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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1353

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW TACTICS OF ANTI-COMMUNISTS VIOLATE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Jan 77 p 9

[Article by Dr Ervin Hollos: "The Strategy and New Tactics of Anti-Communism"]

[Text] The spirit of Helsinki and preparations for the Belgrade conference are winning ever new ground these days. At the same time we are witnessing a fairly well-coordinated, extreme campaign against the socialist countries which sometimes reminds one of the cold war period.

The chief condition for detente was that socialism had strengthened its position internationally; the socialist countries strengthened economically, politically, ideologically and, of course, militarily too. The Soviet Union, the socialist country with the most experience, had become one of the greatest economic, political and military powers of the world. All these facts had a sobering effect on those imperialist politicians who thought realistically because it had become obvious that the direct overthrow of the socialist system was simply a false illusion. The sharpening of the general crisis developing in the capitalist world in recent years contributed to this for it greatly decreased the attractiveness of capitalism.

Hostile propaganda is trying to achieve its unchanged goals with changing methods and tools, taking well into consideration the new situation which has developed in Europe and in the world. It does not propose directly the overthrow of the socialist system but is trying to give rise to the impression that it is only playing an opposition role and "only" criticizing the building of socialism. It is linking itself more effectively and more concretely to the public life of the socialist countries. It is concentrating on actual difficulties but it is drawing false conclusions from them. It is trying to make its conclusions "credible" with manifestations taken from the socialist countries. They are turning more care to the depicting of a perspective for the future in which the outcome of the economic competition is placed in a light favorable for the capitalist world, using the tools of scientific futurology to mislead public opinion. Imperialism has already lost the historical initiative and cannot win it back and

this finds expression in the changed tactics and propaganda. But we must take well into consideration that imperialism still has significant resources and reserves. And its aggressive essence has not changed either.

In the worldwide struggle against imperialism the role of the socialist countries is indisputable, and the nucleus and chief force of this is the Soviet Union. The increasing strength and united foreign policy of the socialist countries was the chief condition for the turn from cold war toward detente. The peace program of the CPSU, the rise of the anti-imperialist forces, the strengthening of the world revolutionary process--all these changed detente into the chief tendency on the stage of international politics. The increased realization of the principle of peaceful co-existence has come to the foreground in our times, so that international detente is becoming irreversible. The European security and cooperation conference and its very significant closing accords, the Helsinki conference created a new opportunity for the struggle against imperialist tactics, subversion [fellazitas] and hostile propaganda.

The imperialist powers cannot exempt themselves from the law-like command of history. The experiences of recent years especially prove that as a result of the profound transformation the goal has become the building of a developed socialism. The changes in imperialist tactics and the propaganda subordinated to them are interdependent with the fact that in the recent period interest has increased in Marxism-Leninism and communist ideology. The achievements of the socialist world have increased this attractive force. It is not only we but also Western journals, newspapers, leading politicians and analyses by institutes studying communism that have established the increased interest in Marxism and its attraction.

One component of the background to the changes which have taken place in propaganda against the socialist countries is the ideological scheme which takes into consideration the new, great expansion of our theory and tries to use the new ideologies and new syntheses in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. As we effectively employ our theory, form our practice and develop our propaganda the anticommunist centers and ideological centers try with the same sensitivity to follow us.

As a result of the changes taking place in the world the governing circles, politicians and institutions studying communism in the imperialist countries endlessly seek more effective tactical solutions in their struggle against the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

At present they are trying before all else to use finer, more shaded and more differentiated tools and methods of "subversion." But there are also tactical elements of "containment" and "liberation" which indicate the cruder, coarser and more violent methods and tools of the cold war epoch. Even after Helsinki one could see how significant bourgeois monopolist circles mobilized under the banner of a cruder, provocative tactical line. This is an expression of how the warlike and cold war trend of international

capital brought great forces to bear against the spirit and signed documents of Helsinki. Those monopolist circles which tried to the last minute to obstruct the successful conclusion of the European security and cooperation conference, since they did not succeed, are now aiming at the results of the conference. This imperialist propaganda is aimed at trying to reverse the detente trend.

Subversion and the propaganda in its service are cold war tools. They mean intervention in the life of the socialist countries, causing confusion, serve the goal of turning social classes and groups of people against one another, openly or in a hidden way. But this more hidden propaganda which takes more profoundly into consideration the relationships which have developed, which belongs to the sphere of subversion, means a violation of the spirit of Helsinki, because even if it acts more finely and with less crude tools it serves the export of counterrevolutionary ideals and regards as its task a change in the internal order of the socialist countries.

What is needed is not psychological warfare, not intervention in the internal life of the countries of socialism, not ideological diversion, not hopes for the erosion of socialism, not support for and development of dissident and hostile trends but rather friendship among peoples and a strengthening of the psychology of peace!

This is why we must nourish friendly contacts and friendly feelings among peoples, must recognize each other's lives, aspirations and cultures. We feel, and the experiences of many decades prove it, that guided by our ideals we can be the initiators of and participants in the development of contacts which are much more extensive, comprehensive and multifaceted than heretofore, contacts which must aid the many-sided mutual enrichment and security of peoples.

Peaceful coexistence does not end the struggle of ideas. The struggle of ideas continues today and it will continue in the decades to come. But psychological warfare, ideological diversion and subversion do not belong to the struggle of ideas. All these are remnants of an epoch of sharp and frequently stormy international tension, tools of cold war.

There was a time when our enemies figured that the power of the worker class and the people would not be consolidated in the developing socialist states and that as a result of various outside pressures and action by internal counterrevolutionary forces these people's powers would crumble. This did not happen.

Imperialist propaganda, as the chief tool of ideological diversion, spreads the ideological trends of the bourgeoisie and preserves and even gives new life to petit bourgeois views and ideals. The effect of hostile propaganda is interdependent with the increased contact of the two world systems, with the given ideological condition of our society, with our objective difficulties and subjective errors too. So we must improve our work at every

level, including our analysis of enemy strategy, tactics and propaganda and the use of experiences in this regard.

Our consciousness forming activity has been made more aggressive in recent years too; it has become more lively, better argued, more polemical and more differentiated. A significant role has been played in this by tools of mass information too. There has been increasing realization of the idea that an analysis and unmasking of bourgeois propaganda is the task of political-ideological work as a whole. The active representation and agitative expression of our achievements, our ideals, our interests and our policy has improved and become more effective as has the giving of creative answers to the questions posed by life--and this will be our task in the future too. Nor is it to be underestimated that we have largely succeeded in depriving the propaganda directed against us of its ability to take the initiative.

