writers in April 1956. The revisionists, Zionists and anticommunists of all shades then proclaimed the slogan "Writers are the Nation's Conscience." Under the guise of this slogan they assumed the right to disagree with the policy of the communist party and became the ideological and political leader of the anti-socialist opposition in Czechoslovakia.

Karel Kosik and Ivan Svitak launched the attack in LITERARNI NOVINY by calling the socialist ideology false and mendacious. They degraded Marxism to an unscientific ideology, resurrected Kautsky's thesis about Russian despotic socialism and proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat a Russian specialty. Radio Free Europe began to be presented as a "patriotic" station which "accepted" socialism and only wished it to be "improved". The Masaryk ideology was revived as an example of humanism while the policy of the CPCZ was discredited as inhuman. At the same time the cultural front was represented as fighting against deformations and for democratic and humanitarian socialism.

A new offensive of the anticommunist forces took place in the beginning of the sixties. In 1963 at the Third Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers Union these forces succeeded in occupying decisive positions in the leadership of the Union. That same year they organized in Liblice an international

conference on the work of Franz Kafka, that German-writing Prague Jew, whose "The Trial" became the bible of sorts of existentialism. The conference, attended by leading theoreticians and spokesmen of the right wing, Zionist and anticommunist forces in our country and abroad, such as Karel Kosik, Ivan Svitak, Pavel Reiman, Eduard Goldstuecker, Ernst Fischer, Roger Garaudy, Kolakowskiy and others, was an attempt at creating an international front composed of our and foreign revisionists, Zionists and anti-communists against socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The cult of Franz Kafka and the theory of alienation became one of the principal tools of Zionists and all anticommunists in their fight against Marxism and the socialist society. The book market began to be flooded with "masterpieces" on alienation and absurdity, with books which defended the sex cult, revived mysticism and spread slanderous lies about socialism where man allegedly is at the mercy of an alienated society, party and state. The hardened counterrevolutionary and Zionist Solzhenitsyn was suddenly discovered and became a model for our literature.

In 1967, at the Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers Union Zionist, revisionist and anticommunist forces already launched an open counterrevolutionary assault against the CPCZ and socialism. In the statements by Milan Kundera, Ludvik Vaculik, Ivan Klima, Pavel Kohout, Vaclav Havel, A. J. Liehm, Milan Jungman, Eduard Goldstuecker, Karel Kosik and others the issue was no longer literature at all but a broadly conceived compact program for the struggle to seize political power. A number of statements, especially by Arnost Lustig and Pavel Kohout, were made in the spirit of aggressive Zionism and in open support of the government of Israel and its aggression against the Arab people. Therefore, E. Goldstuecker, when evaluating the course and the results of this congress was able to state with satisfaction: "I believe that the congress charted and indicated the direction of our endeavor outstandingly."

In 1968-69 this unusually aggressive "intellectual elite," where Zionists of the roughest kind played the principal role, became the spokesman and organizer of the reactionary petit bourgeoisie, the defeated bourgeoisie and all reactionary elements. This cosmopolitan, antinational, anticommunist, internally rotten and morally degenerate "elite" had the impudence to parade as "the conscience of the nation", as its spiritual leader, its messiah. People with yearly incomes in the hundreds of thousands, even millions, with foreign exchange store accounts in the hundreds of thousands and accounts in Western banks, these millionaires through property and frequently even by origin, these parasites and exploiters of socialism many of whom were and are agents of Western intelligence centers paraded as "friends of the people." And because they dominated artists associations, scientific institutes, pedagogical institutions, literary magazines, publishing houses and the communications media in general, they gradually succeeded in dominating the cultural, scientific and ideological front. And in 1968-69 these emissaries of the world reaction and representatives of the reactionary petit bourgeoisie succeeded in playing the role of "heros" as a result of the deep

ideological, moral, political and economic crisis which gripped our society because of them.

This counterrevolutionary activity was masked by a tremendous flood of demagogic pseudohumanist and pseudonationalistic phrases, by slogans about "clean democracy" and a "new socialist model with a human face" and at the same time by the unrestrained heaping of dirt on past years of the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

All anti-socialist forces united under the slogan of "clean democracy." Everything was ready. Detailed lists were compiled of so-called conservative communists and their next of kin who were to be physically liquidated. Only the timely intervention by socialist countries thwarted these plans.

Today again they joined the battle under the slogans of "freedom" and "democracy". Since their counterrevolutionary plans did not succeed in 1968 they are trying again now. But our people have learned their lesson. This was demonstrated by the spontaneous wave of indignation of our workers who are resolutely rejecting all attempts by the beaten counterrevolutionary forces to launch a renewed attack against the communist party and its policy with demagogic slogans. These elements will never again find a fertile soil in Czechoslovakia.

8664

CSO: 2400

ORGANIZATION OF BORDER AND SECURITY UNITS

Vienna OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT in German May/June 76
pp 247-248

[Article by H.M.]

[Text] Like those of the other Warsaw Pact countries, the border and security guards of Czechoslovakia are responsible both for border security (according to the norms recognized in those countries) and for "defense against encroachments by regular units." Since border security is also closely connected with the internal security of the country, if necessary the border troops can be reinforced by internal security troops, the so-called "corps of national security," in the strength of around 25,000 men. The border troops of the CSSR themselves have a strength of around 20,000 men with total armed forces of around 200,000 men.

With the reorganization of the "Border Guard" established in 1945, which still had a police character, the newly formed border troops were integrated into the army in January 1966; not until the beginning of 1972 were the border troops separated out and subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior.

The border troops of the CSSR comprise 7 border brigades, each with a strength of 12 to 15 companies (ca. 4 battalions). Of these border brigades 4 are located on the border of the FRG (Eger, Plan, Taus, Schuettenhofen) and 3 on the Austrian border (Budweis, Znaim, Pressburg [Bratislava]). The Donau border guard for river security likewise has its headquarters in Pressburg.

The average strength of a border guard company amounts to 70 to 80 men, divided into a command section, 2 to 3 rifle platoons, and a dog detachment. In addition the border brigades have subordinate to them a number of training battalions (training centers), whose responsibility includes basic and specialized training, extending also to those men liable for military service who have entered into a longer term of military service. Enlisted inductees in the border troops have the same rights as regular personnel liable for military service and are selected according to strict criteria concerning

their political reliability. The term of service is 27 months (as opposed to 24 months in the army), associated with extra pay and special leave.

The equipment and weapons of the border companies are lighter than those of the motorized rifle units: thus the border company has light infantry weapons, a few antitank weapons, and two recoilless cannon, while in addition to a few motor vehicles each company has about two older model tanks. The only apparent instrument of border service is the border company, which performs its duties through patrols, stationary posts, and observation towers. The border troops are supported by the institution known as "border helpers," which has existed for a long time. According to reports, a quarter of all attempted border crossings in the 1960's were prevented by the assistance of the local populace and the "border helpers." Particularly in the western Bohemian border areas there is said to be close contact between border troops and the civilian population. The border helpers are brought together in an association ("club"), where the political education and training by officers of the border troops also takes place.

By contrast Austria has no such border troop of its own. Supervision is conducted essentially by the customs guards. Attempts are being made in negotiations with the CSSR to develop good neighborly relations in the border zone.

8992

CSO: 3103

EAST GERMANY

NEW REGULATIONS ISSUED FOR FOREIGN AIRCRAFT PENETRATION

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German
Part 1 No 4, 21 Feb 77 pp 21-22

[Regulation dated 7 February 1977 on Entries or Overflights by Government and Civil Aircraft of Other States Carrying Cargoes of Military Importance Into or Within the Sovereign Territory of the German Democratic Republic; signed by the Minister for National Defense, Army General Hoffmann, (East) Berlin, 7 February 1977]

[Text] In agreement with the heads of the central state organs concerned, the following is decreed concerning the uniform regulation of entries or overflights by government and civil aircraft of other states carrying cargoes of military importance into or within the sovereign territory of the German Democratic Republic:

Article 1

Government and civil aircraft of other states with cargoes of military importance may participate in air traffic in the sovereign territory of the German Democratic Republic only if this is authorized by international treaty or by special government permission.

Article 2

In the meaning of this regulation,

--government aircraft are any military, customs or police aircraft as well as any other aircraft destined or used exclusively for government service;

--civil aircraft with cargoes of military importance are such aircraft as transport or carry, i.a., troops or explosives, war munitions or war equipment.

Article 3

(1) Permission for entry or overflight by aircraft of other states listed in article 2 must be requested through diplomatic channels from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic no later than 10 work-days before the planned flight.

(2) The application must contain the following data:

1. Nationality of the aircraft
2. Type of aircraft
3. Nationality and registration markings
4. Armament of the aircraft
5. Purpose and destination of the flight
6. Number of persons on board
7. Type and amount of cargo to be carried
8. Date of flight
9. Surname, first name and nationality of the pilot in charge of the aircraft.
10. Place and time of the planned border crossing during entry into and exit from the sovereign territory of the German Democratic Republic
11. Planned time of landing and takeoff in case of an anticipated landing in the German Democratic Republic

(3) In justified exceptional cases, the request may be made in abridged form and with shortened leadtime.

(4) If aircraft of other states listed in article 2 face a flight emergency and are forced to fly into the sovereign territory of the German Democratic Republic, they must give the signals published in Appendix 2 of the International Civil Aviation Agreement and inform the Flight Security Service of the German Democratic Republic.

Article 4

(1) The government permission granted by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to aircraft of other states listed in article 2 is valid only for the date requested.

(2) Changes in the data of the application, as required in paragraph (2) of article 3, can be presented to the Flight Security Service of the German Democratic Republic until an hour before the planned flight. Such changes may not contain changes in the nationality of the aircraft, the armament of the aircraft or the purpose of flight.

(3) If the flight cannot be carried out on the day for which permission has been granted, permission for the flight is to be requested anew at least 24 hours before the flight.

(4) Granting of permission for entry or overflight does not affect the obligation of announcing the flight to the Flight Security Service of the German Democratic Republic.

Article 5

(1) In flights by aircraft of other states listed in article 2 in the sovereign territory of the German Democratic Republic, the routes and altitudes made available according to valid flight plans must be maintained, and any instructions issued by the flight security stations of the German Democratic Republic must be observed.

(2) In case of violation of the provisions laid down in article 1, steps may be initiated against aircraft in accordance with article 5 of the regulation of 12 December 1973 concerning air traffic--Air Traffic Regulation (LVO), Sonderdruck [Special Issue] No 709 of the GESETZBLATT.

Article 6

The taking of photographs or other types of shots or any survey work in the sovereign territory of the German Democratic Republic from aircraft of other states listed in article 2 is not permitted.

Article 7

This regulation takes effect upon publication.

8790

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EAST GERMANY

LT GEN STRELETZ INTERVIEWED ON DEFENSE TASKS

East Berlin NATIONAL ZEITUNG in German 7 Apr 77 p 3

[Article by Wolfgang Gebhardt]

[Text] Our Socialist Republic, Its Army and Its Border Troops

[Question] To what extent does political responsibility for the defense of the GDR of our National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, as well as of all citizens, grow with the fulfillment of the tasks of the Ninth SED Congress?

[Answer] The decisions of the Ninth SED Congress are of significance as guideposts for the growing political responsibility of the National People's Army [NVA] and the GDR Border Troops. This growing responsibility for the secure military defense of the socialist German Democratic Republic at any time is the result of the great anticipation which the industrious people of our country are assuming in the fulfillment of the combat mission of the NVA and the GDR Border Troops decided by the Ninth SED Congress. With the ever more exemplary performances and advances which the working classes and their allies are achieving in the fulfillment of the exacting tasks of the Ninth SED Congress, their expectations in the reliable defense of socialism increase. The NVA and the Border Troops endeavor always to do justice to this growing responsibility.

At the same time, that is performance of international duty.

We reliably safeguard at all times, shoulder to shoulder in firm brotherhood-in-arms with the glorious Soviet Army and the other fraternal socialist armies, the socialist order and peaceful life of the citizens of the GDR and all states of the socialist community against all attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction.

In that connection, we always proceed from the fact that peace ought to be guaranteed to our people and those of the fraternal socialist people by being ready and able at all times to repel imperialist aggressions and to defeat decisively any opponent who dares to attack socialism.

All of that explains the growing responsibility of the NVA and the GDR Border Troops for the defense of socialism. It is clearly formulated in the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress in all of the tasks named.

In this sense, the Ninth SED Congress has already brought those of us in the NVA and the GDR Border Troops an inestimably great step forward. It has brought every soldier, noncommissioned officer, ensign [Faenrich] and officer to a higher quality of political-ideological views in all of that which our people today expect of its army and border troops. Therefore, the soldiers in the armed forces units, branches of service, special troops and services of the NVA, as well as in the GDR Border Guards, compete under the slogan "Combat course 77--always vigilant, combat strong and combat ready!" for high performances in the raising of fighting power and combat readiness.

The other defense and security organs also increase their combat readiness and readiness for action and strengthen with that, continuously and resolutely, the security of the GDR. There are abundant examples which prove that, through harnessing the powers of all social realms, socialist military education is improved, the workers militia and civil defense are strengthened.

At the same time, those are all testimony of the confidence of the citizens of our socialist state in the policy of the working class and its party, in friendship with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. They also make clear that the dangers that threaten our socialist community, all peace-loving peoples, from the side of aggressive imperialist circles, are recognized.

Brotherhood-in-Arms--Contribution to the Strengthening of the Socialist Community of States

[Question] How do members of the army strengthen brotherhood-in-arms with the Soviet Army in preparation for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution?

[Answer] As in all social spheres of our republic, the Red October is also honored in the Leninist sense in the NVA by realizing successfully the class mission given us by the Ninth SED Conference and, with it, further strengthening our German Democratic Republic and the socialist community of states.

In this connection, socialist competition plays a large role that contributes to the development of socialist soldier personalities.

In this competition, members of the army and fighting collectives, together with their Soviet brothers-in-arms from the "regiment nearby," compete, above all, for high performances in political training and solid results in combat training, in combat service, as well as in lowering the norms for establishing combat readiness. The results attained entitle us to state that we are making good progress in competition. Thus, in the ground forces, such movements as "trucks, armored personnel carriers and tanks of excellent quality" are developed.

In the air forces/air defense, the utilization of equipment could be improved through the innovator movement, among others, and, simultaneously, combat readiness could be raised. A broad movement originated in the navy for the achievement of a military classification, as a result of which every third sailor, every second noncommissioned officer and every fourth officer was able to become the bearer of such a classification.

In the GDR Border Troops, too, it was possible to achieve excellent performances through socialist competition, and, in the activity "Sponsorship--strong force," good results were achieved in the training and qualification of sentry leaders.

Joint competition in firing, competition in the utilization and maintenance of equipment between components and units of the NVA and the Soviet Army contributed to raising further fighting power and combat readiness and strengthening brotherhood-in-arms.

We can estimate today that the indestructible class brotherhood and brotherhood-in-arms between the Soviet Army and the NVA essentially determines the thought and action of members of the NVA and is its specific contribution to the further strengthening of the socialist community of states. In that is expressed, at the same time, its attitude toward the CPSU, the USSR and its army and fleet as the criterion for every revolutionary, for every honest endeavor actively to serve socialism and European security.

My Cooperation With Our Friends

[Question] You have advanced to deputy chief of staff in the armed forces of our republic. How are reflected for you personally in all these years the relationships of brotherhood-in-arms?

[Answer] In all the years that I have been a member of the armed forces of our republic, brotherhood-in-arms played a large role for me as for all of my comrades. Already in the initial years of our armed forces there were the Soviet advisors and military specialists who helped us to lead the men, to learn the military trade, to master combat equipment and weaponry and, consequently, to create modern socialist armed forces.

I had the great fortune to study at the Soviet General Staff Academy and to familiarize myself in several courses of instruction in the Soviet Union with the latest knowledge of Soviet military science.

It was possible for me, in many joint exercises in the directing staff, to work with our Polish, Czechoslovak, and especially with our Soviet brothers-in-arms and learn from them.

There was always a close cooperation with the comrades of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany, from whom I received many impulses for the mastery of tasks to be fulfilled.