One way in which anti-communist propaganda appears in our day is that it often makes proposals for the "improvement" of socialism. This finds expression in the absolutizing of national peculiarities, in nationalist aspirations and in a denial of internationalism. With great diligence they try to distort and oppose to one another the foreign and domestic policies of our party for the purpose of spreading distrust among the socialist countries, our natural allies.

By putting nationalism in the foreground enemy propaganda places the greatest emphasis on anti-Soviet ideas and slogans. Their propaganda is systematically aimed at arousing distrust toward the Soviet Union, placing into the foreground the so-called advantages of a "Western orientation." Among their frequently voiced arguments is the emphasis that Hungary is "suitable for playing the role of a bridge between West and East."

For this reason the hostile propaganda directed against our country tries to a very significant degree to create a false and distorted picture of the internal situation of the allied socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

The spread of tourism and the mass travel of Hungarian citizens in Western countries has contributed to the dispersal of many illusions which lived in a not to be underestimated number of our citizens concerning the developed capitalist countries. Naturally it cannot be denied that the capitalist world is also trying to use the massive travel to arouse interest in the capitalist form of life and strengthen the influence of bourgeois views. Nevertheless, as a result of the spread of tourism among other things, completely open anti-communist propaganda has lost its attraction. So it is seeking new methods. It is to this that one can attribute the fact that some of their press organs have changed their tone and have become the "explainers" of the "further development" and "adaptation" of Marxist-Leninist theory and the building of socialism. They still demand from us a "consistent," according to them, application of these. They do all this with a very transparent purpose.

Our difficulties, our problems and our subjective errors may provide an opportunity for imperialist propaganda but the experiences of recent years prove that the propaganda directed against us is defined to a significant degree by our achievements.

The results achieved in past decades in carrying out a social transformation and in building socialism and the changes which have taken place to no small degree in the thinking and consciousness of people today prompt the anti-communist centers dealing with our homeland to work out a more flexible tactic. This tactic reckons with the fact that the former ruling classes have disappeared. Therefore they are trying to adjust their activities to the new historical circumstances and social relationships.

They regard so-called "gradualism" as a tool of political change and a possibility felt to be hopeful which could lead to a capitalist restoration. But today they already see (and this says much about the situation and the power relationships) that they can start only from the existing institutions. For this reason, they say, every social institution and organization must be urged in the direction of departing from party control and becoming "independent."

We should neither underestimate nor overestimate these various conceptions. They are unrealistic and unrealizable conceptions doomed to failure which do not reckon with the experiences of our party and our people. Our people have experienced much in past decades and have become mature. They do not reckon with that strong alliance which binds us to the socialist community, to the Soviet Union. We should oppose to the ever less effective hostile propaganda the real achievements of a Hungary which is building socialism, the national program which is based on the policy of the MSZMP.

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MARXISM-LENINISM TRIUMPHS OVER FOREIGN INFLUENCES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Nov 76 p 2

[Article by Agim Popa]

[Text] "Marxism-Leninism has now become the dominant ideology in our country. Our whole political, economic, social, educational and cultural life is guided by the principles of the ideology of the working class and is pervaded by the norms of proletarian morality."

Enver Hoxha

The conversion of Marxism-Leninism into the dominant ideology, as emphasized at the seventh party congress and sanctioned in the new draft constitution of our state, constitutes a great historical victory for the party and the socialist revolution in our country.

This is connected above all with the fact that, with the triumph of the people's revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Labor Party of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the sole leading political force of the state and society; with the fact that everything in our society is guided by the party's policy, which is based entirely on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, applied and developed creatively under our country's conditions.

But the conversion of Marxism-Leninism into the dominant ideology has to do also with the degree of dissemination and acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook by the broad masses of the people, with the degree to which it is rooted in the conscience of the workers as guidance for action. The fact that the working class sets the tone for the whole life of the country, especially the development and deepening of direct and massive worker control, the inculcation of the psychology of collectivism in the peasant masses by the establishment of the cooperativist system, the heavy blows that religious ideology has received and which have been crowned by the popular movement to close the churches and mosques, the development of the powerful movement to emancipate women and the breaking down of many enslaving concepts and customs about women, the successes achieved in fighting to eradicate bureaucratic and liberal concepts, the introduction of the spirit of proletarian partisanship and Marxist-Leninist

methodology into the development of the sciences, and the dominance of socialist realism in our literature and arts, the enthusiastic participation of youth in work actions and ideological drives, the generally lively atmosphere of the mass revolutionary movements to put into effect the party's line and orientations concerning the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland, such as those launched before and after the seventh party congress, the unanimous and active support which our party has had and has from all the people in the great fight against modern revisionism--all these things, as well as many other well-known facts characterizing our whole social life, clearly testify that it is now a historical reality that Marxism-Leninism has been accepted by the broad strata of the people in all fields and has become the dominant ideology in their consciences.

The rooting of Marxism-Leninism in all fields of our social life as the dominant ideology is the result of the dialectic collaboration of objective and subjective factors. The acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology by the broad masses of the people is closely connected with the profound change in the material conditions brought about in our country--by the disappearance of private ownership and the triumph everywhere, in town and country, of socialist relationships in production, by the vigorous development of the productive forces and, on this basis, the unparalleled rise in the people's standard of living, and so forth. On this basis, the conscience of the workers has changed degree by degree, being leavened more and more every day with proletarian philosophy and morality. The whole revolutionary practice of our country is a great school for the Marxist-Leninist education of the workers. As Comrade Enver emphasized at the seventh party congress, "life during these 35 years has firmly convinced our people that only on the basis of the world outlook of the working class is it possible to establish, preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism successfully and advance safely toward the classless communist society."

But this has not been nor could it be a spontaneous process; on the contrary, the decisive role in effecting it belongs to the subjective factor, the correct leadership of our Labor Party. It is the party that has guided and is guiding in a self-aware manner the whole process of the socialist transformation of society, thus creating the material conditions for the transformation of the conscience of the workers. On the other hand, the party has done and is doing all-around direct work with every means for the communist education of the workers in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the norms of proletarian morality, and so forth.

This decisive role of the subjective factor, the party, is expressed with special force in the consistent fight which it has waged at every moment to make Marxism-Leninism the dominant ideology in our country. It goes without saying that this victory, which has to do with the transformation of the most profound aspects of social life, with the transformation of people's spiritual world, has not been won quietly, but in the process of a sharp and uninterrupted class struggle.