I would not like to leave unmentioned the role of Soviet memoir literature and here, especially, the two works of Army General Shtemenko, the study of which has given me a great deal for the fulfillment of my tasks. In addition, I frequently had the opportunity of working personally with such an experienced staff worker as Comrade Army General Shtemenko and, consequently, learn from his rich wealth of experience.

Not only on duty but familiarly, too, in leisure and recreation time, we met with our Soviet friends. We strengthened in this way our mutual trust, our truly close relationships of brothers-in-arms.

These relations of friendship to Soviet communists played an essential role in my development. They have become a heartfelt need for me. To cultivate them in the future will also be my goal.

Imperialism Opposes Detente and Disarmament

[Question] In view of the danger of war that emanates from imperialism, what tasks present themselves for the further fulfillment of the class military mission?

[Answer] The Ninth SED Congress, as I have already stated, has set highly responsible tasks for the NVA. To fulfill them is all the more necessary because the aggressive circles of imperialism, despite progress in the process of international detente and contrary to the stipulation of the Final Act of Helsinki, cannot come to terms with the fact that the world no longer stirs itself according to their wishes and ideas, that international force relationships have altered in favor of socialism.

Therefore, they seek for opportunities to win back lost positions, to weaken and finally eliminate the socialist countries.

This tendency of imperialist policy is revealed also in the heart of Europe in the intensified activities of the champion of the confrontation course, especially in the FRG and NATO.

They

- organize political actions against detente,
- intervene openly in the internal affairs of the socialist states,
- intensify the armament race and thus stimulate the material preparations for war to a previously unknown degree,
- attempt constantly to place new obstacles in the path of armaments limitation and disarmament,
- increase in their area of domination the militarization of social life and terror against all progressive forces.

The members of our army have correctly recognized that and are honorably making great efforts to fulfill the class military mission set by the party of the working class.

Their struggle and their effort is especially aimed at guaranteeing a constantly high combat readiness, good performances in political and combat training, realization of an iron military discipline and order, as well as the mastery and care of modern military equipment.

At the same time, we are producing the guarantee, together with our Soviet brothers-in-arms and the other fraternal armies, for the preservation of peace and the creation of favorable prerequisites for the building up of socialism/communism.

The Contribution of the NDPD Members to National Defense Is Important

[Question] Our National-Democratic Party of Germany is a few weeks away from its 11th Party Congress. What can you say about the contribution of our party members to the furtherance of the theme of defense and the strengthening of defense readiness?

[Answer] In your first question, the political responsibility of our NVA, GDR Border Troops, as well as all citizens, for the defense of the GDR was addressed. I should like to recall that the Ninth SED Congress, in the program decided on by it, stressed "defense of peace and the socialist fatherland and its achievements, as well as the defense of the German Democratic Republic" as the right and honorable duty of each one of our citizens. It is a matter of vital interest for our entire people. As all of its central party decisions prove, the National-Democratic Party of Germany does not view that differently. Corresponding to this orientation, the members of your party make a significant, at all times tangible, contribution to the furtherance of the theme of defense of our citizens and to the increase of the defense readiness of the GDR.

If your chairman, Prof Dr Homann, could state at the 10th Party Congress of the NDPD: "Support of all measures of the socialist state in the area of the defense system is a criterion for all national democrats for the support of socialism, the socialist fatherland, and the socialist community of states," so has practice shown that your party friends carry that out.

The examples which your newspaper published in the course of the party elections and in preparation for the 11th NDPD Party Congress are persuasive proof of this.

Many of your party friends who are performing their active military service at the present time have been able to report to your party how they master the profession of arms and also contribute to making peace more secure. Or let us take the initiatives of the reservists from the ranks of your party--the reserve officers--who, in the cooperatives, enterprises and institutions, contribute to the maintenance of military fitness of the reservists and to the economic strengthening of our republic. The performances which members of your party accomplish in the work in the GST [Society for Sport and Technology] and civil defense formations should not be forgotten.

I should like to stress also the many examples where members of your party are active as chairmen of PGH [artisan producer cooperatives] and as private master artisans, as directors of enterprises, as well as teachers and educators, for example, in socialist military training--especially of our youth--where they impart to our young men those basic qualities and modes of behavior on which the striking power of a socialist army very decisively depends. Among them, above all, are such requirements as disciplined behavior, adaptation to the collective, respect and confidence in regard to superiors, ability to subordinate oneself, physical hardiness and hardiness of morality and character, perseverence, firm will, fixity of purpose in learning, in work and in personal life. All of that has significance for our army itself, which, on no account, should be underestimated.

Our National People's Army makes its contribution daily to the all around strengthening of our socialist homeland. It corresponds therewith to the interests of the entire people and, at the same time, is supported by all citizens of our country. The unity of people and army is an important foundation for all our successes.

Therefore, the contribution of the party friends of the NDPD to socialist military education and to the further strengthening of national defense has great importance for the German Democratic Republic and great importance for the fulfillment of the tasks of the National People's Army.

8824
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INFANTRY ANTITANK TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 4, Apr 77 pp 54-59

[Article by Lieut Col Horst Spickereit: "Single Fighters Against Tanks"]

[Text] Before Training

They have been in the army just 4 weeks, counting travel: the 24-year-old Horst Gering from the potash combine in Merkers and the 19-year-old Hans-Herbert Kusche from the Seehausen hydraulic enterprise. The military multiplication table is behind them. They have shot with the MPi, mastered the obstacle course, studied the regulations. Now the special training in weaponry begins. Close antitank combat is on the program. They will use tankhand grenades and mines, practice the throwing of incendiary bottles, jump on moving tanks, let them roll over them in foxholes. Everything in field training in order to learn the individual activities systematically. They look relaxed from the outside, the two new fellows. But inside their hearts still pound. Fighting a tank! Eye to eye with the steel monster! Grabbing hold of it from above, crawling under it--that's a hard row to hoe.

"At the first moment," says soldier Kusche, "it is a small shock for me. I am afraid I might fail or let down my group." Says soldier Gering: "I'm a little scared, too. It's really something new, the first time with such a colossus."

They don't let them alone. The squad leader explains to them in the afternoon various tactical methods before combat, smoothes over the rough spots. "Stay calm always. The driver of our tank, with which we will practice, is well trained. He drives carefully. There'll be no damage."

Even the soldiers of the older service half-years, who are training with the new fellows, give a few tips. "Believe me, it's only half as bad as it looks," describes soldier Andreas Kretschmar. "Even I used to get scared. I had a good look before I was supposed to jump on the tank; it cost me some effort. It's good if you give yourself the order: jump now!"

And don't forget: get up with both feet at the same time!" The experienced comrades don't hide other tips under their hats: attack the tank from the rear if possible; it has dead space here; the crew can't observe the surroundings. Camouflage yourself well in the foxhole and hardly make a move, so that the crew doesn't notice you. Horst Gering and Hans-Herbert Kusche nod reflectively. They remember an evening several days ago. In the regimental club the Soviet film "Liberation" was showing. There are scenes in which individual fighters finish off fascist tanks. "I already saw the film as a 10-year old," says Comrade Kusche, "and thought it was unrealistic. But now that I am more mature, and after the descriptions of my comrades, I believe that something like that is possible. A pure question of nerves. We'll all put out the greatest effort."

In Training

The field training starts slowly. First they practice with dummies. The two are already excited with the first runs. As they in time act as an antitank close combat troop, in the heat of combat they "sweat out" something of the concern to save blood, what they learned in basic training, the advice of the older fellows. "On the battlefield you move forward clumsily. You are deficient in taking cover," scolds the platoon leader. The antitank grenade is thrown too flat. "In combat at the most half effective," shrugs the commander. Four matches break in lighting the incendiary bottle before the fifth fulfills its purpose. There is a direct hit for it. On a stationary tank, however. "A moving one would have gone over all the hills in this lost time," the two have to tell themselves. And even putting a balled charge on a moving tank they don't accomplish with the first try. Soldier Kusche throws the heavy package too soon at the engine housing. Soldier Gering at first throws the load too low, and sticks it on the outer panel in his haste. "Damn!" He could have boxed his own ears.

Platoon leaders and others speak soothingly to the new fellows, show them how, and let them practice again. Looking on, Horst Gering and Hans-Herbert Kusche become surer; they have the last training hour more firmly in mind.

Kusche is standing at the window of a house wall. The tent-square clasped under the left arm, his body pressed against the wall. He looks around the corner. Two meters below him the tank is approaching. Kusche's thoughts hammer in his brain: Hopefully it won't be faster--only don't jump so soon--right in the middle--breathe deeply--Now! Both feet smack simultaneously on the stern. He wavers, balances himself and creeps forward, in order to hang onto the telescopic sight and sextant on the sloping panel. And now away. Hidden behind a rise of ground Kusche watches the tank. I did it! The instructions were of some use after all! If one pays attention to them and is alert as well, it can hardly go wrong. "It went perfectly," he shouts to Gering. They practice a few more times, become more skilled and faster, they get a grip on the business. The platoon leader breaks it off. He sees that the fear of jumping has been overcome. Now comes the greatest of courage. Being run over several times by a tank. "That's easy, too," the experienced fellows slap the new ones on the shoulder. "Nobody has been

killed yet." Soldier Gering is assigned to the third foxhole, in front of him squat two older comrades. Soldier Kusche, as the last in the group, has to go into the hindmost position. "Oh, my God!" It is half filled with rainwater, Kusche looks at the commander, hesitates two seconds, then jumps in, gritting his teeth as the cold and wet creep up his legs.

The tank thunders off. Stealthily Gering presses down with his elbows on the concrete plates in the foxhole. Hopefully the walls will hold! What if it comes sideways and pushes everything in? And me in this mousehole! But the tank driver drives the colossus surely over the track and leaves the foxholes exactly in the middle. Gering takes a deep breath, thinks of the instructions of the trainers. He pulls his head in, makes himself very small, squints his eyes to a slit, squeezes his fingers around the hand grenade. The tank roars. Louder and louder the sound of the motor becomes, grinding and squeaking turn the tracks. The ground shudders, sand sifts down on the body. A sloping block of steel pushes over the opening and darkens everything. Dust and a deafening roar. Slowly the light returns, the noise ebbs--past. Breathing in, Gering rises, already concentrating on the next task. He pulls the pin from the hand grenade and throws it quickly after the tank and ducks again. It went off okay. He wonders whether the platoon leader is satisfied. He is. Even young Kusche stood the test of courage bravely. He sees how well the front line fighters succeed. This gives him self-confidence. And even the unpleasant witness does not drive him out of the hole before he receives the order. The platoon is run over two or three more times thus, and smash their hand grenades on the engine housing of the tank.

After Training

The platoon has accomplished its tasks. Contentment shows on their faces as the comrades lie down on the sandy ground. "How was it?" Smilingly Soldier Kusche points to his muddy legs. "Mainly wet. But aside from that the training was fun. The crooping up with the incendiary bottle, getting run over. I was more scared than if the whole thing had been real." Soldier Gering agrees: "Very interesting. But I had imagined it to be more difficult and more of a strain. Before I jumped on the tank I was scared silly. It's really strange. But I noticed that one can overcome it and have some confidence."

They convinced themselves of their determination and have become more confident. And they are rightly proud of it. They have learned and experienced some of the strengths and weaknesses of the tank: one can get at it, even. In double combat with it a man can always be successful. But they also know that in a real combat it will be incomparably harder.

6108
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MOTORIZED TRAINING AT 'ERNST THAELMANN' OFFICERS' ACADEMY DISCUSSED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, Apr 77 pp 149-151

[Article by Col Kinzel, Commanding Officer of the Motorized Rifle Commanders Section: "'Ernst Thaelmann' Officers' Academy of the Land Forces: Motorized Rifle Commanders Section"]

[Text] In the interview by MILITAERTECHNIK with Major General Geisler (see MILITAERTECHNIK 12/76) the editors were advised to report more about the work of the sections of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Officers' Academy of the Land Forces. Concrete examples are to be used to show how the sections of this training facility of the National People's Army are striving to comply with the summons issued by the Ninth Delegates Conference of the SED party organizations in the National People's Army and the border troops of the GDR to provide the troops with class-conscious, socialist officers thoroughly versed in military practice.

At the same time the young people among our readers, as well as all those entrusted with recruiting new personnel for military careers, will thus be given graphic information on training in various training profiles. This may contribute to quite a number of young people's interest in an officer's career and their preparation for it.

This series of articles begins in the present installment. The commander of the motorized rifle commanders' section, comrade Col Kinzel, presents his section.

In our section young, socialist officer candidates loyally devoted to the party of the working class and to the people are trained and educated. During their several years of study at the military academy they acquire all the abilities and skills needed to meet the demands of career officers in the units and sections of the land forces.

Motorized rifle commanders are general troop commanders whose task it is to organize and direct the battle. To this end forces and resources of other branches of service, special troops and services are assigned to them, along with the responsibility of commanding and employing them.

1. Basic Requirements of Motorized Rifle Commanders

To be a motorized rifle commander means:

- to possess comprehensive knowledge in the field of the social sciences, in order, as platoon leader or company commander, to educate young soldiers into conscious defenders of our socialist homeland;
- to possess comprehensive military knowledge and ability, in order to lead and employ his unit properly in combat, i.e. the motorized rifle platoon or company and beyond that the forces from other branches of service, special troops and services assigned to him or supporting him;
- to have outstanding knowledge and skill in military technology, in order properly to employ and maintain his own as well as assigned and supporting combat equipment;
- to distinguish himself by solid knowledge and ability in the general and specialized areas of military training, in order to fulfill his leadership duties as motorized rifle commander;
- to demonstrate good athletic qualities, as well as courage and strength of will;
- to possess pronounced and usable knowledge, abilities, and skills in selected areas of general basic training, i.e.. in mathematics, natural sciences, and foreign languages.

These comprehensive requirements of a motorized rifle commander make clear that the training program, which extends over 3 years, makes high demands on the officer candidate. The culmination is that the officer candidate is enabled to train young men who are ready and able to reliably defend our socialist republic.

The requirements mentioned also reveal that a motorized rifle commander must have comprehensive knowledge and ability not only in his special field but also in the fields of all other branches of service, special troops and services, since these ultimately perform their duties in the interest of the general commander.

2. Content of the Training

The officer candidates are trained as commanders of motorized rifle units and reconnaissance units equipped with modern armored personnel carriers. They receive their training in the following areas, among others: the social sciences, tactics, marksmanship, military equipment and driving, athletics, mathematics, natural sciences and languages. Training in each area ends with a final examination. A further component of the training is participation in practical exercises with troops, during which the officer candidates pass the first tests of their future activity. At the conclusion of their study the officer candidates take a comprehensive examination, which is generally conducted orally, though it includes written homework. After successfully passing the comprehensive examination the officer candidates are commissioned as lieutenants and awarded the vocational title "academy engineer economist."

3. The Most Important Technical Weapons of Motorized Riflemen and Consequences for Training

The most important technical weapons of motorized riflemen are

-- the 60 PB and 40 P2 APCs, both armed with the 14.5-mm MG KPWT and the 7.62-mm MG PKT

-- The BMT tank, armed with PALR, cannon and 7.62-mm MG PKT. Personal weapons of the motorized riflemen include the antitank rifle, the light machine gun, the submachine gun, and the pistol.

The tanks and APCs have much technical equipment, e.g. for communications, night vision, and protection against nuclear weapons, etc. If one compares today's tanks and APCs with the military technology which belonged to the equipment of the motorized riflemen up until a few years ago, it becomes obvious to what a significant extent the fighting power e.g. of a motorized rifle squad has grown.

All tanks and APCs of our motorized riflemen are amphibious. They therefore have great mobility. They are operable under all conditions. All this makes very high demands on the crews of these vehicles. They must be able to master this technical military equipment with certainty and to employ it with the greatest possible effectiveness.

What tasks must a crew perform?