It has been an inflexible, principled struggle against the various enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of our party and of socialist Albania, both alien and domestic, who have tried in a thousand ways, by craft, demagogy, behind-the-scenes intrigue and putsches, pressures, blackmail and blockades, to draw the party and our country away from the path of Marxism-Leninism and socialism. This struggle has been directed particularly against the various enemies and deviators within the party's ranks, beginning with A. Lula and S. Premtja, S. Maleshova and K. Xoxe and reaching to F. Pacrami, B. Balluku and A. Kellezi and associates, against the Yugoslav, Soviet and other modern revisionist renegades. The non-tolerance of any anti-Marxist currents or factions within the country and the party's own ranks, the refusal to compromise with any manifestations of anti-Marxism in the international communist movement, and the uncompromising fight against them have been decisive in converting Marxism-Leninism into the dominant ideology in our country. This is an important historical lesson.

Marxism-Leninism has also become the dominant ideology in our country through an all-around daily class struggle within the people against the vestiges and blemishes of the patriarchal, feudal, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies, religion and backward customs, and so forth, inherited from the exploiting societies of the past; against the ideological influences of the overthrown exploiting classes and then the remnants of those classes, as well as the new anti-socialist elements upon our people; against the continual pressure and ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world, which daily dashes its poisoned waves against our shores, seeking to sow the seeds of degeneration among us.

The process of converting Marxism-Leninism into the dominant ideology, as an inseparable part of the uninterrupted socialist revolution and the essence of the development of that revolution on the ideological front, is one of the great historical victories of socialism in our country. Indeed, the Marxist-Leninist ideas and convictions, having been accepted by the broad masses of workers, have become among us a colossal material force for the full construction of socialism. But this does not mean that everything has been accomplished in this field. The party is striving to root the Marxist-Leninist ideology more deeply every day and to have it dominate fully in the conscience of every worker. This will still be a long, complex and hard fight, which must be waged every day with the utmost consistency.

The necessity of such a fight is dictated by the fact that a good many influences of alien ideologies continue to exist in the minds of men to one degree or another, manifesting themselves in many respects: in remnants of religious prejudices and backward customs, which revive and rear their heads when forgotten or underrated, or when the fight against them weakens; in many manifestations of petty-bourgeois mentalities and tendencies to put personal interest above the general; in bureaucratic, technocratic, or intellectualistic concepts; or in the subjectivist method and style in the work of the various cadres and employees, in manifestations of objectivism

in various scientific workers, or in alien influences in some literary or artistic works; in liberal-anarchistic concepts and attitudes regarding socialist democracy, liberty and discipline, the rights and duties of persons in our society, and so forth and so on. The party and Comrade Enver have constantly drawn attention to the need for us to avoid falling into self-complacency over what has been accomplished in the field of rooting socialist ideology and morality in the minds of our people; to avoid ever underrating the resistance of blemishes and alien influences in their consciences, and not to forget for a moment the great danger that they represent for the cause of socialism, and therefore not to soften, but to strengthen the ideological fight against them.

The fact that among us Marxism-Leninism has become the dominant ideology does not yet mean that the full and final victory in this field has been assured. The negative experience of the Soviet Union and some other ex-socialist countries shows that, unless the evil is forestalled and all measures are taken to block it, there exists the danger of a relapse, especially through the revival and dissemination of revisionist ideas, preparatory to a political counterrevolution.

Therefore, the fight to insure total and final victory for the socialist course in the field of ideology as well, and to root ever deeper in all workers the revolutionary ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, as guidance for action in every affair and attitude, remains a permanent and vital duty. This fight is being and will be consistently carried on by the party with all its levers in all fields and in every link. But it must also be carried on actively every day by everyone, by constantly delving deeply into Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our party and Comrade Enver, and by purging his conscience daily of every blemish and influence of alien ideologies.

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EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CRITICIZED

Sofia NARODNA MLADZHZH in Bulgarian 20 Jan 77 p 2

[Dialogue between poet Radoy Ralin and cartoonist Boris Dimovski: "Our Life Would Be Inconceivable Without Faustians!"]

[Text] B. Dimovski: What does success in life mean to many young people today? First, to take as a wife the daughter of a prosperous person, an important person. Secondly, to enroll in the university. Third, to become a chief. But has anyone ever seen an advertisement for a chief or a want ad in the newspapers: "Wanted, chief for..." There is no such thing. Everyone is looking for cleaners, plasterers, and so on.

R. Ralin: Consumerism is not a phenomenon which is so hard to explain. Some people, having "inherited" it, have seen nothing else. Others have it by virtue of "official position." Still others have developed it from something like an "epidemic," and have liked it. Yet others regard it as an "incentive" -- if others have it, why not? Finally, there are those who "panic," believing that there is no other way! However, no negative phenomenon is self-originating. Before becoming a fact, it must ripen, absorb juices, breathe air.

B. Dimovski: We often become angered by flies, and occasionally forget the fact that garbage exists. If there is garbage, there will be flies, and they will even multiply... The young person often imitates those around him -- his mother, father, or colleagues, obeying the principle of inertia.

R. Ralin: The barriers in the path of youth must be eliminated, for any barrier, even temporary, has profound effects and triggers complexes in young people. Their emotional balance is disturbed. Insults affect the young heart rheumatically. Let young people themselves think about their problems and enjoy their own rights. They should no longer be merely performers. We have grown accustomed to demanding a great deal of young people, and to simply blaming them.

B. Dimovski: We blame young people for being consumers. I personally do not understand what we mean by "consumer." Is it one who consumes material goods or one who consumes moral possessions? I believe that there is another word for the former activity -- misuse, and it should not be described softly and caressingly as "consumption."

R. Ralin: The consumption of replaceable goods, such as produce, clothing, objects, is not so terrible. What is terrible is when people are consumed. A theater director was using his assistant. The latter gathered his courage and escaped to television, to work on his own. Said theater director slandered him and was able to get him fired, and then succeeded in getting him back for himself, in order to be able to consume him alone. Such consumption is mortal. It wears an individual who has dedicated his entire being to a profession or a project out, and he suddenly finds himself useless. Comrades who dedicated their entire youth to the resistance had their nervous systems disturbed to such an extent, and their spiritual strength so exhausted, that they were unable to advance after the victory. They even turned into "restraining" forces. Others, however, who had been far less involved, rushed, with greater freshness and a proper attitude and unused energies, toward expansion and growth.

B. Dimovski: Last summer I visited a children's brigade on my small daughter's grade level. Only 4 out of 30 participated. The others were left behind with doctors' certificates to be coddled by their parents. How did my child and the other three feel? They had already developed a complex, believing that they had been tricked, that the others had been clever while they had been "suckers." What kind of example and enthusiasm can one expect of a child on the next occasion? In general, the "wise guys" not only save themselves but consume those around them.

R. Ralin: Anyone who has experienced being consumed develops a revenge complex. What is there left for him to do other than to accumulate goods and settle himself in a good position? It is as though he is compensating for what was taken from him. But can objects compensate for an ideal? Can positions and titles take the place of activity and creativity, of merit and accomplishment?

A young person may have wanted to do work in a specific science, and failed (how easy it is to say this!). At this point, whatever the profession he takes up, he will not like it. It will be merely a job. As my son, Kin, said quite accurately: "If a young person fails to acquire the desired skill or to work in his desired profession, he becomes antisocial capital." Bitterness always follows an initial unattained dream.

B. Dimovski: We frequently accuse the young of hanging around places of entertainment. Actually, where could a university student go, for example? Are there playgrounds for such young people? Try, for example, to find a place to play tennis. In my view, tennis is one of the most elegant and popular games. What kind of an idea was it to create playgrounds only for mass sports such as volleyball and soccer? If there is to be a game, one must rally at least 10 people. When and where can one play a game, such as tennis, for example, with a single friend? There are only about a hundred people who can afford this -- sportsmen, coaches, and their relatives. No one else, although this is a city of one million people! Naturally, students will go to a coffeehouse to escape from the cold. We cannot ask something of youth if nothing is provided for them.

R. Ralin: What are the cherished dreams of a Bulgarian? First, to build himself a house, "while he is young;" and second, to give his children an education better than his own. The young people today rely on society for everything. This is why society should have accurate and just criteria where their needs are concerned. It would be insane for a young family to rely on the Investments Bank for housing. Following the normal procedure, this would take 10 years. Meanwhile, if the family is paying free rent of 60 to 80 leva monthly, how much could be saved? I recently learned that Tomas Mann had six children -- three boys and three girls. Who among our intellectuals could afford such luxury? Why is it that when I was married, in 1958, I obtained a housing loan six months later, and two months after that the building was ready? Our country was not at that time any stronger economically, nor were standards higher! What is preventing the Investments Bank from issuing loans to the needy within a human legal period? Could it be because of the increased number of depositors? This is a favorable factor... Is it legal, is it human, to channel such funds elsewhere?

Furthermore, it has been said of the Bulgarian people that they would do anything to find a way to provide their children with an education. Whole generations of our scientists, creative workers, and engineers -- the children of the poorest sectors -- rose, thanks to the self-sacrifice of their parents. Today, even if a father is willing to go hungry, his son will be unable to go on if he fails his entrance examinations. Yet these examinations are often like the "pari mutuel." There are no candidate student commissions to link higher educational establishments with the young people, to control violations, and to defend the young people. Furthermore, what guarantee is there that an excellent student will remain one to the end? There is documentary proof that in secondary school Geo Milev had only passing grades (even in literature!). Had his father not sent him abroad, he would not have graduated. Yet from the very first months of his stay in Germany, he plunged into German cultural life, not only the traditional, but the most avant-garde, as well. Can it be that there are no well-read and temperamental young people today who, like Geo Milev, have only passing grades, and would not be accepted by Sofia University? Who would notice them?

B. Dimovski: Those who enter the Academy of Fine Arts with excellent grades practically disappear subsequently. Most of our noted and remarkable painters have graduated with a "T" or a "C." This is not true of the graphic arts alone. It is a very interesting problem for sociologists -- how many people have developed subsequently.

R. Ralin: Talented young people were unable to enroll in VITIZ [Higher Institute of Theatrical Art]. I asked the VITIZ management and the personnel of the Committee for Art and Culture to find out how many of the students who had enrolled with excellent grades had become good actors. Nevena Kokanova failed her entrance examination. Neycho Popov was accepted only on his third try. Their answer was as follows: "Well, in other words, he was after all accepted!" But what if he had lost courage and given up?

A large percentage of those in the arts, at that the best and truest, are sometimes timid and sensitive. If they fail, something inside them gives way.

B. Dimovski: People are like plants. I recently told an educator that my son was a "winter pear." "How can you say this about your child?" he shouted. According to him, everyone matures at the same pace. This is wrong, people mature differently, not only sexually but also intellectually, and this development is even more widely differentiated when it comes to taste. There have been wunderkinder, not to mention children with handicaps.

R. Ralin: I believe that the problem of giving young people a solid education rather than an early vocational orientation is a far more important issue. Adolescents are not as yet mature. They are not entirely grown up emotionally. Often they become enthusiastic about something which subsequently bores them. A profession they will subsequently hate should not be imposed upon them.

B. Dimovski: It is just like drafting a blueprint for something before determining the material to be used. This is like the small gardens around the Mladost-2 residential districts. The blueprints were drawn up before the buildings were built. Now the roads are so laid out that in order to reach the bus stop, one must either follow a zigzag route or end up where one started.

R. Ralin: Furthermore, the people in charge of vocational guidance for youth are often poor prognosticators. They overlook the existence of the scientific and technical revolution. The old way of life allowed certain professions to exist for centuries. This is a thing of the past: where are the weavers of frieze, the fullers, chick-pea merchants, knife sharpeners, millers, wool staplers, makers of brushes, tassels, warp-beams, and soap? Once in a while one sees a horse-drawn carriage in a resort town, there for decorative purposes. The technical revolution created a number of new professions. However, their life span is even shorter. Total mechanization renders whole categories of skills, modern until recently, unnecessary, replacing a number of specialists in one fell swoop. Must they be retrained? Would it not be better, for precisely such reasons, to allocate more time to more substantial culture in high school rather than to workshop practice? The scientific and technical revolution demands not "craftsmen" or "specialists," but intellects, forecasters. Any individual with a solid educational background finds it much easier to be retrained and to master an entirely new skill. The scientific and technical revolution would be inconceivable without people like Dr Faustus! Yet how many class hours are allocated to the study of "Dr Faustus" in our high schools?

B. Dimovski: Our industrial projects would not have polluted the air if their designers had studied biology as well as technology. We have become too specialized. We have specialized in ears, nails, teeth, and even duodenums, and yet there is no specialist who can put together a person, or even a machine. In order to assemble it, a broad cultural background is needed. But our schools are becoming ever more specialized.

R. Ralin: Some people, and unfortunately some scientists as well, ask: "Why do all young people want to be university graduates? What kind of psychosis is this?" This is no psychosis, it is the historical-cultural thrust of our nation, its vanguard nature. It is precisely the scientific and technical revolution that demands that every young person be a university graduate with a solid scientific background for development. What kind of technical nation would there be without an abundant number of young university graduates? Should we have too many, we could send them to the developing countries. What greater cultural and historical influence could there be?

B. Dimovski: I think, however, that this is utopianism: the production of nothing but intellectuals. You can send a donkey to Mecca, but it will still remain a donkey. Education does not provide upbringing. One cannot raise the objection that we are saturated with educated but insolent people, suggestive of a cow which gives milk but kicks over the bucket.