APC crew:

Commander: observe, direct fire, command the MSG in combat

Gunner: man the MG PKT (annihilate opposing forces), man the MG KPWT (annihilate lightly armored targets and opposing forces)

Driver: drive the APC, observe

Motorized Rifle Squad: dismounted combat of opposing forces (as a rule)

Tank Crew:

Commander: observe, direct fire, command the MSG in combat

Gunner: man the PALR (annihilate tanks and armored vehicles),
man the cannon (annihilate tanks, armored vehicles, and opposing
forces).

man the MG (annihilate opposing forces)

Driver: drive the armored personnel carrier, observe

Motorized Rifle Squad: dismounted combat of opposing forces,
mounted combat of opposing forces through loop-holes.

The foregoing already illustrates the responsibility borne by an MSG. As future platoon leaders or company commanders, however, the officer candidates learn the proper command and employment of several of these vehicles--or rather weapon systems.

This requires special emphasis in training on exact technical knowledge and ability, in addition to the tactical ability, action, and conduct of the officer candidates.

Thus they must not only master the technical data and characteristics of their combat vehicle, but also be able to drive the vehicle themselves. Only when our officer candidates learn to master this exceedingly modern combat technology completely and from all sides will their high fighting power be realized on the battle field.

It proves exceedingly important that we make use of the Soviet Army's experiences in this connection. We are therefore cultivating close relations with our Soviet friends. The comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other socialist armies is dear to the hearts of our officer candidates.

4. Training Facilities and Training Staff

The section has modern training facilities at its disposal, including, among other things:

--firing ranges and tactical training grounds constructed according to the most modern principles,

--special tactical and firing facilities equipped with silhouettes, trainers, simulators, sandbags, radio apparatus, and modern reproduction equipment.

In addition the officer candidates are trained by other sections of our officers' academy. This applies especially to the training in social science, the general basic training, and to technical, engineering, protective, and communications training.

From this it can be seen that our officer candidates receive all-round preparation for their demanding but also beautiful task as career officers.

The training in our section consists of theoretical training, practical training, and methodical training in which the officer candidates are specially trained in command functions. The tasks mentioned here are accomplished by the training staff of our section.

The department of tactics conducts the tactical training of the officer candidates and inspires them with courage, strength of will, and commander-like behavior.

Our emphasis in this area is on troop- and combat-oriented training. The department of marksmanship instructs the officer candidates in the theory and practice of accurate shooting with individual and vehicular weapons and teaches fire direction in the context of the motorized rifle units. Finally the department of reconnaissance trains officer candidates employed as commanders of reconnaissance/paratrooper units in both special tactics and jumping.

Besides the training staff, the section includes several training companies of officer candidates which are led by experienced training officers. They conduct part of the general military training themselves.

It is owing to this experienced teaching and training collective that our section was distinguished by the minister for national defense in the training year 1975-76.

In the coming years new and higher tasks are developing for our section. Growing demands are developing in the selection and preparation of officer candidates for their future activity. At the same time the demands on the training and education process are growing as a result of the scientific and technical progress in the military and the resulting new demands on modern warfare.

Our section is prepared to fulfill these tasks honorably and in the spirit of the Ninth SED Congress and the Tenth Delegates' Conference, in order to achieve even higher results in the training and education process.

9882
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GREATER ROAD DISCIPLINE URGED FOR ARMORED UNITS

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, Apr 77 pp 168-169

[Article by Lt Col G. Geise and Lt Col K.-H. Girt: "Following Regulations Means Preventing Accidents With Armored Vehicles"]

[Text] The growing fighting power of the units of NVA [National People's Army] is reflected in the masterful command of modern technology. This equipment logically requires complex, continuous, and purposeful training on the basis of the programs for combat training and the corresponding regulations. This goal cannot be achieved automatically, however, but only through persistent, shrewdly conducted work. Without the consistent implementation of the regulations governing the use of armored equipment the tasks of combat training cannot be fulfilled.

The successful completion of the task posed therefore includes political-ideological preparation and material safety as well as thorough study of the military regulations. Only then will the prerequisites be created which take into account the requirement of sufficient protection of the life and health of army personnel as well as the maintenance of combat equipment and other valuable property. The following article will discuss some problems connected with the use of armored equipment.

1. Operation of Armored Vehicles in Public Traffic

In the course of combat training armored vehicles participate among other things in public traffic. As a result it is strictly necessary that traffic regulations be heeded and consistently followed. The life and health of NVA personnel and other citizens must not be endangered.

As a result of a series of peculiarities in the use of armored vehicles--considerable size, equipment partially deviating from that prescribed by the traffic regulations, the drivers' restricted visibility, etc.--additional rules were laid down which allow these vehicles to participate in public traffic and guarantee a high degree of safety. These rules are contained in Section V of Regulation 051/0/001.

Of special importance in this connection is the requirement that individual armored vehicles as well as convoys of armored vehicles on public roads not closed to other traffic must be accompanied by traffic directors:

- individual armored vehicles by an advance traffic director,
- convoys of armored vehicles by traffic directors at the front and the rear of the convoy.

In movements of armored vehicles and motor vehicles in a convoy the applicable stipulations of Regulation 054/0/001--motor vehicle operation--are also to be observed. In this connection it should be emphasized that accompaniment by traffic directors in accordance with Regulation 051/0/001, V. 5, Sec. 1 is also required when armored vehicles, e.g. APCs, are towed by wheeled tractors.

Particularly high requirements are placed on the regulation of convoys with armored vehicles when the march takes place in darkness or in bad weather and hence with reduced visibility. It must always be guaranteed that approaching or passing traffic be promptly and sufficiently alerted to the armored vehicles by suitable signals. In such situations quite complicated traffic situations frequently arise with resultant sources of danger. Drivers, commanders/those responsible for the vehicles, and traffic directors must therefore be trained with particular care.

For example, the following situations could arise:

1. A convoy of APCs and motor vehicles travels down a long-distance road during darkness. As a result of the considerable width of the 60 PB APC the drivers of these APCs must repeatedly drive over the center line. The oncoming traffic is required to stop by a red signal light from a flashlight on a GAS 69. This signal, however, amid the confusion of lights from the following vehicles of the convoy, might not be exactly interpreted and hence not always recognized in time as a signal to stop by the drivers of oncoming vehicles.

2. A 60 PB APC is being towed by a Ural 375 truck during darkness. The towing vehicle is driving with high beams; the warning lights on the APC are on. The commander of the APC signals oncoming traffic to stop by means of a red light signal. In this case too, the light signal would not be recognized in time by the drivers of all oncoming vehicles, especially since the towed APCs are in large part obscured by the higher towing vehicles.

Since the APC, because of its width and considering the actual road situation, would inevitably have to drive over the center line, in this situation too an immediate danger to oncoming traffic would arise.

The regulation specifies unequivocally that for journeys of three or more armored vehicles, or of armored vehicles and motor vehicles traveling the same route to the same destination, a convoy is to be formed which in every case is to be led by a convoy leader.

The commanders or their deputies who command the march are responsible for the instruction of the convoy leaders before the beginning of the trip. This instruction includes among other things safeguarding the convoy with traffic directors. The responsibility of the commanders concerned for the safe conduct of the march is thereby clearly determined. It is therefore inadmissible, for whatever reasons, to order a march with armored vehicles without guaranteeing the prescribed regulation of it.

For the examples cited it is already clear that the causes of accidents and the conditions abetting them have many levels. Every commander is obliged to thoroughly disclose causes of accidents and to take measures to remove them.

Whenever no serious efforts are made to fulfill these requirements circum-spectly and responsibly, the negative causes and conditions extend their effect and can be the source of accidents.

2. Training Tank and APC Drivers To Participate in Public Traffic

Finally a few remarks on initial and further training of APC and tank drivers. We do not want to concern ourselves here in detail with the methods and the content of the training program. Rather, attention is to be directed to imparting those skills and abilities which drivers of armored vehicles require in order to ensure safe driving in public traffic.

To be sure, Regulation 051/0/001 definitively specifies what the driver of an armored vehicle is responsible for and that, among other things, he is not to move an armored vehicle without the order and presence of someone responsible for the vehicle.

The command of an armored vehicle by someone responsible for the vehicle as well as the instruction of the driver in driving in public traffic does not, however, by any means rule out his responsibility in the event of an accident. To that extent he is also a vehicle driver in the sense of the traffic code.

This peculiarity in driving an armored vehicle lies above all in the fact that the driver's restricted visibility requires close cooperation between the driver and the one responsible for the vehicle. In the interest of the safety of personnel and property, every element of that cooperation must be practiced again and again.

Every driver must be trained to determine exactly the space he cannot see in driving down a street. Undervaluing this aspect of the training has already repeatedly led to accidents, because the interval and space between other participants in public traffic--vehicles, bicyclists, and pedestrians--was misjudged. In consequence, high demands must be placed on the quality of training in order to ensure at all times a conscientious observance of the basic rules of conduct in traffic according to Section 1 of the traffic code.

3. Operability of Armored Vehicles--Prerequisite for Participation in Public Traffic

The full operability of armored vehicles depends in large measure on their technical condition. In the event of technical deficiencies, their operability is not ensured (Regulation 051/0/001, III. 1). The observance of this principle has especially great importance when armored vehicles are driven on public roads which are not barred to other traffic. What consequences, for example, the loss of control of a tank and its lateral deviation during a march can have, is easily imaginable and requires no further explanation.

4. Conclusions

From all of the topics briefly discussed above the following conclusions may be drawn:

-- No deficiencies in the technical safety and the preparation for operation of armored vehicles may be allowed in combat training. The prescribed regulation by traffic directors assumes particular importance in this connection. The use of armored vehicles requires that superiors consistently comply with their supervisory duties.

In public traffic the personnel responsible for the vehicles and the drivers of the armored vehicles are fully responsible for strictly observing the specified marching speed and for heeding current road and weather conditions. Technical training and training in driving armored vehicles must lead to masterly command of those vehicles.

In the course of training, the crews of armored vehicles are to be given sufficient knowledge concerning the content of the safety regulations and their proper application.

All damage to armored vehicles is to be reported to the superior without delay. Negligence in this area, which seriously endangers the health and life of army personnel and other citizens, is inadmissible.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

FDJ PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN--The communist FDJ intends to raise and strengthen the "socialist consciousness" of GDR youth with a "broad ideological offensive" and to "neutralize" certain Western influences. As is indicated by documents from the FDJ leadership, in their propaganda work FDJ functionaries on all levels, who number over 600,000, are to extol the "advantages and merits of socialism" compared to the Western social order and, at the same time, are to depict "the interrelations of the political, economic, and intellectual development in our Republic and in the world" from the SED point of view. The stated goal of the FDJ's "ideological offensive" is "to help all young people to gain new insights into the class struggle, so as to consolidate their own point of view and to promote their active participation in the class conflicts of our time." [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 25 Apr 77 p 3]

CSO: 2300

FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES REVIEWED

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 1, 1977 pp 3-12

[Article by Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja: "National and International Interest in Hungarian Foreign Policy"; with introductory summary by KULPOLITIKA editors]

[Text] The article argues against those mala fides Western commentators who maintain that Hungarian foreign policy does not stress the national interest sufficiently, claiming that it lacks specific features. It goes on to summarize the major features of Hungarian foreign policy:

- strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, increasing their political, economic and military weight; developing every kind of relationship with the other socialist countries;
- solidarity with all those who, in the capitalist countries, fight for the democratic right to be free, for peace and social progress; support for national liberation movements;
- the furthering of multilateral cooperation with recently liberated developing countries;
- peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems.

This major policy line basically agrees with that of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The reasons for this are:

- foreign policy is determined by domestic policy; all these countries are socialist societies, and their foreign policies follow from the character of this system;
- the most important national and international interests of these countries are identical;
- the strategic and most important tactical objectives are identical;

--their foreign policies are guided by identical major principles;

--their foreign policies are deliberately and regularly coordinated and adjusted to each other.

The Hungarian People's Republic is generally guided by two basic factors in formulating its foreign policy, and this is true of the other states of the socialist community as well; the national interests of the working class and the people; and the universal interests of the international working class and the socialist community.

The specific features of Hungarian foreign policy manifest themselves not on strategic issues, but on subordinated ones, of a tactical nature. They do not therefore find themselves in a dominating position.

There are situations where one or another socialist country has greater scope for action than the others. Exploiting these on Hungary's part is not merely possible but a necessity, since the country in this way serves not only its national, but also international interests.

Discussing the sources of these specific features the author makes the following points, as well as others not here listed.

The country's geographic situation, the possibilities open to it, and the instruments at its disposal exercise a major influence. Being a small country Hungary cannot give equal attention to every question, foreign policy activity must be concentrated on certain countries, fields and issues. The scarcity of raw materials and foreign trade sensitivities also demand that more than average attention be given to economic issues in foreign policy. Other specific features of foreign policy are due to national traditions, folk customs, established ties, the revolutionary past, and the modus operandi, that is the style of leadership, of those heading the Party and the state.

These specific features are then examined in action in their proper context. Such are the relationship to the Soviet Union and neighboring socialist countries, the political initiatives taken by Hungary in relation to Western Europe, the country's interest in the Middle Eastern situation, and the furthering of relations with the developing countries, as well as in the carrying out to the full of the Helsinki final document, what is called the German question, cooperation within the Balkan peninsula, and the future of the Indochina area.

In conclusion all the most important international preconditions for the success of these objectives are surveyed. [end English summary]

In its chief aspects the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic agrees with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. In the developed capitalist countries

some try to misinterpret this fact; they write that Hungarian foreign policy puts no emphasis on national interests and has no aspects of its own. It would be incorrect to over-emphasize the effect of these distortions but still they could confuse some people. For this reason we consider it useful to deal in some detail with several questions connected with this.

We believe that we need not give special emphasis to the fact that our country--like the other socialist countries--develops its internal and foreign policies independently, on its own; no one does and no one can have a say in this from the outside. The fact that Hungarian foreign policy agrees with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community in its chief aspects has profound ideological and political reasons. At the same time it must be seen that unique aspirations and unique features can be found in the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic too, just as they can be found in the foreign policies of the other socialist countries.

I.

In the present period the chief task of the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is cooperation in the strengthening of peace and security.

Lasting peace and strong security stand in the center of our foreign policy aspirations and our every step serves this goal. Such a definition of the chief task is not a matter of chance. It follows from our principles, from the character of our socialist system and from the properly conceived, everyday interests of our people. Only amidst peaceful international circumstances can we carry out those great and beautiful tasks which we have assumed--the building of a socialist society and ensuring a better and more promising future for our people.

We had to define the chief directions of our foreign policy in the interest of fulfilling the chief task too. We can summarize these directions as follows:

1. Strengthening the unity and cooperation of the socialist countries and increasing their political, economic and military weight; the development of contacts with the other socialist countries from all sides.
2. Solidarity with the forces struggling for democratic freedoms, peace and social progress in the capitalist countries; support for the national liberation movements in the struggle against old and new colonialism, imperialist oppression and aggression.
3. Building up multi-lateral cooperation with the recently liberated developing countries.
4. Creating peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and a consistent defense of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

What explains the fact that this chief line of our foreign policy agrees in its fundamentals with the chief line of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community? The reasons for this can be summarized as follows:

--foreign policy is determined by domestic policy; all these countries have socialist systems and their foreign policies follow from the character of this system;

--the most important national and international interests of these countries are identical;

--the strategic and most important tactical goals of them are identical;

--their foreign policies are guided by identical major principles;

--their foreign policies are deliberately and regularly coordinated and adjusted to each other.

In the course of developing its foreign policy the Hungarian People's Republic--like the other countries of the socialist community--generally takes into consideration two fundamental factors: a. the national interests of our working class and people; and, b. the general interests of the international working class and the socialist community. It is the conviction of our people that only by taking the road of socialism can our country rise from its earlier semi-colonial position and overcome its centuries of backwardness, that only the building of socialism can ensure its flowering and the happiness and well being of its people. The goal posted at the 11th Congress of our party, the successful building of a developed socialist society, is now our most important national interest.

Service to the cause of the working class demands from us before all else that we solve our own national tasks well. But not only this; it also includes our aiding, in measure with our strength and possibilities, the realization of the common interests of the socialist countries.

Taking into consideration the international interests of the working class in our foreign policy means that we are striving with state political tools to further the common strategic goal; we are contributing to the strengthening, development and growth of the socialist world system so that it will become as soon as possible what it must become--an example for the masses struggling against oppression and for a radical transformation of society, a base for and the hope of the revolutionary movements.

As can be seen, the national and international interests of the working class are dialectically interdependent concepts and they cannot be separated. The national interest of the working class is also an international interest and vice versa, the international interest of the working class is also the interest of the peoples of every individual socialist country.

This in itself already refutes the position according to which Hungarian foreign policy fails to pay attention to national interest.

Can a contradiction arise between national and international interests? This could happen, especially if the leaders of some socialist country neglected a continual coordination of national and international interests. In this question we are guided by the position of our party which comrade Kadar expressed at a festive session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the party. "It is our judgment," Janos Kadar said, "that it is anti-Marxist to oppose the general principles of socialist construction to national peculiarities. To set aside or neglect either would disturb and in the final analysis make impossible the building of a socialist society. Historical experiences prove that national and international interests can and must be harmonized."

Our party and our government agree in full measure with the other countries of the socialist community on the strategic goal, with the building of socialism and communism in our own countries and with bringing to victory the ideals of socialism throughout the world.

Together with the other countries of the socialist community our party and our government also hold that the most important international political task of our day is to strengthen peace and security and make them lasting.

The main directions of Hungarian foreign policy are similar to those of the other socialist countries.

The foreign policy of our country, like that of the other socialist countries, is based on two main principles, the principles of proletarian internationalism and of peaceful coexistence. These two principles of our foreign policy supplement one another and are realized together and with one another. These principles follow lawfully from the essence of the socialist system.

The principle of proletarian internationalism is realized in the relations of our homeland with the other socialist countries as well as with the developing countries with a socialist orientation which have taken the path of progress. On the basis of proletarian internationalism we undertake solidarity with the revolutionary movements.

When some write and speak about a neglect of the interests of the Hungarian people they refer to proletarian internationalism the assumption of which, they say, is opposed to our national interests. In reality the realization of the principle of proletarian internationalism in the foreign policy of the socialist countries is important not only from the viewpoint of international interests but also from the viewpoint of the realization of national interests. It has an extraordinary role in guaranteeing favorable external conditions for the socialist revolution and for socialist construction. It is well known for example that, in addition to our own efforts,

the road leading to socialism was opened for our people by the cooperation of the international forces of socialism and progress, before all else by the aid of the Soviet Union. Without the active support of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries and of the international proletariat our homeland could not have reached the point where it now stands. Our collaboration on the basis of proletarian internationalism is one of the most important forces which aids the realization of our national program. This applies to every socialist country under other circumstances and in other forms.

We still meet with views, if more rarely than before, according to which the other main principle of our foreign policy, the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, hides some sort of speculation. The principle of peaceful coexistence in the relations of countries with different social systems, socialist and capitalist, is a principle valid for the entire historical epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. We know that our western partners do not like it that we believe in the victory of socialism and openly profess this victory--they believe in the failure of socialism. But this is a different question. We do not believe in the redeeming nature of capitalism. But the objective reality of our age is that two basic social systems exist in the world, the socialist and the capitalist, and if they do not want to be destroyed in a war then these must find a modus vivendi, some form of coexistence and cooperation. It serves the universal good of mankind if the struggle of the two social systems turns to the level of peaceful competition, to the peaceful proof of which social system is better and more vital, which is better suited to more fully satisfy the needs of the working man.

There can be no doubt that there may be times in the transition when the principle of peaceful coexistence--through no fault of the socialist countries--will suffer injury. It is our position that the socialist countries must of necessity follow a policy of peaceful coexistence and if they turn from it they do so only if the policy of the extreme circles of the imperialist countries forces them to do so.

Since it was established the Hungarian People's Republic has always striven to realize the principle of peaceful coexistence in its relations with the capitalist countries. It is not our fault if these efforts have not always been successful.

Thus the fact that the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the other countries of the socialist community is identical in its chief aspects follows from the essence of the socialist system. What is involved is not some sort of following or copying but rather the reflection in politics of objective lawful relationships.

In addition to objective factors a great role is also played by a subjective motif, the readiness of the countries of the socialist community to harmonize and coordinate their foreign policies. The leaders of our party and

government have always taken an emphatic stand for the necessity and usefulness of coordinating the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

Our experience shows that the socialist countries cannot be satisfied with saying that they agree on the strategic goal; the international tactical objectives cannot be achieved either without the cooperation and united action of the forces of socialism and progress. United action was always the guarantee of the international successes of the socialist countries, of the communist movement, and it will remain so in the future also. And this requires that the leaders of the socialist countries coordinate their international activity from stage to stage and even step by step.

The action of the enemies of socialism and progress makes this indispensable also. It is an old Marxist truth that the struggle of capital against the proletariat is of an international character. This is also true of their action against the socialist countries. There may be differences, even sharp differences, in the foreign policies of the governments of the capitalist countries but if the chief problems are involved, the essential problems of the struggle against socialism, they generally act in unison even today. Let us take, for example, the NATO countries. While some of their leaders reproach the socialist countries saying that their foreign policies are not independent they openly say that the national interests of their countries must be subordinated to "common" interests. And the so-called common interests usually reflect the interests of the strongest members of NATO, in the final analysis of the most powerful international monopolies, and often have anti-Soviet and anti-socialist content.

It is worth noting that those western propaganda organs which lead in discrediting the principle of proletarian internationalism enthusiastically support the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet "internationalism" and international collaboration of the western conservative and other reactionary parties. The goal is obvious, to do everything to weaken the forces of socialism and progress. The best weapon against these maneuverings is a continual coordination of the policies of the socialist countries and their joint action in the international arena.

II.

There are also unique aspects and unique characteristics in the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic in addition to the determining aspects which are identical with the other countries of the socialist community. Let us look more closely at why this is so and how these unique aspects are manifested!

Before I turn to this I would like to emphasize the following:

--The unique aspects in our foreign policy do not appear in the chief questions of a strategic character but rather in subordinate questions of a tactical character. As a result the unique elements cannot dominate in our foreign policy.

--There are situations in which one or another socialist country has greater opportunities than the others. The exploitation of the unique opportunities of our country is not only possible but necessary for we can thus well serve both the national and the international interests.

Whence derive the unique characteristics of Hungarian foreign policy?

--The coordinated chief directions of the foreign policy of the socialist community do not and cannot embrace every area of foreign policy activity; there are possibilities in the exploitation of which only we are interested, in the spirit of the chief line, and only we can exploit these possibilities effectively.

--Although the interests of the Hungarian people basically coincide with the interests of the peoples of the other socialist countries they can and do have unique interests. If providing for these does not conflict with the interests of the socialist community and the international working class then it is our obligation to realize them.

--The position of our country and people has an influence on our foreign policy. Our homeland is a small country, its opportunities and resources are limited, the same attention cannot be devoted to every question and area. We must concentrate our attention before all on the countries and areas important to us so as to best serve the interests of our people and the cause of socialism and progress. The geographic environment influences this also.

--The economic situation of our country and its poverty in raw materials also have a unique influence on our foreign policy. Nearly 45 percent of the national income in the Hungarian People's Republic is realized in foreign trade. It follows from this that our country is extraordinarily sensitive to processes taking place in the international economy and in our foreign policy we must turn much more attention than the average to economic contacts.

--One source of unique aspects is that our people--like other peoples--have their own national traditions, customs and historical ties which are reflected to a certain extent in the foreign policy of our homeland. We have adopted as our own the progressive traditions of the Rakoczi freedom fight, the 1848 civil war and freedom fight and the 1919 Republic of Councils. It is clear, however, that we assume no community with the Labances [18th century Hungarians loyal to Austria], the Habsburg enemies of the 1848 freedom fight or the foreign policy of the Compromise or of Horthy fascism.

--But other sorts of traditions also have an effect. Hungary and Austria, for example, were members of one empire for nearly 400 years; the German labor movement played a great role in the development of the labor movement in Hungary; the Hungarian labor movement had a close link with

western European social democracy. It is clear that the positive sides of these traditions can and must be exploited.

--We must also mention the work style of our party and state leadership which also lends certain unique aspects to our foreign policy. Our foreign policy also is characterized by principled strength and a high degree of flexibility, by a tranquil and even tempo, by a thorough study of questions, by unflustered initiatives and by well thought out and well founded progress.

The unique characteristics of our foreign policy can be found in many areas and questions. Let us look at a few of these.

1. The most important aspect of our foreign policy is that it devotes special attention, within the socialist community, to the relations of our country and the Soviet Union. It might be observed that our aspiration for good Hungarian-Soviet relations is not a unique aspect because the other countries of the socialist community also strive to build good contacts with the Soviet Union. This is true. But it is also true that relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union bear unique characteristics too.

The development of the revolutionary Hungarian labor movement and the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils were linked with the revolutionary Russian movement and the Great October Socialist Revolution. The struggle of the 100,000 Hungarian internationalists for the victory of the power of the soviets and the fact that the socialist revolution was victorious for the second time in the world in Hungary has bound the Hungarian and Soviet communists with indissoluble bonds.

In 1945 the army of the Soviet Union liberated our country from the rule of the Hitlerites and the Hungarian fascists thus making it possible for the Hungarian people to start on the road of social progress. Its armed strength made hopeless from the start every imperialist intervention attempt which was successfully used in 1919 in the interest of restoring capitalism. The Soviet Union offered irreplaceable aid for the restoration of the industry and agriculture of our destroyed country and for starting a new life. The Soviet Union rushed to the aid of the Hungarian people in 1956 at the time of the counterrevolution too. The Soviet Union has always supported and now supports our people in the building of socialism.

This unique course of history has greatly contributed to the development of the intimate relations of our peoples. The lessons of the common struggle prove unambiguously that the cultivation of Hungarian-Soviet relations and our close cooperation are of vital interest to our people and nation. It is especially important for us that our contacts with the Soviet Union be further enriched in political, economic and cultural areas alike.

The Hungarian communists have never wavered in the question of relations with the Soviet Union. It is our conviction today also that he cannot be a true internationalist who is anti-Soviet.

2. Hungarian foreign policy strives to build close contacts with the neighboring socialist countries, with Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania. In developing our relations with the neighboring socialist countries we have started from the position that the social system of these countries is socialist and so the fundamental condition for good contacts is given. The second factor is the fact of being neighbors, the many ties that have bound our people to the peoples of these countries for more than a millenium. History provides many examples of the interdependence of our peoples and of the common struggle against oppression. But it must also be remembered that for centuries the ruling classes artificially provoked hatred among our peoples. The landlords and capitalists of the old Hungary oppressed and mercilessly exploited the nationalities. But it is also an historical experience that the former leaders of some neighboring peoples--only the most outstanding of them were exceptions--did not understand the freedom aspirations of the Hungarian people and sometimes supported the reactionary Habsburg monarchy or, later, at the time of the Republic of Councils, the entente powers. Horthy fascism followed a revisionist policy which evoked the suspicion and resistance of neighboring peoples. One very important task of the foreign policy of socialist Hungary was to promote fraternal cooperation, instead of the old discord, between our homeland and the neighboring socialist countries.

Our foreign policy can point to great achievements in this area. The memory of Horthy Hungary has been swept away and our neighbors recognize socialist Hungary as one of the firm representatives of a consistent internationalist policy. Our relations with Czechoslovakia are broad and our cooperation in every area is good. We have mutually advantageous and developing contacts with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia despite the fact that our positions are not entirely identical in a few international questions. Our contacts have also developed much with Romania. A great role can be played in a further expansion of our cooperation with these countries by the nationalities living in our countries, which can assume the role of binding link or bridge.

3. The Hungarian People's Republic is now concentrating its attention in the non-socialist world on two areas especially--Western Europe and the Arab world close to Europe.

We have fruitful contacts with most countries of Western Europe; the Hungarian People's Republic maintains constructive contacts with these countries in political, economic and cultural areas alike. Special emphasis might be given to economic contacts which we can utilize to solve the significant internal policy tasks standing before us. Our attention is also justified by the fact that to no small degree it will depend on these countries how the fate of Europe develops, whether there will be a Europe of peace and security or one of confrontation.

In regard to the developed capitalist countries our foreign policy places especially great weight on Finland and Austria, to which we are bound by traditionally broad links for various reasons. This is well demonstrated by the visit last November of Urho Kekkonen, president of the Finnish Republic, to Budapest and by the visit last December of comrade Janos Kadar to Vienna. We can justly call our relations with both countries examples of peaceful coexistence.

The Federal Republic of Germany occupies an important place in our foreign policy. This is explained primarily by the role which the Federal Republic of Germany plays in capitalist Europe, due to its great political and economic influence, but also by the fact that our contacts, especially in the economic area, have been broad for decades and are developing well.

Contacts between the Hungarian People's Republic and Italy have developed especially in the economic and cultural areas.

Our contacts with France, the United States and England have broadened significantly recently.

The significance of the Arab countries is obvious. The Arab world lies close to Europe and everything which happens in this area has an immediate effect on European peace and security. Our foreign policy must also keep in mind that noteworthy progressive currents are developing in some Arab countries and that the world must face in this area a crisis dangerous to peace. From the viewpoint of our bilateral contacts it is an important fact that about 40 percent of our foreign trade with developing countries is with these countries. Especially favorable possibilities have opened for developing economic contacts between our country and Algeria, Iraq and Libya.

4. In the developing world Hungarian foreign policy strives before all else to build up fruitful contacts with developing countries with progressive systems. We want to help these countries to become political allies of socialism and to actively cooperate in the strengthening of peace and security throughout the world.

5. Hungarian foreign policy places special weight on certain timely questions in the areas of Europe and Asia.

a. Much room is given in our foreign policy activity to those efforts which aid the realization of the Final Document of the European security and cooperation conference. Our government has taken important initiatives to further the realization of the Final Document in the sphere of bilateral contacts. We have submitted our proposals in this regard to the governments of the capitalist countries in writing and in general they have been received positively.

It is our position that political detente must be supplemented by military detente and we are doing everything we can to moderate the arms race and to further a solution of several problems of disarmament.

b. Our people look with special sensitivity at the development of the so-called German question complex. We know that the fate of Europe is developing under different circumstances today than in the past but it is disturbing that all remnants of German militarism and revanchism have not yet been entirely removed. The interests of European peace demand that everyone precisely observe the bilateral agreements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with the Federal Republic of Germany and the quadrilateral agreement pertaining to West Berlin. The reactionary attempts directed at overturning the situation which has developed must be determinedly rejected especially in those cases where they operate with the slogan of German re-unification or "aiding" West Berlin. These aspirations are manifestations of a conception which has failed already and in the final analysis they are aimed at the annexation of the German Democratic Republic.

c. Hungary lies geographically near the Balkan peninsula. Just for this reason we cannot be indifferent to how the relations of the countries of this area develop. It is our opinion that regional cooperation can be imagined in terms of strengthening peace and security in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Document. The cause would be usefully furthered, for example, by closer cooperation of the countries of the Balkan peninsula and neighboring countries. It must be remembered that the fate of the Balkan countries has always been linked to the life of the peoples of the Danube Basin; common traditions and common interests link them together. We are interested in a development which takes this into consideration.

d. For decades the Hungarian People's Republic has devoted great attention to the Indochina area including the freedom fight of the Vietnamese and Laotian people. Our people, party and government always supported the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the French and then the American invaders. When it was necessary we participated in the work of the Vietnamese International Supervision and Control Committee and we carried out our responsibilities there. We also continually aided the struggle of the Laotian people. Today there is peace in Indochina; the Vietnamese Socialist Republic together with the Laotian Peoples' Democratic Republic is a strong factor for peace and security in Southeast Asia. But imperialism and the local reaction do not want to recognize that they have finally lost the game. Together with the other countries of the socialist community we are of the opinion that aid must still be offered to the Vietnamese Socialist Republic and the Laotian People's Democratic Republic to heal the wounds of war and for a broad development of their policies serving peace and security.

III.

The Hungarian People's Republic is aware that all these aspirations and goals can be realized only under certain conditions.