R. Ralin: The basic principle of the three eights should be observed in work and education. The hours for rest and sleep must be insured! Our curricula are greatly overburdened with unnecessary subjects. We must not create "old" young men, just graduated but already worn out!

In my view, labor should never be used as a punishment. Labor, which is a matter of honor and pride, cannot be a penalty, for this compromises it. Whenever youth brigades are established for patriotic and educational purposes, as was done at the very beginning of the brigade movement, let them build roads, kindergartens, schools, and youth and cultural clubs, rather than pick potatoes and beets. University students should not be used as hired hands. Furthermore, what are we doing with such brigades in construction now? We send eye surgeons to work as plasterers.

B. Dimovski: These are not petty matters. A waitress I know later became the chief forecaster in the field of international tourism. It is alarming when sheep suffer from glanders. However, when shepherds suffer from glanders, the situation becomes dramatic. Therefore, where the brigades are concerned, Radoy is right.

R. Ralin: The number of television sets, shoes, overcoats, and refrigerators per capita is not important. What is important is what each individual has, for there are different individuals. Some consume a great deal, while others cannot even stand in line. It is like the bite at Shrovetide -- the person standing in the proper place will grab the piece of halvah. We should be careful when it comes to amplitudes. This is why success should be measured not by per capita figures but by the extent of the disparities in possessions. No one is in favor of equalization, but everyone is in favor of equity.

Is the combination of professions not a vivid example of consumerism? Why do we forget that our whole revolutionary struggle was waged on a voluntary basis? Who paid the partisans? And yet how is it that even after the July

Plenum, it occurred to no one to say: "Comrades, I could give up my second, third, or fourth position, or work without pay!" I would like to see our press report every day that X, Y, or Z has abandoned his second position or has begun to do the work on a voluntary basis!

B. Dimovski: A single individual cannot be so comprehensively developed as to be fully efficient in several places at once. Furthermore, he will lack the necessary physical strength... It would be like acknowledging the existence of supermen.

R. Ralin: This is ascribed to ideology and society rather than individuals. This is why we should not remain indifferent. Such people hinder the development of young specialists. There must be free channels for development, rather than sticking to one chief or another until one becomes part of his orbit and is subsequently promoted as "his man."

B. Dimovski: To think only of the number of our fighters for the people's freedom who died so very young -- at 15 or 16. It means that they were capable of assuming this risk. Today we must give the young people a greater vote of confidence. We must believe in their strength and their capabilities. We must not hinder their aspirations. We must not "channel" them... Enough of such petty supervision! We forbid men 20 years old to dance, so that they will not catch cold, yet we demand heroism of them!

R. Ralin: The Komsomol leadership at all levels should seek the help of philosophers, economists, sociologists, journalists, and creative workers who once worked in the RMS [Workers Youth Union] and who are now the parents of young people, so that together they can resolve the difficult problems of youth upbringing. We should not simply wait for Party leadership directives; the Komsomol itself should seek more and foresee more.

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EAST GERMANY

SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW STUDIES FOR GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Bonn-Bad Godesberg IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 23 Nov 76 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Extensive Training Program for State Functionaries." A translation of the speech of GDR Minister Wolfgang Rauchfuss, referred to below, follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin Council of Ministers has decided on a comprehensive training program for state functionaries. The program includes in particular the advanced science training offered by the Potsdam Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; advanced training for the leading functionaries of the central and local state organs at the Academy; a program for the ideological advanced education and higher skills for mayors, and the provision for possibilities for acquiring documented certification credentials for all associates of state organs who did not graduate from a university or advanced technical school. GDR Minister Wolfgang Rauchfuss explained the Council of Ministers decision by pointing to the need for significantly improving the work of state institutions. One especially intends to counteract the increasing bureaucratization and snowballing of the government machinery. Moreover, the advanced training program seems to be intended to improve the state functionaries' insufficient economic knowledge. The minister stated that the demand for a better quality in state management and planning concerned to a particular degree the improvement of all the economic work of the state organs. Functionaries were needed for that who knew a lot about economics and economic policy and could use the state apparatus for managing the economy.

Minister's Speech

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 25 No 11, Nov 76 signed to press 24 Sep 76 pp 1125-1136

[Speech by Wolfgang Rauchfuss, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; minister for material management; given at the opening of the second part of the 4-year political science study program at the GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg, 6 September 1976: "High Demands on the Education of Socialist State Functionaries"]

[Text] At this matriculation for the second 4-year program for the training of functionaries for our socialist state apparatus, I welcome all teachers, assistants and students present. I especially welcome the students starting their second 4-year program today in their having been delegated for advanced studies at the GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence.

Studies at this institution of the GDR government have been and are of great importance for our socialist state, its steady consolidation and its class-bound reinforcement. Many Academy graduates are working in the organs of the state apparatus, on all levels and in various functions, with a high sense of political responsibility, great expertise and rich experiences. They have proven themselves in the construction of our socialist state power. Under party leadership they have helped solve many complicated problems and proven themselves loyal servants of the people who would consistently put the policy of the working class party into practice and be totally dedicated to the cause of socialism. It is thus a high social obligation they assume in taking on their studies, an obligation to the working class and all working people in the GDR, so that they will use all their strength to gain a maximum of knowledge, skills and experiences for mastering the state tasks as laid down for the years to come in the Ninth Party Congress decisions. Only up to a few days ago you were working in the various social domains, most of you in material production itself, actively engaged in the implementation of the decisions of our party. Now it becomes your task to acquire the political-ideological and theoretical prerequisites in order to help solve, as the future functionaries of the workers and farmers' power, the great tasks in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

The GDR government places the fullest confidence in your willingness to acquire the science of Marxism-Leninism through initiative, diligence and endurance, to turn the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook into the leitmotif of all your thoughts and actions and to work for the political and technical skills necessary for assuming, after you have graduated from this program, responsible functions in the practical affairs of state, by exemplary performance for the good of the working class and all the people and for the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These studies certainly are not always going to be easy for you who are coming from fields of practical activities in industrial and agricultural enterprises, from military service, the practical affairs of state and the work in public organizations. But could there be a more beautiful task for the members of the working people than penetrate the insights of science and thereby consciously mold and develop public affairs?

Our policy, the nature and activities of our state power, state management and planning, all measures taken by the party and state leadership based on the creative application of Marxist-Leninist science, our successes in the shaping of the developed socialist society as much as the incessant advance of socialism at a world scale are expressions of the triumphant march forward

by the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, expressions of the invincibility of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which has assumed enormous material strength in our times, in the form of the countries of the socialist community of states, with the Soviet Union being their mainstay. The ideas of the founders of Marxism-Leninism are the irrevocable foundation for all the activity of the Marxist-Leninist party, under the leadership of which they are being creatively further developed and applied.