--Hungarian foreign policy counts on the international power relationships to continue to shift in the future to the side of socialism and progress. The socialist countries play the most crucial role in this. This is the "material" base for detente without which a further spread of peaceful co-existence can hardly be imagined.

--We consider the further strengthening of the unity, concord and harmonised action of the socialist countries to be an indispensable condition. The changes which have taken place in recent years on the international stage convincingly prove that the united action of the socialist countries is the most effective force in the development of detente and the strengthening of peace and security. For this reason the Hungarian People's Republic will remain an active spokesman for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and for united action in the international arena. On the basis of such considerations we warmly greet the creation of the Foreign Ministers' Committee and United Secretariat of the Warsaw Pact; these organs will certainly contribute significantly to a better and more continuous coordination of our foreign policy.

--It would be difficult for the socialist countries to fulfill their historic mission without the revolutionary and liberation movements and the active alliance of the progressive developing countries. These factors will have an increasing role in posing and solving world political problems. Progress in consolidating peace and security would be slower without the collaboration of the socialist countries, the revolutionary movement of the working class, the liberation movements and the developing countries with a socialist orientation.

--The goals of socialist foreign policy cannot be realized without an unending struggle against the extreme circles of imperialism and other retrograde forces. These circles are striving to disrupt peace and to incite a new form of the cold war. It is thus the vital interest of every people, including our people, that their objectives and aspirations be unmasked and isolated. At the same time, the forces struggling for peace and security must in the future also find ways and means for cooperation with those leading circles of capitalist countries who represent realistic ideas. These have already had a great role in detente and their significance will increase in the future.

With its own unique tools the Hungarian People's Republic will work on a further improvement of the above mentioned conditions.

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ZHP CONGRESS FOCUSES ON INTENSIFYING ACTIVITIES AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN

Study, Work Activity -- for Socialist Poland

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 29 Mar 77 p 4

[Address by ZHP Chief Scoutmaster Jerzy Wojciechowski to the Presidium of The Supreme Council, Polish Scout Union: "Science, Work, Activity -- for Socialist Poland"]

[Excerpts] We Advocate Quality of Action

The tremendous ZHP development, which is obvious to everyone, and the undoubted achievement we have made permit us to speak today about obvious weaknesses in a straightforward way with a sense of strength and concern for bolstering our achievement. Any rapid development has inherent in it the danger that imbalances may arise, and we are not free of this danger either. As we enjoy our achievements, so must we be clearly aware of it.

The causes behind this fact must be sought in the methods of leadership and in training work. We are not giving enough thought to the basic groups and units, squads, and tribes. There are instances in which various guidelines are formulated in general germs without anyone's asking whether they can be translated into scouting tasks at all. In this respect the initiative is left to the squad- or tribe-leader. Let him worry about it! On the other hand, where there should be fields for free initiative, detailed headquarters guidelines abound.

We have within our ranks an exceptionally valuable group of teacher cadres. We are pleased to say that ZHP instructors are among the most socialized and politically involved teacher activists. We highly appreciate the value of the instruction of pupils and college students. At the same time we are rightly disturbed by the fact that we do not have enough experts and specialists in other fields: workers, farmers, scientists, and military people. There are too few instructor cadres from the ranks of ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], and this is very important in structuring the ties between our youth organizations.

Essential within the framework of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth are further joint efforts to improve this condition and the rapid development of worker, military, and student groups of instructors working within ZSMP and SZSP.

Certain stereotypes of thinking are also disturbing. It is true that they are not frequent, but they often enjoy the moral authority of instructors. One of these is the categorization of everything as "scout" and "nonscout."

Groups conducted by such instructors turn into enclaves isolated from the environment, groups closed to the expectations of youth, to current social-upbringing needs, and to any sort of external inspiration. We must not agree to this! Scouting is not a goal in and of itself.

The poor instructor preparation of part of the cadres is a sore spot. Even the greatest enthusiasm and good intentions all by themselves are somewhat inadequate. The union should devote particular attention to these instructors who came in contact with the organization for the first time when they were already adults. Our program will not reach part of the squads and tribes otherwise.

The activity of the Polish Scout Union is based on the principle of democratic centralism and interunion democracy, but all too often it happens that the two parts of this principle operate separately. An example of this sometimes is to be found in formal discussions at scout council meetings. The headquarters too infrequently avail themselves of the basic instrument of socialist democracy, consultations and the solicitation of advice from instructors with experience on a given matter.

In having within the ranks of the Polish Scout Union more than half of all school pupils, and this is a great deal, we must at the same time realize that the other near half is outside the organization. And this is also a very great deal! Especially since great differences have arisen in the level of organization from one school to another in the troop districts, and under this the organization into troops, and from one troop to another. We have too small a percentage of school pupils in our ranks particularly in certain large cities, and although 3 million represents nearly one-tenth of the whole Polish society, the possibilities of having a broad, important influence on various groups vary.

We must learn to consider quantity in categories of quality. A squad of a dozen and some or a tribe of a few dozen is no strength at all in a school which numbers several hundred pupils, and it sometimes happens that such a microtribe or microtroop is clearly satisfied with being elite and actually avoids any effort to encourage others to join. We cannot permit this!

On the other hand, the development of the ranks of scouting should progress as the result of scouting's becoming more attractive for ever broader groups of pupils and closer correspondence to their expectations. On the other

hand, we are going to come to terms in a decisive way with any manifestations of interference with the voluntary aspect of joining ZHP and also with other similar forms of administrative "assistance" on the part of our various "friends."

Acquire Knowledge, Build Character

I should like to point out several upbringing problems which are presently very important to the scout union. We are operating in an environment of school youngsters and children. The social role of the pupil is of primary importance to ~~scouts and the cub scouts~~ scouts. After all, the attainment of each scout's success in life depends upon taking advantage of the opportunity to acquire knowledge and intellectual and physical skill and ability, on the one hand, and to develop within each young individual that which is most valuable within him, on the other.

The party's instigation of the reform in the system of national education led the schools along a path of profound changes aimed at making the Polish school completely socialist and completely modern. We want to involve the efforts of the scout union as broadly as possible in these changes in the system of national education, and to be the closest ally and partner of the teachers and education officials in efforts on the behalf of these changes. Within the school of greatest interest to us is the pupils' own conscious active participation in the instruction and upbringing process and in independently organized life of the pupils' social group. This is why here from the tribunal of the congress we are coming out for a school which effectively mobilizes the pupil to master the the program in effect and we are coming out against the hold habits of catching him up for what he did not learn. We shall use as a model those scout-students who on certain subjects acquire far greater knowledge than the curriculum calls for and popularize participation in competitions and subject contests and the victors, giving far less attention to the race for as many top grades as possible. This is unfortunately favored by the system of giving priority in schools above the elementary level on the basis of the average of all subjects rather than in the major.

We are strongly apposed to neglect of obligations and school discipline. Every scout and cub scout should show by his attitude that he respects the work of the teacher and wants to take the greatest possible advantage of his knowledge and experience. Here we must not be indifferent to certain teachers' favoritism toward certain pupils, toward the pressures which some parents exert on the school, or to various sorts of wiles and tricks which some students practice, because this undermines trust in socialist human relations.

We see the development of young people's independence and joint management of the school as one way to overcome these phenomena, but the situation in this area makes us very uneasy. Most of the school and class self-government is limited to formalities, and although the Pupils' Code created an opportunity for really independent action, this opportunity has yet to be utilized.

We have within scouting more than half the pupils, active youngsters eager for social activity. Scouting instructors are teachers who are wholeheartedly committed to upbringing. Our trump card is that we can do a great deal with regard to the self-government of the pupils' society. We shall strive consistently for full implementation of the Pupils' Code.

It is in no way our intention to replace school self-governments with scout councils. On the other hand, we think that the joint action of representatives of all pupils and of the school body of the socialist youth union makes advocacy of the interests of pupils more effective.

We treat work toward quick, radical change in the realm of vocational orientation as an important task for the entire upbringing front. We see the role of scouting as building in youth the ambition for a conscious thoughtful selection of a future vocation and as creating for it the possibility of acquiring reliable information on vocations and on the needs of the national economy. Here we see the need for the elementary school scout groups to develop broader cooperation with the scout groups of the HSPS [~~Scout Service to Socialist Poland~~] in vocational schools and the circles of ZSMP in factories and rural areas.

At the present time the attitude toward work represents one of the most important criteria of patriotic attitudes. Experience of scout social action shows that participants in these projects work with great enthusiasm. On the other hand, when the work is poorly organized, when it consists of someone's getting out of their obligations, when it is broken down and wasted, then we see that young people have a negative attitude toward work. In this regard the organization of required work for pupils in many schools is particularly disturbing.

The main issue is to provide for adequate work fronts. It is amazing that in the situation of the frequent shortage of labor the economic ministries make no concrete offers to the schools. In our opinion it is essential to create coordinators of required work for pupils at the gmina and town level.

We greet with great satisfaction the society's interest in the issues of moral attitudes and customs. We are greatly disturbed by the primitive way in which some pupils conceive of being modern: untidy appearance, disregard for everything, even drinking hard liquor and smoking cigarettes. This is contrary to the scout style. We do not want to agree to this. Although they are sporadic, we are offended by instances of scouts smoking cigarettes or, worse than this, of people responsible for upbringing, sometimes scout people, smoking while carrying on their work with young people. Society demands energetic action of us in this matter, and we must conform.

In many towns living conditions make upbringing work very much more difficult. But the large towns also create specific opportunities for scouting. They provide the possibility for troops and scout groups to cooperate with various cultural and scientific institutions, thereby making it possible to compete with the model of passive entertainment. Technology and metropolitan traffic

create a yearning for nature and make tourism more attractive. Only by meeting the expectations and aspirations of young people can we find an attractive formula for scouting among metropolitan youth. The offensive for the large cities is one of the most important task we face for the next 4 years!

The rural areas also have their own specific characteristics and needs. In this group we must count on a tremendous real demand for good entertainment and cultural and educational activity. Here is where we see the popularity of our noncamping summers, winter quarters in towns, and many other activities, and also the reason for the great activity of all troops and scout groups in this environment. We want to expand this experience by enriching it with new types of activity in the place of residence. The local school can also play a great role in this area. The "open schools club" drive was an expression of our support for this idea.

Aware of History and National Traditions

The patriotism of Polish society manifests itself in a deep attachment to history and national traditions. In scout work we consider making youngsters aware of the price of the peace which has been taken, the historical experience of the nation and the Polish progressive youth movement, and the building of pride in the achievements of the 30 years of People's Poland to be essential in upbringing for the future. Without this it is so easy to shape anarchistic attitudes featuring national nihilism. Just as a slant solely in the direction of tradition may have an influence which tends toward the formation of conservative attitudes.

In thinking of the future, we cannot limit ourselves to developing emotional ties to history. It is necessary to bring scouts into a dialogue with the past to permit them to become aware of past generations to enrich their experience with regard to their forebears. From this experience we see that only Socialism made it possible for Poland to join the group of the world's industrial frontrunners and created a situation in which people have to take our country into account. Historical experience provides the best confirmation of the role of our alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and brother countries of the socialist community in securing Poland's development and borders. This is the very reason why enemies of Poland try so often to falsify the truth about our history in their propaganda efforts.

History shows that it was not the national features of character but the efforts of the feudal classes and capitalists which created German Fascism and militarism and weighed heavily on Polish-German relations. Our friendship and cooperation with the German Democratic Republic is the best proof of this.

On the other hand, disturbing phenomena occur in the Federal Republic of Germany, where the heirs of Prussian militarists and Nazi fascists have been given free reign. We are deeply disturbed by the retaliatory provocation which offends our national pride, efforts which have become stronger

in the FRG in recent weeks. We most strongly protest against the freedom for retaliatory acts against the memories of murdered Polish children and fallen scouts. In the name of the future we protest, because without putting an end to retaliators' endeavors full normalization of relations between our states is not possible. It is not possible to strengthen peaceful security and cooperation in Europe in the spirit of Helsinki. We will remember history in the name of this peace which is so dear to us. Knowledge of it is also necessary for FRG youth, perhaps more so. This is why we attach such great importance to introducing recommendations on school history and geography books and inculcating them in the FRG.

Scout Program for Socialist Upbringing

We are presenting to you for discussion a draft of the congress resolution and amendments to the by-laws and instructors' pledge. In it we have tried to tell what sort of tasks we are deriving from the long-range program which the party laid down for the construction of an advanced socialist society and from the targets for Poland's socioeconomic development as adopted by the Seventh Party Congress. We have translated into the language of scouting goals the socialist upbringing and moral training program drafted at the Seventh plenum of the Central Committee and expanded upon at later plenary sessions, along with problems arising out of the reform of the national educational system. In these documents we have formulated a response to children and young people's expectations of their organization, the expectation of their parents, teachers, and the entire Polish society, which constantly gives so much evidence of having scout matters close to its heart.

We derived our tasks from the fact that we operate within the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth, that we are part of the Polish youth movement, out of the resolutions which we jointly adopted at the Polish Youth Congress. A deep analysis of the situation within our union, our achievements and shortcomings, experience which should be continued, and weaknesses which should be quickly overcome, was a condition for our thinking about the new tasks.

We prepared these documents with the idea that scouting should take a more active stance against all the problems produced by the present day and the future, that it should be capable of absorbing everything new, everything important for the future. At the same time it was with great concern that we thought about not wanting to lose any element of the scout upbringing experience so greatly valued in society.

Among the amendments proposed for the by-laws, we consider the most important to be the addition of an ideologicopolitical introduction which would define ZHP's place in the life of the country and in the front of those committed to the construction of socialism directed by the party, the place of scouting in the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth and in the world youth movement, the sources of our upbringing ideal and its development in the statements: "We are for this and against that," and the major upbringing targets in cub dens, scout troops, and HSPS troops. We have sensed the need for an explanation of what our union is for a long time.

Other changes stem from the current administrative structure of the country, the growing position of young people from the HSPS groups within the union, and also the attempt to make it more helpful in union operations on the basis of democratic centralism and intraorganizational democracy. Minor but important changes in the test of the instructors' pledge emphasize the ZHP instructor's role as activist in the Polish youth movement and his share in responsibility for the federation.

We want to have the program of action adopted by the congress reach young people directly. We are counting on HSPS activists to play a leading role in accomplishing these tasks, enriching them with their own ideas, and exerting an influence on behalf of the ideological atmosphere and enthusiasm for work within the club groups and scout troops. This is the consequence of the changes taking place within our organization. It is in this spirit that we conducted work connected to improving the scout upbringing system and certain methodological solutions. This will assist in rapidly upgrading ideological-upbringing work, because during the next 4 years we are setting our sights on quality and on deepening our influence on the whole pupil environment.

Since the beginnings of the 1970's we have witnessed and participated in an accelerated rate of Poland's socioeconomic development. At the Fifth Party Plenum Comrade Edward Gierek said, "If he looks around him, every citizen in our country will notice the bracing effects of the nation's work in recent years. Thousands of new factories, homes, schools, and health centers have been added. The system of roads, bridges, and railroad tracks has been extended. Increasingly more modern technology and engineering are entering our lives, and they are being utilized by people of intellect, people who are better educated and prepared. This new material landscape and spiritual face of the developing socialist Poland are the pride of our nation and a satisfaction to our party, but every citizen of our country will also notice gaps and unsatisfied needs. We are fully aware of this. From rapid progress in all areas, where we are still behind the party will make a major effort in its work in coming years."

We want to participate in this effort too and turn the motto: "We are building socialist Poland's tomorrow today" into reality, because one of the most important tasks is to create a person who measures up to the needs of tomorrow. We see in this the meaning of our work and our responsibility.

Resolution on Tasks Discussed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Mar 77 p 3

[Article: "We Are Building Socialist Poland's Tomorrow Today" -- Discussion of the Sixth ZHP Congress Resolution Draft"]

[Text] Placing a high value on the contribution and experience achieved (we discussed this in the ZHP Supreme Council report), the Sixth ZHP Congress states that we have all the conditions for undertaking new still more

demanding tasks arising out of the deep conviction that we are building socialist Poland's tomorrow today. In keeping with our ambitions we want to make the greatest possible contribution to the development of our country and to shape ourselves to meet its needs.