Your studies come at a time of truly great historic developments both in domestic and in foreign policy. This is the time for the implementation of the decisions of our Ninth Party Congress, of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the party congresses of the other fraternal parties.

More strikingly than ever have the present and future of our country been placed on a scientific foundation by our party at the Ninth Party Congress and has the way been marked for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and for creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. The basic features of the communist social order have clearly and unequivocally been worked out; we are striving after them as the goal of our struggle. But a long-range goal, communism no longer is. Under CPSU leadership, the Soviet people is on its way of a gradual transition to communism, and under our conditions, with the further shaping of the developed socialist society, those fundamental preconditions will simultaneously arise which are necessary for the gradual transition to communism.

No special proof is needed to show that through the implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions the state organs are receiving new, great, beautiful, complicated and interesting tasks which are making high demands on our scientific spirit, creativity, organizational talent, on boldness in decision-making and working procedures for the state functionaries that are firmly tied to the people.

The higher quality of state management and planning is an objective necessity resulting from the social developmental conditions and the demanding long-range objectives as set down by the Ninth Party Congress. The struggle for a higher quality of state management and planning involves the solution of many different problems. The most important prerequisite for bringing about, step by step, further qualitative changes in state management and planning lies in improving the abilities of all managers in putting into effect the party decisions toward solving the main task in the most effective way. In other words: It is important to carry out state activities on all management levels and in all fields on a still more scientific basis. But that calls for further improving the cadres' Marxist-Leninist qualifications and for enabling them to solve the practical tasks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in creative application of its data.

The GDR government starts out from the proposition that this concerns the leading cadres as much as all employees of the state apparatus. For that reason the Council of Ministers has passed a complex program for giving the state cadres further Marxist-Leninist training. This program includes the advanced science training at the Academy, advanced training for the leadership

cadre in the central and local state organs at the Academy, a program for advanced education in Marxism-Leninism for all cadre in the state apparatus, and the certification for mayors and the creation of possibilities for acquiring certification documentation for all state organ employees who have not graduated from a university or advanced technical school. Along with the boarding school-type of training and advanced training and with the already on-going training through organized self-study -- which at present entails approximately 12,000 of the state organs -- additional thousands of cadre thus are getting the opportunity to complete their scientific-theoretical studies. All this shows that we, in recognition of objective requirements, attach extraordinary importance to science training.

The conveying and acquiring of data of science for a higher quality of state management and planning requires of the teaching staff at the Academy and of the students that they more thoroughly penetrate the scientific quality of the decisions by our party, obtain full comprehension of the strategy and tactics in its policy, familiarize themselves completely with the Ninth Party Congress decisions, in their entirety as well as in detail, and turn the on-going social practical affairs, the newly ripening tasks that have to be solved in implementation of the party congress decisions, into the focal point of their scientific work and studies. The tapping of the enormous store of knowledge of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and in the content of the decisions by the SED, CPSU and the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as a continual scientific elaboration of the best experiences the working class and all working people have had, is a unified process enabling us to comprehend all of the profound substance of our science and its vitality.

Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with formalized, stereotyped thinking and with dogmas. Its society-molding capacity is assuming ever vaster dimensions under the conditions of the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Whatever is going on in our society, today or tomorrow, be it what is being done through the great efforts toward solving the economic and scientific-technical tasks in the enterprises, or the initiatives of the working people in the non-material fields, the conscious work our people perform in all fields reflects the Marxist-Leninist ideas in the practical actions in which the people of our society are engaged. Thus it is only natural for the scientists in the Academy and the students to concentrate their work on coming to grips, through scientific methods, thorough analyses and the application of the Marxist-Leninist dialectic, precisely with those social processes through which the objective laws of socialist development assume reality among us today and tomorrow, and that they actively take part in the elaboration of constructive designs of solutions. This is not a task for the teaching staff alone. On the basis of the experiences we have had with the work in the Academy, the students should still get more strongly drawn into the solution of research tasks to the extent that study schedules and training objectives permit it. Saying this we do not wish to underrate the subjects dealing with history and other basic disciplines. On the contrary, being well versed in them is essential for a fine Marxist-Leninist education, for shaping the political countenance of our state functionaries and the sure mastery over the categories and methods of science.

Why are party and government so much concerned with training socialist state functionaries? The reason for it lies in the objectively growing role socialist state power is playing as the main instrument of the working people, led by the working class, in shaping the developed socialist society and moving toward communism. Comrade Erich Honecker has expressed this important conclusion in the SED Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress by saying: "The working class has the historic task to establish socialist, communist society. To do that it must have the power firmly in hand. Power comes first and foremost. Without power, the working class and its allies could not have transformed the decisive means of production into public property and could not have laid the foundations of socialism. And also for fulfilling the main task, for the good of all the people, what is needed is secure power."

All historic experience up to the most recent days confirms the basic truth of Marxism-Leninism: There is no other way to socialism/communism but via the dictatorship of the proletariat. It provides the working people with the decisive guarantee that socialist democracy can develop and that the political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural achievements of socialism can constantly be expanded and developed and reliably protected against any attack from the class adversary. Our state also guarantees that the new socialist nation can further form and develop in the GDR under working class leadership. Bringing to realization the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat today means further strengthening the leadership role of the working class and its party in state activities. It means aiming more consistently and tenaciously still all state activities at the interests and needs of the working class and of all working people, which is tantamount to aiming them at the full implementation of the party decisions, rigorously fulfilling the great economic tasks as set down in the party congress directive, and applying all advantages of the socialist social order to production intensification.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means placing man in the center of state activities. It is incompatible with bureaucratism and with slighting the working people's justified desires. Dictatorship of the proletariat further means combining in state activities the firm enforcement of the main task with government protection of our society, insuring it under all conditions of internal and external development. In view of the undiminished aggressiveness of imperialism, above all in view of the fact that the ruling class in the FRG has not reconciled itself to the very existence of the GDR, the protection of the socialist order and of its citizens' life in peace is a decisive condition for the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

It follows from the deeply democratic character of the dictatorship of the proletariat that every step taken by our state in its development is marked by the deepening and expansion of socialist democracy. Our party has always taken account of this basic tendency in the development of the socialist state and legal order, already demonstrated by Lenin. In recognition of the high status of socialist democracy, our party program has decreed: "The main direction for the development of socialist state power is the further development and perfection of socialist democracy." This is a multilayered process pervading our public and national life, concerning the work of each and every

state and economic functionary, and reflected in all the activities of the government, the local councils of state power, the social organizations and work collectives. The development of socialist democracy, its constant improvement, is reflected in the unity of economic and social policy, in the generous sociopolitical measures. It is reflected as much in our educational and cultural policy as in our government's foreign policy.