Tasks for Troops, Scout Tribes, Groups, and Squads

Our focus is our mother country. For life to have deep meaning, every person needs a great, thrilling goal. For us scouts this goal is the good of socialist Poland and that of the entire community of socialist countries. For ZHP to help all school youngsters better to become aware of this leading goal we must do the following:

Create within the troops and scout groups an atmosphere steeped in patriotism and internationalism and propagate models of human relations based on socialist morality.

Popularize among all pupils a knowledge of the Polish constitution and an awareness that the socialist Polish state is the greatest good of all Poles and that honest study, work, and readiness to defend our country are our most important patriotic duties.

Make all pupils aware of the importance of solidarity, friendship, and brotherly cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to increase our country's security and the need for solidarity with all the forces struggling for freedom, social justice, peace, and progress in the world. In preparing for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution we should further expand our contacts with the Comsomol members and Soviet pioneers and popularize knowledge concerning the Soviet Union.

Develop the activity of the sociopolitical-knowledge and young improvement-makers clubs and improve the programs of the citizens' knowledge tournaments and the olympics on knowledge of Poland and the contemporary world. During the discussion and tournaments, we should get at the rich history of the Polish nation and the workers' movement and progressive youth movement, in order to draw conclusions better from the historical experience obtained and in order to become better acquainted with the path which our country has trod.

Awaken among scouts ambitions for further activity within the ranks of the ZSMP and SZSP and recommend the best, most politically mature for membership in the party.

Our Youth Work With the Party. We scouts want to document our ideals and patriotism alongside our earnest study, to the extent of our ability and the available possibilities, through work for the country, respect for working people, concern for the social good, and protection of the natural environment. To this end we must develop the social front of scout action (Bieszczady Operation and similar scout projects), set up recycling centers,

take part in work to assist agriculture (within the framework of drives like "Every ear worth its weight in gold," "We are harvesting the fruits of autumn"), and popularize agricultural vocations, step up activity to help pupils in the selection of a vocation which coincides with their interests and capabilities, and make everyone aware of the importance of protecting nature and man's natural environment.

The Pole Can Do It. We scouts of the 1970's have the ambition to be that generation which will prove to the world that in every field of science, engineering, economics, and culture the Pole is as capable of doing as much as others. In order to make this a reality we must develop within the pupil society a drive for excellence in science, structure an atmosphere of taking advantage of the opportunity which the school provides for acquiring knowledge and vocational qualifications, and oppose both laziness and the neglect of school responsibilities, as well as thoughtless rote book work. To this end we must popularize the "Socialist action group" competition, grant the "Scout Scientific Prize" for achievements in learning, and make use of experience from "Groups Without Failing Grades" and "Teams of Six With 'A' Grades," treating the relationship to school responsibilities as a measure of maturity. All efforts and actions which help develop interests should be supported and developed.

School Life is the School of Life in a Socialist Society. In connection with this we must improve the organization of life in the pupil society in the spirit of full understanding and practical everyday application of the principles of the unity of rights and responsibilities and of democratic self-government and discipline. First, we must work for full implementation of the Pupils' Code and finish work on the boarding school by-laws as soon as possible. We should develop among pupils a sense of responsibility for the school and for other pupils. We must bolster the role of youth representatives, and transfer the best experience from social and scout activity to the life of the school.

Here Where Our Home Is. Every scout is not only a pupil in a concrete school but also a resident of a given house, neighborhood, or village, a member of his family, a neighbor of his neighbors. And in each of these environments he has a certain role to play. In order to teach him these roles, we must turn our attention in the troops to the scout's relationship to the family home, acquaint parents of cubs and scouts with the activity of the troops and scout groups, manage free time in a scoutlike manner, and expand the role of the scout tribes in the "Scouts--Joint Managers of the Neighborhood" contest.

Scout Style, Scout Fashion. It is our ambition to propagate in the school environment the socialist lifestyle, which stems from the dictates of law, the scout style, and the scout fashion. In this connection we must do the following:

Document by our own attitude scout honesty, truthfulness, reliability, resourcefulness, courage, and resistance to difficulty.

Courageously oppose various harmful manifestations of showing off pretending to be adult, such as vulgar vocabulary, coarse behavior, lack of consideration for the elderly, smoking tobacco, and drinking, which are merely proof of immaturity.

Develop the amateur art movement and devote far greater attention to the development of sports and tourism.

Shape a stewardly attitude toward public property and support the individual remunerated work of youth people, both during free time in the course of the school year and during vacations.

Polish Means Excellent. In order to keep up with the accelerated rate of Poland's development and in order to be in the front ranks of the builders of an advanced socialist society, we scouts must make far higher requirements of ourselves: the scout way should mean efficiently, punctually, precisely, and steadfastly. Every project must be planned perfectly and every act must be evaluated precisely.

The ZHP operating program for 1977-1981 is the program of our six-member teams, our units, our troops, and our scout tribes and groups. It is upon us, the cubs, scouts from the elementary schools and schools above the elementary level, on every girl and on every boy that the final outcome as to whether this program is carried out just as well as it can be depends. The ZHP sixth congress is counting on everyone to carry out his tasks with flying colors, because the thing is for everyone to work together to the advantage of our socialist mother country and for the satisfaction and pleasure of each of us.

Main Tasks of Instructor Cadres and SLocal Scout Headquarters

During the past 4 years the ZHP has undergone rapid, profound transformations. The organization's membership has changed significantly, owing to the age and organizational structure in the field. The corps of instructors (there are already more than 130,000 of them) and local headquarters face new tasks and needs in terms of quality, because scouting numbers 3 million members. The important place of the organization within the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth as an organization which represents a base for the entire youth movement has been clearly defined. We have developed a program for ZHP activity in the school. We are enriched by virtue of new experience in organizing scouts for important work on behalf of the national economy.

This development of ZHP's has at the same time produced imbalances between the rapidly growing tasks and methodical solutions which have not been monitored in years, between the numerical condition of the organization and the level of work of the various troops and scout groups, between the development of experience and new initiative enriching the program and the dissemination of this experience and initiative, and between the tremendous leap in organization's dissemination and the style and methods of leadership.

The elimination of these imbalances will be a condition to carrying out the goals facing the ZHP and to its further development. It must delineate the strategy of the development of ZHP in the period of the next 4 years. Aware of the past record of achievement and new, more difficult tasks, within the ranks of the instructors and the ZHP local headquarters we must pay particular attention to the following matters.

Deepen ideological work and moral training. The most important criteria for evaluating the work of each cub den, scout troop, and HSPS consist of the effects of ideological upbringing and the effect that participation in the scout group's activities has on the individual scouts. This manner of evaluating work should be taught in the discussions within the instructor groups and through training and official headquarters visits. Here it must not be forgotten that the effectiveness of scouting's ideological-upbringing effect depend to a large extent on the organization of the work of the units, troops, scout tribes, and groups, in keeping with the principles of scout pedagogy.

React vigorously to everything which life brings. The structuring of a scoutlike attitude to current problems must become an important goal of the instructor groups and scout tribe councils. This is the important, new accent in thinking concerning "what is "scoutlike," and we must place emphasis on it during the next 4 years.

Quality of work is the most important thing. Qualitative development of the cub dens, scout troops, and HSPS must be subordinated to intensive, firm preparation of troop leaders and the bolstering of the scout tribes as units responsible for the continuity of work with the troops. The development of the cub and scout ranks should progress as the result of making scouting more attractive to children and young people.

Improve the style of leadership to keep pace with our organization which is 3 million strong and constantly developing. This must be based on great activity, initiative, and independence on the part of the basic units, the scout tribes and troops, and on the good preparation for work on the part of the instructors which guide them.

Work on the broad front of allies and friends. Scouting has many friends and allies. We should cooperate with everyone who sees us as partners. In this respect we have a great deal of experience. We must enrich this experience and contribute to an increase in the role of the ZHP as a spokesman for the interests of children and young people.

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POLAND

CIVIL DEFENSE CHANGES CITED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Apr 77 p 1, 5

/Article by (MASZT.): "Problems of Military Construction as Well as Civil Defense"

/Text/ On Thursday, 28 Apr 77, there took place a conference on the Sejm's National Defense Commission. Vice Chairman of the Commission and /Sejm/ Deputy Bronislaw Owsianik conducted the deliberations.

As the first point of order, the commission acquainted itself with the completion of the construction plan in the Ministry of National Defense as well as discussed problems of building material and equipment deliveries.

The Vice Minister of National Defense and Head Quartermaster of the Polish Army (GK WP) - Maj Gen Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski and the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry, Henryk Vogt, participated in the discussions.

Next, the Sejm deputies went to the Main Center for the Training of Civil Defense Cadres (COSKOC). The deputy to the Chief Inspector for Territorial Defense and Chief of the National Civil Defense Inspectorate, Brig Gen Jozef Cwetsch, presented information on the current state and direction of the further development of civil defense.

The members of the Sejm commission acquainted themselves with the achievements to date and activity of the COSKOC. They toured buildings of a training base; the commandant of the center, Colonel Jerzy Rybarski, briefed them.

/ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Commentary:/ Since November 1973, when the Sejm Commission on National Defense last undertook the question of civil defense, significant changes have occurred in the civil defense system. These changes were brought about by new normative acts regulating these civil defense matters and also State territorial administrative reform.

Local inspectorates of civil defense were brought into being. They function as organizational units of the voivodship, urban and district offices, as auxiliary organs of the voivodship governors, mayors, and heads of cities and city sections.

Under the new administrative arrangement, all departments of the local offices of the State administration have been included in the implementation of the civil defense goals. Voivodship governors, mayors, heads of city sections and gminas, as chiefs of civil defense, received authority in the area of coordination, supervision, and the control of preparations as well as implementation of civil defense undertakings carried out by units of the State and the cooperatives, and also social organizations within their area.

The Inspectorate of National Civil Defense, the executive organ of the Chief of National Defense, supervises and coordinates Civil Defense activity in the organs of the local State administration and certain ministries. The Main Center for the Training of Civil Defense Cadres is directly subordinate to the Inspectorate.

One effort in the attainment of basic civil defense undertakings focuses on the improvement of a general warning and alarm system, the preparation of protective shelters, problems involving the need for the eventual relocation of the population, the preparation of civil defense forces with regard to organization training, as well as focusing on the problems of supplying the population and civil defense forces with protective devices and equipment.

It is fitting to emphasize that during peacetime, civil defense in our nation is a particularly effective form of protecting the population, property, plants, public utilities, and public treasures against the effects of natural calamities and catastrophes. Members of the civil defense units have demonstrated this many times while fighting fires, during flood operations, and so forth.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIAN ROLE IN LIBERATING BALKANS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, Feb 77 pp 40-44

/Article by Serban Radulescu-Zoner: "Romania and the Balkan Peoples' Fight For Liberation (1875-1877)"

/Text/ Over the centuries the peoples of southeastern Europe have been inspired by common ideals and goals born of their struggle for national and social liberation, independence and progress. These peoples have often joined in their efforts to throw off the foreign domination of the Ottoman yoke, helping each other and stoically sharing the vicissitudes of the times.

Back in 1324 Romanian troops fought the Byzantines at Philippopolis /Plovdiv/ in the army of Czar Mihail of Bulgaria, and in 1371 Romanian contingents also fought in Vlaicu Voda's army in the battle of the Serbs against the Osmanli Turks at the height of their expansion. And according to some sources, in the famous battle at Kossovo Polje in 1389 when the Serbs rose under Prince Lazar to defend their country from Sultan Murad's mighty army, Mircea the Old, Voivod of Wallachia, sent part of an army to the aid of the Serbian prince.

In the following centuries, a period in which the entire Balkan Peninsula became an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, the Romanian lands became vassals of the Sublime Porte with a recognized internal autonomy which made them a place of refuge for many Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Albanians.

The efforts, successful or not, of some voivods in Wallachia to shake off Turkish rule encouraged the southern Danubian peoples, or for a while were even in the nature of specific liberation actions. Mihai Viteazul's campaigns were an example of the latter, especially the one in March-November 1596 when the troops under Baba Novac advanced to Sofia, or the one in August-November 1598 when Mihai Viteazul and his army reached the Balkan Mountains after the victories at Vidin and Kladovo. Another campaign of the same kind was the one under Mihnea III in the second and final year of his reign (1659) when, after executing 30 boyars who had opposed his anti-Turkish policy, the voivod, at the head of the Wallachian army, temporarily liberated the settlements of Nicopolis and Rusciuk on the right bank of the Danube in addition to the districts of Giurgiu and Braila.

In the 17th and 18th centuries Matei Basarab, Serban Cantacuzino and Constantin Brincoveanu ("The most intensive diplomatic activity in southeastern Europe" went on at the latter's court) (1) also planned to throw off the Ottoman yoke, having close ties with the leaders of the peoples south of the Danube. This crystallized "an intensive polarization of the anti-Turkish struggle in the Balkans, which found conditions for development in Wallachia and staunch supporters among some rulers." (2)

The gradual development toward the end of the 18th century of capitalist production relations in southeastern Europe, the aggravation of the contradictions between them and the Asiatic feudal relations characteristic of the Ottoman empire, with a corresponding superstructure, the masses' growing aspirations to national freedom, and the favorable international situation objectively enhanced by the Russo-Turkish wars brought about a qualitative leap in the Balkan struggle for liberation. "The whole Balkan area was seized by a revolutionary ferment of growing intensity, which took the form of constant insurrections and spontaneous antifeudal peasant uprisings and (then) became organized national movements." (3)

During the first national uprising of the Serbs (1804-1813) under Karagheorghe, Romanian volunteers (alongside Greeks, Albanians and Bulgarians in the "Greek legion" founded by Constantin Ipsilanti in Wallachia) also fought in the battle of Stubik (1807), which defeated the Ottoman troops. Throughout this period the Romanian people supported the Balkan liberation movements on all levels. The events in Moldavia and Wallachia, and in Romania after the unification in 1859, aided the formation of the national states in southeastern Europe although their unity was not accomplished until the second decade of this century when the multinational empires collapsed.

In the 19th century, known to history as the "century of the nationalities," when the struggles for national liberation of the peoples under the rule of the great multinational empires increasingly dominated international affairs, we can unquestionably speak of a risorgimento of southeastern Europe in the sense of revolutionary actions and wars of liberation preceded by militant political and cultural movements characteristic of each national community. They all expressed the objective necessity of creating national states, a necessity inherent in the economic, social and political development of the various nations of southeastern Europe at the beginning of the 19th century.

The Romanian people's aspirations to social and national emancipation were an integral part of this situation. The revolution in 1821 under Tudor Vladimirescu, "a turning point in the struggle for freedom and social justice and the overthrow of foreign domination" (4), was continued on a higher level by the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848, whose ideas of national unity were implemented by the union of Moldavia and Wallachia on 24 January 1859.

It was no accident that the revolution in 1821 under Tudor Vladimirescu coincided with the Greek uprising for independence. The connection established in the first phase of the revolution between Tudor and the leaders of the Hetaeria, a movement developed on Romanian soil, is well known. As we know these events led to the appointment of "native rulers" in Moldavia and Wallachia, putting

an end to the "Phanariot period." At the same time, Greek independence was declared (1830) after a long war of liberation (1821-1829). The Peace of Adrianople (1829) forced the Sublime Porte to accept the czarist protectorate over the Romanian principalities and also to recognize the former internal autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, which had been violated throughout the last few centuries by the sultans. By the same treaty Serbia obtained a similar status from Turkey, which Turkey had in fact accorded (but later retracted) when it signed the Peace of Bucharest in 1812 between Russia and Turkey.

Independent Greece, Serbia and autonomous Moldavia and Wallachia, born as the Yugoslav historian Dimitrie Djordjevic (5) points out "in the process of their own revolutions," were the points of departure for the future movements for liberation and national unity in southeastern Europe, a process which reached its apogee in the 19th century in the years 1875-1878.