Our state's decisive democratic foundations lie in our people's representations, as its elected state organs. The Ninth Party Congress has posed the task of making the work of the people's representations still more effective, of further elevating the authority and effectiveness of the deputies and involving the working people still more broadly in the work of the people's representations. Further steps toward fulfilling this party congress task were taken with the preparation and implementation of the 17 October People's Chamber and bezirk legislature elections. Preparing and implementing elections will contribute to the all round deepening of the ties of trust linking the citizens with our state.

Socialist democracy to us has an importance of principle, for it aims at strengthening the socialist state and legal order in that millions of working people consciously take part in the management of the state and the economy and make the solution of social task their own personal business. In this process, the working people more and more comprehensively bring to realization their own political freedoms, especially their rights to participating in the molding of and decision on the basic issues of social development.

Socialist democracy has never been viewed as an end in itself. In the process through which the Ninth Party Congress decisions are implemented, those aspects of socialist democracy are becoming ever more prominent which are expressive of its true nature. Characteristic of that are the democratic activities in the enterprises and territories on behalf of the solution of concrete economic and scientific-technical tasks, for the rational use of material and funds, and for saving material and work time. A vivid expression of our socialist democracy is that 900,000 working people in the first half of 1976 took part in the innovator movement and achieved a gain of approximately M 1.9 billion. The breadth of democratic activities is also reflected in the fact that almost 600,000 suggestions for the 1976 draft plan were proposed by workers, engineers and employees. And the high state of development of our socialist democracy also crystallizes in movements such as that of the "notes on the plan," the counter-plan movement and the various obligations assumed as, for example, in building another 100,000 apartments.

All this makes clear that democratic activities are more and more concentrating on the development of the society's productive forces, the most efficient solution of the economic tasks and thus, the implementation of the main task. Here it is being revealed that, under party leadership and in fulfillment of government tasks, ever broader popular masses are participating in the conscious realization of the objective laws of socialist society. This process reflects the ever more intensive interrelations between economy and policy. Socialist

democracy at present, the embodiment of the conscious thinking and acting by the working people, thus becomes an ever stronger impulse for developing the social productive forces and it is itself an enormous economic potential. It is the noblest task of all state organs to foster it in every way and to create all the conditions for making socially fully effective the working people's creativity and activities, the experiences of the top workers, and the fine level of education of the working class, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia.

All functionaries and employees of the state and economic apparatus must understand deeply that the proper organization of democratic participation in its various forms and the attaining of effective results in the solution of the main task through the working people's participation will strengthen their will for performance and their national consciousness. For the socialist order not only guarantees the citizens' rights and freedoms, it even creates all the prerequisites for the democratization of all sides of public life, which again is, in turn, a decisive condition for the forward development of our system. Everything is done in the interest of man, and it is always a matter of producing conformity between the interests of society and those of the individual. The more completely an individual recognizes the state measures as expressing what he himself wants, the more the citizens identify, as cocreators, with our state and the tasks posed by it and involves himself actively, in his personal responsibility, on behalf of their fulfillment, the more the ties of trust between state and people will be strengthened.

The further perfecting of socialist democracy is directly linked with the consolidation of our socialist legal order and the consistent observance of legality. It is as much expressed in the conscious observance of legal norms and the voluntary obedience to laws and legal regulations as in the state organs' absolute respect and protection of the citizens' rights. Democracy and conscious discipline are two aspects of one and the same thing, that is, the exercise of state power by the working class and its allies under the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party.

The government expects the Academy to pay greater attention, in training and education, to molding students by providing them with such characteristics and knowledge as are required for organizing the working people's participation properly and for most efficient results. That includes skill in the work with people and in the management of large collectives, a party-minded attitude, empathy, humility and frankness, respect for people and an unshakeable confidence in the strength of the working class and of all working people. Yet it also includes turning the students into rigorous opponents of bureaucratism and formalism. While state activities include all domains of public life, of course, its main field no doubt is the field of the economy. The further shaping of the developed socialist society, in its entirety as well as in each individual area, depends on efficient results achieved in our socialist economy, on our increased capability, and on the improvement of our labor productivity. All domestic and foreign policy tasks are principally affected by our country's economic strength, the achievements in industry,

agriculture, construction, transport and other economic fields. The demand for a better quality of state management and planning to a special degree thus pertains to improving all the economic activities of the state organs. That is why the plan is the centerpiece of all state activities.

The criteria for the quality in the work of the state and economic organs in managing and organizing the implementation of the planning tasks are derived from the main trends for the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan as set down by the Ninth Party Congress. This Five-Year Plan is a plan for a smoothly flowing further implementation of the main task on a higher level, a plan for all round intensification and for constantly improving the efficiency and quality of production. This party course in economic policy on which state activities concentrate reflects the consistent continuation of the road taken by the Eighth Party Congress toward the unity of economic and social policy which, as the Ninth Party Congress has shown, has created the greatest successes in our entire history in all fields of our social development in the time between the Eighth Party Congress and the Ninth Party Congress. We have every right to say that by the implementation of the 1976 plan this road is successfully being continued on the basis of the Ninth Party Congress decisions.

In harmony with the 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth SED Congress has been making the point that the perfecting of management and planning has become a key question for further social progress, an important lever for fulfilling the tasks in the economy and in the other public domains. Our party always starts from the proposition that questions of management are always questions of power, questions of bringing to realization the leadership role of the working class in its alliance with all working people. That above all calls for rigorously reinforcing the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, the vitality of which has been brilliantly confirmed. Democratic centralism renders secure the organic connection between central management and planning, the creative activities of the working people and the activities, in their own responsibilities, of the enterprises, combines, state-owned enterprises and local state organs. It offers the best guarantee for the decisive advantages of socialism to be brought fully to bear. It makes it possible to direct the social processes consciously, systematically and long-range at the overall social scale and, increasingly, beyond the framework of any given socialist country.

At the Ninth Party Congress, Comrade Sindermann stressed that the decisive principle would continue to be the central management of the economy and of the other public domains by the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers will still more strongly concentrate on expert decision-making in the basic questions of social development, particularly on the further intensification of the entire economy. This requirement proceeds from the realization that the targets and main problems of social development, the reciprocal interlinking of the branches and fields within the overall social framework, and also within the framework of the socialist community of states, can be managed only uniformly and centrally. Important prerequisites have been created for it, through the creative use of Soviet experiences, in the housing program, for example, the energy program and the designs for natural science, technical and mathematics basic research.