The internal autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia within the Ottoman Empire, the abolition of the czarist protectorate by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, and the guarantee of the principalities by the seven great European powers all helped to make the vassalage to the sultan an increasingly formal one, especially because Romania had made some progress after the unification in 1859 toward the external sovereignty that it lacked. This included for example the conclusion by the Romanian government of the treaty of alliance with Serbia on 20 January 1868 and the trade agreement with Austria-Hungary on 10 June 1875. Under these circumstances Romania supported the national liberation movements in the Balkans and granted asylum to the revolutionaries in the area, especially Bulgarians, just as the Serbian and Montenegrin principalities in their turn supported the struggles for liberation in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Albania.

Even before 1848 Naum Vechilhargi, one of the major ideologists of the Albanian liberation movement who had taken part in the revolution under Tudor Vladimirescu, wrote a manifesto in Bucharest encouraging an uprising by his compatriots in Albania. So far as we know, it was the first programmatic document of the national movement that appeared in Albanian intellectual circles. (6) In the same period the famous Bulgarian revolutionary Gheorghii Sava Rakovski was active in Romania, to be followed in the next decades by Vasil Levski, Liuben Karavelov and Hristo Botev, leaders of the Bulgarian national renaissance. It was in Bucharest that the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee decided to open the great anti-Turkish uprising in Bulgaria in the spring of 1876.

The Romanian people's fight for social and national liberation, unity and independence unquestionably influenced the masses south of the Danube. For instance the Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian lands lent a powerful impetus to the Romanian people's self-awareness and their resolve to form their national unity within a single state and, as the historian Dimitrie Djordjevic mentions, it influenced the spirit of the masses in northern Bulgaria. (7) The Unification of the Principalities (24 January 1859) also had a widespread effect in Serbia especially, maintaining "agitation in all minds" according to a report of the French consul in Belgrade. (8) According to another French consular document, the Serbian Skupshtina, encouraged by the events in Romania, even wanted to declare the absolute independence of the Serbian Principality in September 1859. (9) But this aim was impossible in the international situation of the time, when Turkey in alliance with France, England and the Kingdom of Sardinia had won the Crimean War.

By that time (10), and especially in the next two decades, Romania had become the chief center of the Bulgarian people's renaissance movement. As Z. Stoianov, a former president of the Bulgarian Sobranie, wrote to the Romanian socialist leader Zamfir Arbore later, in August 1886, "For a half century, throughout some terrible times for us, the Bulgarian people have never ceased to look to the left bank of the Danube. All those who were honorable and great, all those who had any initiative, and all those who could not live and breathe in enslaved Bulgaria worked and lived in holy Romania." (11)

Countless revolutionary organizations of Bulgarian emigrants conducted their activity for longer or shorter periods on the territory of the Romanian state. According to the studies made by Academician P. Constantinescu-Iasi, 52 periodicals, newspapers and journals in the Bulgarian language or in Bulgarian-Romanian editions (12) were published in Romania in 1863-1877 with the approval of the central authorities. Most of these were of a militant nature, such as *BADOSNOST-VIITORUL*, a bilingual publication founded by G. S. Rakovski with the collaboration of B. P. Hasdeu, *NARODNOST* ("Nationality"), *SVOBODA* ("Liberty"), *NEZAVISIMOST* ("Independence"), the last two published by Karavelov, and finally the famous *ZNAME* ("The Flag") of Hristo Botev, the highest expression of Bulgarian revolutionary journalism at the time (1874-1875). In it the great poet and fighter for the Bulgarian people's cause "also displayed his journalistic talent, his beautiful literary style, and especially his inspired political thought" (13), very close to the dialectical-materialist conception of the world. Moreover it is well known that Botev, by virtue of his advanced ideas, maintained close contacts with the Romanian socialists C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea and Dr N. Russel, who also helped him to organize the detachment of chetniks with whom he crossed the Danube at the end of May 1876 to raise again the banner of rebellion against the oppressors on Bulgarian soil.

The Romanian state not only granted asylum to the Bulgarian revolutionaries but also unofficially supported their insurrection, leading the Sublime Porte to send a number of strong protests to Bucharest.

In the 1860's when the main strategy of the Bulgarian revolutionary emigration, under G. S. Rakovski's influence, was to send armed bands across the Danube from Romania to arouse the villages in Bulgaria, these detachments were aided by the Romanian authorities even up to the highest level, as in the case of Prince Guza's decision to supply arms for 25 such groups of 31 men each. (14) The same is true of C. A. Rosetti's idea of forming the "sacred coalition" of Romanians and Bulgarians at the start of 1866, intended to combine their activity with the national liberation movements in Serbia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Epirus and Albania. Two years later (July 1868) the Romanian government received a protest (10 September 1868) *[sic]* from the Grand Vizier himself after the Bulgarian chetniks under Hagi Dimitar and Stefan Caragea crossed the Danube armed with guns from the Romanian civil guard in order to reach the Balkans and form a provisional government to incite the general uprising of the Bulgarian people.

The events that marked the escalation of the national and social liberation movements in southeastern Europe, characterized by the great revolts in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria (1875-1876) and followed (June 1876) by the war for

independence started by Serbia and Montenegro and later by Romania's declaration of state independence (9 May 1877) and the campaign of the Russian and Romanian troops against the Ottoman Empire, were preceded by a radicalization of the activity of the Bulgarian revolutionary emigration on the territory of the Romanian state and also by a political and diplomatic rapprochement between Bucharest, Belgrade and Cetinje.

The ties between Romania and Serbia were primarily strengthened by the treaty of friendship on 20 January 1868, which was part of a system of alliances of the Balkan states against the Sublime Porte initiated by diplomacy in Belgrade. These alliances were "the expression of the trends toward national, social and economic emancipation" (15) of the peoples in this region of the continent. According to the report of 20 July-1 August 1872 on Th. Vacarescu's special mission to the "court" at Cetinje (the Romanian diplomat was representing the Romanian state in Belgrade at the time), Prince Nicolae of Montenegro expressed his opinion that the proposed league of small states in southeastern Europe should be under Romanian leadership.

If the elements responsible for Romanian foreign policy displayed some caution before the adoption of the historic decisions of May 1877, this was primarily due to the geographic position of Romania, surrounded by great empires disputing their supremacy in the Balkans so that the territory of the Romanian state could easily have become, as it had in the past, the theater of operations of the armies of these great powers. But the development and direction of Romanian-Serbian relations were evident. In 1872 and in 1874 the maneuvers of the Romanian army were witnessed by a Serbian military delegation, and in 1874 Prince Milan accompanied by Premier Iovan Marinovici made an official visit to Bucharest, on which occasion the Romanian chief of state referred to "the last- ing union of the Romanian and Serbian armies." Two years later the Belgrade government bought horses for its army from Romania, and after the outbreak of the war for Serbia's independence in June 1876 armaments and medical supplies crossed over Romanian territory from Russia to Serbia, and many volunteers also passed through the country. The Bucharest government also granted asylum to the Serbian population fleeing the theater of operations and took steps to send "free food to the families across the Danube." (16)

In the same period, under the favorable view of the Romanian authorities, the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee (which had come under Hristo Botev's influence after the heroic death of the radical V. Levski and the loss of authority of the moderate L. Karavelov) conducted its activity of preparing and launching the Bulgarian people's great uprising in the spring of 1876. The decision was made in the meeting on 12 August 1875 which, according to the memoirs of the revolutionary N. Obretenov, was held in Bucharest in Gabroveni Inn at No 12 on the street of the same name. (17) And finally, the fact that the crossing of the Danube on 17 May 1876 by Hristo Botev's detachment took place with the approval of Mihail Kogalniceanu, the Romanian foreign minister, and the active support of the population has already been proved some time ago by documents and conclusive arguments. (18) Moreover in the appeal written by the great poet and revolutionary in Bucharest or Giurgiu before leaving Romania to fight on his native soil we can read: "Romanian brothers, we are obligated to you for the most active sympathy that has never been violated."

After the bloody suppression of the uprising in Bulgaria (April-May 1876) a great assembly of all the Bulgarian leaders ("the first unofficial parliament of Bulgaria" as it was called by the revolutionary poet Ivan Vazov) (19) was held in Bucharest in the fall of the same year, on which occasion it was decided to continue the struggle. This meeting was held in a "great hall" on the Calea Mogosoaiiei (Calea Victoriei), or at "Bossel" on the Oteteleseanu Garden Road, or at "Slatineanu" (later the Capsa Hotel), certainly with the authorities' approval.

The national and social uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875 followed by the Bulgarian people's revolt in April 1876, events which opened the series of wars of independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania, met with an active response and powerful support in Romanian public opinion, which was pleading its own cause at the same time. All the dailies, regardless of political persuasion, published enthusiastic reports of the Balkan peoples' heroism and strongly protested the bloody repressions south of the Danube, also demanding the immediate punishment of those responsible.

Notifying its readers of the expansion of the revolt and the sacrifices of the "Herzegovinian heroes," C. A. Rosetti's famous daily ROMANUL for 9 September 1875 wrote, for example, that "Not a drop of blood was shed in vain" because "the trees of truth and justice are growing vigorously" so that "their shade is doing away with the weeds of imposition and oppression." On 9 August 1875 the same daily had published the appeal (first published in ZNAME) of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee to begin the revolt south of the Danube, and on 9 October it appealed to the solidarity of the Balkan peoples under the rule of the Sublime Porte. ALEGATOR LIBER for 5 July 1876 (another Bucharest daily) wrote: "The Serbians, Montenegrins and Bulgarians have experienced the same needs as we. They are fighting for the principle of nationalities and their cause is the greatest cause. They have fought alongside us in the past, and it is natural for the people's sympathies to be with them."

After Serbia entered the war field hospitals were created on Romanian territory to be sent to the battlefield, and "a public subscription for the wounded Serbs" was taken up, a fact also pointed out by the French consul in Bucharest in a report to the government in Paris. According to correspondence of 21 June 1876 between the foreign and interior ministries, about 1,500 volunteers were enlisted on Romanian territory to fight in the Serbian army. Many of these had been construction workers on the Ploiesti-Predeal railway.

In expressing the state of Romanian public opinion about the bloody events south of the Danube, the Romanian foreign minister, Mihail Kogalniceanu, pointed out in a circular note of 20 July 1876 to the Romanian diplomatic agents in the European capitals that the Romanians could no longer remain indifferent to "the cries of distress reaching us from the right bank of the Danube," and that "The people's agitation is increasing every day," adding that "The Romanian army is chafing under the yoke of discipline and wants to join the battle." Addressing himself to Europe, the great Romanian statesman demanded immediate measures to enforce "the rights of man" and "the obligations of decency."

With the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war (12 April 1877) and the declaration of independence of the Romanian state (9 May 1877), followed by the victorious

campaign of the Romanian troops along with the Russian army on Bulgarian soil, the Balkan peoples' struggle for national liberation throughout the 1870's entered into its final stage. The Romanian people consecrated the historic declaration of their state's independence by the blood shed in the battles of Plevna, Rahova and Smirdan and also helped to liberate Bulgaria. The Romanian authorities directly supported the formation on their territory of the corps of Bulgarian volunteers who later fought in the Russian army. According to some sources there were 6,000 of them in the training camp at Ploiesti, some from Russia and some from various cities in Romania.

The uprising of the Romanian people and the victories of the Romanian troops encouraged the renewal of the struggle by Serbs and Montenegrins, who had been forced to conclude an armistice in the meantime by the powerful pressure of the Ottoman army. On 21 August 1877 Col Catargi, Prince Milan's representative in Bucharest, advised the leading circles in Belgrade to follow Romania's example. When Serbia reentered the war on 2 December 1877 the Serbian prince stated with satisfaction in a telegram to the Romanian chief of state: "The two peoples, friends from the oldest times, are making common cause in the struggle."

The Balkan peoples' liberation movements, the Romanians' war of independence, and the Russian troops' victories in the campaign south of the Danube forced the Ottoman Empire, as we know, to include the independence of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro and the autonomy of the newly created Bulgarian principality in the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin (1878). This ended a highly important stage in the struggle of the peoples in southeastern Europe to form united and independent national states, a historical process which was concluded however in 1918 after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the collapse of the multinational European empires.

The events of 1875-1878 took place, in the context of the contemporary balance of social-political power in Romania and the Balkan countries, under the auspices of the bourgeoisie and affected the whole process of state construction, which continued to proceed "in the bourgeois-national direction," according to an evaluation of Lenin's made a few decades later. (20) Therefore the favorable effects of the independence of these countries could not be fully felt by the masses subject to the exploitation of the dominant classes. But the formation of the independent and sovereign states (Bulgaria became independent on 5 October 1908, and Albania on 28 November 1912) was a great forward step for the nations of southeastern Europe because it created new conditions for each country's economic development and especially that of the industrial sector basic to the progress of the labor movement, which became the innovating social force in the historical development of society.

In this new context the labor and socialist movement enhanced the traditional friendship among the peoples of southeastern Europe.

The solidarity of the labor and democratic movement in Romania with the ones in the Balkan countries took many and varied forms, such as the mutual popularization of the progress made in the organization and struggle of the proletariat, the material and moral support during the various strikes, the mutual aid to the revolutionaries persecuted by the organs of repression, protests against

the judicial and police measures of the bourgeoisie in various countries, and joint actions against the imperialist policy of the great powers and the danger of war, to say nothing of the struggle against fascism and for the defeat of Hitlerite Germany in the period between the two world wars and during the war.

Throughout this whole period the working masses of Romania fully appreciated the friendly solidarity of the workers in the Balkan countries, which was a great aid in the fight against capitalist exploitation, reaction and fascism. Significant efforts were made in this direction during the strikes of the petroleum and railway workers in January and February 1933 and the proceedings instituted by their leaders in 1934, as well as on many other occasions. They helped to consolidate the traditional friendship and mutual aid among the peoples of southeastern Europe.

The victory of socialism in Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania intensified and enhanced the Romanian people's relations of friendship and solidarity with the Balkan peoples, relations forged centuries ago in the fire of the tireless struggle against foreign domination and for freedom, independence and social progress. In the spirit of these fine traditions our party and state and the Romanian people are making consistent efforts toward the all-around development of mutual friendly relations with the neighboring socialist countries and all socialist countries. They are tirelessly militating for the development of friendship and collaboration among all the Balkan states and peoples in the interests of each nation's progress and prosperity, the consolidation of each people's independence, and the cause of peace throughout the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Cindea, D. Giurescu and M. Malita, "Pages from the Past of Romanian Diplomacy," Political Publishing House, 1966, p 169.
2. N. Ciachir, "Romania in Southeastern Europe, 1848-1886," Political Publishing House, 1968, p 7.
3. D. Djordjevic, "Revolutions nationales des peuples balcaniques, 1804-1914," Beograd, 1965, p 243.
4. "RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism," Political Publishing House, 1975, p 31.
5. D. Djordjevic, op. cit., p 47.
6. N. Ciachir and G. Maksutovic, "Some Aspects of the Conditions Created on Romanian Territory for the Albanian Cultural Movement at the End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th Century," REVISTA ARHIVELOR, Vol X, No 1, 1967, p 104.
7. D. Djordjevic, op. cit., p 62.
8. N. Ciachir, op. cit., p 62.

9. Ibid., p 63.
10. The Bulgarian National Committee, including the liberation of Bulgaria in its program, had been founded even before, in 1853, in Bucharest with the approval of the Romanian authorities.
11. Cf. C. Velichi, "La contribution de l'emigration bulgare de Valachie a la renaissance politique et culturelle du peuple bulgare (1762-1850)," Bucharest, 1970, p 7.
12. P. Constantinescu-Iasi, "Romano-Bulgarian Historical Studies," Bucharest, 1956, pp 128-129.
13. Ibid., p 129.
14. A. Burnov, "Taen tentralen balgarski komitet (The Bulgarian Secret Central Committee)," ISTORICESKI PREGLED, Vol XVI, No 2, 1960, pp 46-47.
15. D. Djordjevic, op. cit., p 119.
16. N. Ciachir, "Contributions to the History of Romano-Serbian Political Relations Between 1875 and 1878," ANALELE UNIVERSITATII BUCURESTI -- ISTORIE, Vol XXIII, No 1, 1974, p 74.
17. Cf. P. Constantinescu-Iasi, "From the Activity of Hristo Botev and Other Bulgarian Revolutionaries in Bucharest," Bucharest, 1950, p 63.
18. See C. Velichi, "The Attitude of Mihail Kogalniceanu, Some Danubian Port Authorities and the Popular Masses During the Crossing of Hristo Botev's Detachment," ROMANOSLAVICA, Vol IV (1960), pp 251-265.
19. Cf. V. Sismanov, "Ivan Vazov," Sofia, 1930, p 48.
20. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, Political Publishing House, 1964, p 355.

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DEFENSE STRUCTURE IN KIKINDA OPSTINA CHARTED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 77 pp 16-19

[Article by Mijo Vlastic and Petar Damjanov: "Defense Preparations in Kikinda"]

[Text] "The current political situation in our opstina," says president Ilija Vojvodic of the Kikinda opstina assembly, a teacher of history and a person who goes everywhere and has devoted himself completely to the advancement of his fellow citizens, "is characterized by powerful and broad-based organized effort in the LCY, delegate assembly, sociopolitical organizations, and self-managing entities to implement the constitution and the documents of the 10th LCY congress, the seventh congress of the party in Serbia, and the 15th conference of the party in Vojvodina province."

His words easily allow a conclusion as to where the focus of effort lies in the work of sociopolitical organizations, but also allow a conclusion to the effect that defense has found its place in this context. According to Comrade Vojvodic, efforts are being made not only to improve the work of persons most directly involved with territorial units but also to devote unusual attention to organizations contributing in one way or another to the overall vigor of our defense. The latter are primarily organizations of associated labor, among which the local foundry and the Toza Markovic building materials firm lead the way ahead of the Banat industrial-agricultural firm, Hemik, and others. The work of the LCY is unusually fruitful, as is the work of the SAWPY, the veterans' federation, the Federation of Socialist Youth, the reservist organization, the Red Cross, the firefighting federation, the hunters' society, the Popular Technology Club, and others.

The fact that the opstina assembly's national defense council held its last meeting on the premises of the Popular Technology Club shows that substantial attention is also being devoted in this way to defense preparations. The officials most responsible for defense preparations in Kikinda wanted to visit the young people who are interested in amateur radio, model making, and other branches of technology so as to see--on the spot--what these organizations amount to and what assistance is needed to improve their operations still further.

Very fine results have been accomplished in civil defense, where 21,000 citizens are involved. Several thousand citizens take training courses every year. "In 1975 alone," says Commander Nestor Jerinkic of the opstina civil defense headquarters, "970 persons took basic training in specialized units, while 2,050 persons took supplementary training. General-purpose units gave basic training to 2,500 persons and supplementary training to 12,400 persons. Another significant point is that hardly anyone was ever unjustly absent from training. In some instances, persons who had been justly absent asked to go through "their" share of the subject matter in any possible.

Specific Defense Training

We heard in Kikinda that persons obliged to serve in civil defense units are persuaded of the peacetime need for their skill and equipment, especially after the "volcano" erupting of natural gas and given the constant threat of subterranean streams. But that is not the only reason. Since Kikinda is a border locality and an opstina of broad significance in its regions, unusual attention is devoted to social self-protection.

Here is the inspection report: "The Kikinda opstina is one of the opstinas in which the training process of territorial defense staffs, commands, and units has been the most intensive and the best in quality. The course just needs to be continued and conducted still more effectively and productively. The Kikinda opstina's territorial defense is among those in which the most has been done to achieve in practice the process of the socialization of territorial defense, which is primarily evident in the socialization of territorial defense [sic] and in the strong practical impact of the 13 local associations. It is the opinion of the main inspectorate of national defense that the opstina headquarters and the commander are making exemplary efforts on the job and are accomplishing their role very well in the overall development of the territorial defense of the Kikinda opstina."

Such is the literal record at the inspectorate. Truly great efforts and practical successes are behind this record. We heard about them from Comrade Vojvodic and Radoje Radulovic, who is in charge of the opstina's secretariat for national defense; from Nikola Savic, of the opstina headquarters for territorial defense; and from Spasoje Malencic, Istvan Molnar, Miroslav Pajic, and numerous others.

"Our aim," said Lieutenant Colonel Savic, "is to become acquainted with every trace of our territory through exercises, to see where entrenchment is easier or more difficult, where there are subterranean streams and where there are none. The ideological political states of our units is evident even in such an uncomplicated example as this: when territorial defenders arrive for training, none of them will have long hair. They get haircuts before coming so as not to spoil the appearance of the unit. Not to speak about other details, such as training or 2-day or several-day exercises. We prepare them as best we can. Weapons and equipment are adequate. At the end of an exercise,

over a bowl of army beans, the president of the opstina assembly and the committee secretary sit and talk with the people about combat readiness and also about family problems if there are any."

They have been devoting special attention here to speedy mobilization. To gain as much as a minute, they have checked their speed and dexterity several times and have arrived at the conclusion on each occasion that they can speed things up by a minute here and there. They have now organized themselves in such a way as to be able to get their units moving very fast.

"Our opstina has won many awards," says Radulovic, "for successes achieved in defense preparations as the result of truly successful and fine work by all involved in defense."

The list of awards is long, but let us mention a few of the most important. First of all, there is the grand medallion of the Yugoslav People's Army, awarded by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Then there are the medallion of the civil defense center of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the nationwide defense medallion of the Socialist Autonomous Province of the Vojvodina, the badge for special merits in youth training, and the October award of the city of Kikinda for the opstina secretariat for national defense.

That is an armful of awards. The names of the awards and their grantors show the merits for which the awards were granted. Overall defense preparations are involved: the training of territorial units and civil defense units, the training of the population to be as prepared as possible to join the defense forces.

What have they done in particular that others have not?

"It's difficult to say directly why we have become renowned," says Radulovic, a recognized sociopolitical figure and a builder who will soon be defending his master's thesis on the role of multiethnic milieus in defense preparations and on the strength of such milieus. "Much that has been done has been appraised as very successful. In any case, the biggest thing that we have done in preparing for defense--in our opinion--is that we have activated every citizen, young and old, that we have put ideological/political work in the forefront and have thus successfully resolved all the problems of defense preparations, which problems really did exist. We have also seen to it that the LCY and the youth federation have something to say about referrals to military schools and academies, likewise to reserve officer schools. In short, the communists and the most responsible officials are concerned about everything here."

Lively Activity in Local Associations

In local association No 1, where Mile Danilov is president, subterranean streams appeared suddenly (allegedly due to the rise in the level of the

Danube after the construction of the dam at the Iron Gates) and began flooding basements, ground floors, warehouses, storehouses, and garages.

As soon as the citizens noticed the extent of this phenomenon, they notified the headquarters for defense and protection at the local association. And the people at the local association, which is responsible for one-fourth of Kikinda and 7,000 residents, grasped the fact that a sly enemy was at the door. They declared war on the water. The first thing that they did was obtain a large pump from the Danube-Tisa-Danube canal and set up shifts for operation. Next, they went from building to building day and night, constantly standing guard, struggling with an opponent difficult to eliminate. They knew that, but they did not surrender. They believed that people are stronger than any disaster. They had faith--and they won.

"We were able to act that way," says Danilov, "because we have prepared and organized well for war, even if it is against a subterranean enemy. This was formerly the concern of the opstina, no longer. Everything that happens in the local association is the concern, above all, of local residents."

No enemy can surprise these people, as can be seen from data on how they have organized defense and protection.

"We have 162 teams in civil defense units on the territory of the local association," says Lazar Denic, commander of the headquarters for defense and protection in local association No 1. "Although 80 percent are women, all of them have gone through basic and supplementary training. Something like this will happen: an automobile with a foreign license plate appears in some street. Not 10 minutes will pass before we know about it. If the car remains longer, we shall know who the driver is, with whom he is staying, and how long he will be staying in our district."

So speaks Comrade Denic, a well-known activist and sociopolitical figure, the sort of person needed by defense. We also found out that he works a full 19 days per month voluntarily, without pay, and that he has received the October award of the Kikinda opstina assembly for his labors and accomplishments.

"We still just need to work on the ideological/political strengthening of our people," says Comrade Denic. "Actually, we need not to stand in place, because we are neither at the beginning nor at the end. We find the right place for everyone if he has not found it on his own. We exempt only those who are bedfast."

Strengthening the Responsibility of Communists

When we speak about Kikinda's defense preparations, about the efforts by the working people and citizens of this opstina (60,000 of the total of 70,000 inhabitants reside in the immediate area of the border) to strengthen

nationwide defense, we are talking not just about Kikinda and not just about matters of nationwide defense. We cannot and must not lose sight of the contribution of sociopolitical organizations under the auspices of the SAWPY and under the ideological/political leadership of the LCY. As we were told by Deputy Secretary Mirosław Francuski of the opstina LCY committee, the opstina LCY conference has shown regular, thoroughgoing concern for nationwide defense, along with the leadership entities of all the other organized socialist forces in Kikinda. The main thrust of action by communists has been and continues to be the socialization of the concept of defense plus a constant increase in the responsibility of party organizations and every communist individually both in basic organizations of associated labor and in local associations and all other sociopolitical and self-managing associations and organizations.

But let us say straight off, as did Comrade Francuski, that we shall not be speaking solely about efforts and tasks but also about what has been achieved, what has been done. Substantial results have been accomplished, especially in specialized and ideological/political training for members of territorial defense units, civil defense units, etc. LCY activist groups have been set up in units and are, according to the deputy secretary, the main factor of ideological/political unity in the defense system. Work in the units is also one of the significant criteria for admission to the LCY. Since the number of LCY members in the units is constantly on the rise, this is a clear indication that serious, conscientious, responsible work is being done there. Almost 90 percent of the command personnel in the units are party members.

In any case, the commission for nationwide defense under the opstina LCY conference is particularly concerned with all matters connected with nationwide defense and social self-protection. But let us repeat once more that nationwide defense is the concern not only of the commission but of all communists in the Kikinda opstina (approximately 6,300 in 130 basic LCY organizations).

Defense--Everyday Concern

Secretary Savo Radivojsa of the Kikinda opstina SAWPY conference talked to us about the numerous achievements of this organization in the past 2 years on preparations for nationwide defense. Every year, for example, the conference holds a session devoted to nationwide defense. Representatives of all sociopolitical organizations and associations participated at a consultative meeting last year. Commissions have been formed for nationwide defense and social self-protection, for traffic safety, for crime control, for protection against natural disasters, etc., under the local SAWPY conferences; lectures have been organized at the local associations, of which there are 13 (nine rural and four urban); and so forth. A coordinating committee for nationwide defense and social self-protection coordinates all this activity.

President Jozef Borbelj of the opstina council of trade unions got right down to business when we asked him to say a word or two about the contribution of the trade unions to organizing defense preparations. "Nationwide defense and self-protection are our everyday concern," he said. "When we campaign to improve self-management, to implement the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor and the decisions of the 10th LCY congress, to raise labor productivity and earnings, to distribute earnings according to the results of labor, etc., we are actually strengthening our community as a whole, our unity, we are strengthening our defense system."

More than half the 20,000 persons employed, we found out later, are involved in various forms of training--self-managers' schools, forms, courses, workers' education centers, etc. These types of training regularly include topics on nationwide defense, security, and self-protection. The very close cooperation and linkage with the garrison of the Yugoslav People's Army, about which we heard from all of our collocutors in Kikinda, should also be mentioned. This cooperation deserves to be called a joint effort.

Joint Effort

Stevan Piperski, a tireless worker who heads the reserve command personnel in Kikinda (2,500 in 13 reservist organizations), was especially willing to talk about this cooperation, this joint effort. "The local garrison provides us with specialized assistance and support," says Piperski, "whenever needed to carry out our work plans. We must give full credit to the officers on active duty. To judge by how we work, however, you will see that we are not just 'reserve', we are as active as can be when defense preparations are involved."

And we did see.

There is hardly a single reservist officer who does not have a regular assignment to defense duties. There is not a single sociopolitical organization or association where reserve command personnel are not present or their work not noticeable. Reservists participate along with the opstina secretariat for national defense, the opstina headquarters for territorial defense, the civil defense headquarters, units of the Yugoslav People's Army, the workers' education center, the local associations, organizations of associated labor, and all other organizations, associations, and establishments in implementing the concept of nationwide defense; in organizing exercises, lectures, and training (Nikola Dragin, who is in charge of training for civilians and young people at the secretariat for national defense, can buttress these assertions with numerous tangible data, yet we fear to prolong this article with excessive detail); in excursions to historic sites, etc. The reservist lecturers' group should certainly be mentioned, at least, as should their concern for the young people who attend reserve officers' schools or military schools.

When we speak of this cooperation or joint effort, of course, we cannot overlook the joint efforts of the Veterans' Federation and Federation of Socialist Youth to foster revolutionary traditions through joint excursions, the

preservation and maintenance of monuments and commemorative plaques, visits to historic sites (Kumrovec, Kozara, Jasenovac, Drvar, Bihac, Jajce, Tjentiste, etc.), campfire outings, work campaigns (a road is soon to be built to the Simic farm where almost the whole Kikinda partisan detachment fell in August of 1941), etc. Comrade Tito's double anniversaries will be celebrated in particular this year, both in ceremonies and at work.

So far as defense preparations are concerned, let us hear from two others.

Bosko Vidovic, chairman of the opstina committee of the veterans' organization: "More than 2,300 of the 4,000 veterans in our opstina are actively involved with nationwide defense matters (in territorial defense and civil defense units, in staffs attached to local associations, in sociopolitical and working organizations, etc.). There is hardly any campaign or manifestation in the realm of national defense in which veterans are not involved."

Lazar Tasin, president of the opstina conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth: "The very concept of nationwide defense requires participation in defense preparations by all of society's forces and potentials. The training of young people, of course, is of indubitable significance. Approximately 12,000 young people in our opstina are involved in ideological/political education concerning the concept of nationwide defense, while nearly 5,000 young people are involved in the past 2 years in various defense activities. Every basic organization of the youth federation has its own commissions for nationwide defense and social self-protection."

We must stop. We could still have a lot to talk about with the folk of Kikinda.

CSO: 2800

COMPUTER DATA ON LC MEMBERS PLANNED FOR IN RIJEKA

Zagreb VUS in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 77 pp 10-11

[Article by Milivoj Pasicek: "Cadres From Computers"]

[Excerpts] It has been felt already for a long time, especially in the large cities, that there is a lack of organized study of development and activity of members of the League of Communists and cadres in general. Organizations of the League of Communists most often know very little about their members, because documentation filed on them is very scarce. A whole number of facts which are otherwise very significant both for every individual and the basic organization to which he belongs are not available. The problem is expressed the most in large work organizations, with a large number of members of the League of Communists.

Electronic Documentation

Such a situation has induced Rijeka communists to discover as modern a manner as possible to follow the activity and the development of every member of the League of Communists. An experimental computer data processing of cadres has been started.

Along with the basic and usual "personal identity card" of each LC member, the computer will receive data on his social origin, education, on whether he works in the social or private sector, whether he works in the field in which he has been trained, in what kind of activity he has been employed, the conditions under which he works... The computer will also record all the functions which each of the over 18,000 members of the League of Communists in the Rijeka territory have performed--and those [functions] in socio-political and in self-management organizations. The computer will also have general social data on the family of each LC member, the size of his apartment and his tenant status, on whether he has real estate...

Marija Petrovic, secretary of the commission for organization and development of the League of Communists of Rijeka Opstina Committee says: "We will also introduce files on activities of the Basic Organization of the League of Communists. On the basis of present reports from the meetings it was difficult

to follow activities. Now the computer will have data on how many members were present at each meeting, how many LC members agreed to participate in discussions on some subject, what were roughly the conclusions..."

Of course, one ought not to doubt that computer data will be used publicly and democratically and that computer files will be the means which the organizations and leadership of the League of Communists will use in the preparations of cadre analyses and other analyses. With the introduction of modern technology in the party files the experience of Rijeka communists will surely arouse interest in the large centers throughout Yugoslavia.

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END