The stability and dynamics of our economic growth, so important for social progress, is going to be determined in years to come, more and more, by an increased productivity and efficiency of social labor. Ninth SED Congress emphasis on the importance of intensification has been more emphatic than ever. "It has turned out to be true, the General Secretary emphasized, "that intensification is no temporary measure but essentially belongs to the economy of developed socialist society. It is of a long-range strategic character in its entirety, as the main task is too. There can be no doubt that its importance will grow still more than thus far in the coming period of our social development." It must be clear to every state functionary, not only to the ones dealing directly with economic matters, that the road of intensification alone can and must produce the steady gradual improvement in the working people's material and cultural standard of living.

What counts in this process is to make use of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, of the higher capacity use of the basic assets and the greater skill in investment activity, of a high material economy and the effective application of public labor capital -- together with the ever more effective development of the working people's creative abilities -- for the benefit of production growth and increased efficiency. It means using live and embodied labor, material and financial means, in such a way that minimum effort will produce the greatest possible results. The core problem in the increasing intensification of social production lies in improving the ratio between effort and achievement in every enterprise as in the whole economy.

This makes intensification, and thus the increasing of efficiency, a task which, in the present stage of development, is not confined to national boundaries. The cooperation, the mutual aid, that is flowing into the process of socialist economic integration today improves the efficiency of social production in every fraternal country and in the socialist community of states as a whole. The internal and international advantages of socialism produce the objective foundation on which greater speed in economic growth is insured for the socialist countries than is attainable under capitalism.

As a firm component of the socialist community of states the GDR will continue to make its active contribution to it, based on the Ninth SED Congress decisions. The focal center of it lies in the all round development of the relations with the USSR, the chief force of world socialism and our most important economic partner. "We are firmly convinced," Comrade Honecker said at the Ninth Party Congress, "that the further strengthening and deepening of socialist economic integration will in the future become, still more strongly than before, the decisive basic condition for stable and systematic development in our country as in all other socialist countries."

The elaboration of long-term target programs for the collaboration in the most important branches of material production, which according to the decisions made by the 30th CEMA session in the years to come will receive the major emphasis in the work of the CEMA organs, is going to contribute to it. The long-term programs will work out concrete measures for solving long-term raw material, fuel and energy problems, for improving the availability of highly productive

machinery and equipment, all round agricultural development, the expansion of consumer commodity production to meet the growing demands of the population, and an accelerated development of the transportation system. The target programs contain the very requirements on which the further economic and social development of each and every CEMA country and of the socialist community as a whole significantly depend. They serve to solve those problems that are going to confront our community in the next 10 to 15 years. The students who will exercise responsible functions in the '80's must obviously be made thoroughly familiar with long-range lines of development.

All that explains our need for state functionaries who know a lot about economics and economic policy and can apply the state machinery, including socialist law, in managing the economy for the good of the people. To get to that level of expertise, the training programs should be combined with making the best experiences available, for we have had plenty of experience in our practical management and planning activities. New ideas are constantly gained about how to reach fine results in the fulfillment of the main task through target-directed management and supported by what the working people have in knowledge and creativity. In accordance with the study programs the students must also learn about the basic developmental trends in the natural sciences. Without some knowledge about the role and effects of natural science research results and technical developments it would hardly be possible properly to comprehend the processes of social development in their complexity, reciprocities and interrelations.

Training in the rational organization of government-managed labor also must get a lot of attention. The SED program calls for a people-related, operationally effective, scientifically sound and rationally organized work procedure by the state organs and for lowering administrative expenditures. That makes higher demands also on the organization of the work of the state organs. Above all, the rationalization of the work of the state apparatus must serve the increase in effectiveness of all state measures, whatever their field may be, and help strengthen the ties with the citizens. It is all a matter of a more effective cooperation between the state functionaries and the citizens on behalf of solving the tasks the party has posed.

Great importance for the fulfillment of the economic and other public tasks in the current phase of the shaping of our developed socialist society attaches to taking care of personal concerns with which the citizens approach the organs of their socialist state in an attentive and unbureaucratic manner, and to constantly seeking the most efficient forms and methods for that. It is not the case that the citizens are meant to be the servants of the state but, vice versa, the state is meant to serve the people.

We oppose all theories and manifestations of inflating the size of the state apparatus. Lowering administrative expenditures means that for each unit of manpower and money spent for administrative purposes a higher yield is attained, that the material, financial and labor expenditure for administration will go down per unit of results achieved. Perfecting the management and planning is no one-shot deal but a permanent assignment in the wake of which new problems always arise as society develops.

Only a person who studies Marxism-Leninism in such a way that it becomes his own personal mode of thinking and acting can manage these tasks. You must always be aware that you are confronting your study assignments in the interest of the working people. That requires a highly ethical study attitude of you and many different social activities. Your teachers and science associates will always help you. Serious diligence, I am sure, will come together in your studies with pleasure in what you are studying, and you will also still find time for happy fellowship on a meaningful level.

Every step in education and training always closely connects with the struggle of the working class and all working people for shaping the developed socialist society. The Council of Ministers and also the work collectives that have delegated you expect of you that you will further develop through your studies as socialist personalities distinguished by a Marxist-Leninist class point of view, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and, above and beyond all, unshakeable friendship with the Soviet Union.

5885

CS9: 2300

DATA, STATISTICS SUPPLIED ON TEACHER TRAINING

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 21 Dec 76 p 6

[Text] During the past five-year plan period, from 1971 to 1975, 54,000 graduates of universities and advanced pedagogical and technical schools took up their responsible work in our schools, day-nurseries, children's homes and kindergartens. Moreover, about 500 graduates were trained for other areas of the national economy--research and general instruction in vocational schools. One out of four teachers and educators who are engaged in pedagogical work completed his studies during the 1971-1975 period.

At the beginning of the 1976-77 school year, only 10,000 pedagogs began work. Thus the prerequisites exist to provide instruction fully in accordance with the schedule required by law, as well as to implement the social-political measures for the pedagogs resolved for the 1976-1977 school year.

This high increment contributed decisively to the fact that the 10-year secondary school education has become the basic education for all children. From 1971 to 1975, it was possible to form anew more than 7,000 school classes. The average class size decreased in the 10-year secondary schools from 27.6 in 1970 to 26.3 in 1975. It goes without saying that it is considerably lower in the special schools. At the end of the past year, 700 day-nursery places were available for 1,000 pupils. Out of 1,000 children of preschool age, 824 attended a kindergarten.

With this development, further conditions were created to implement the school policy orientation of the Ninth SED Congress for improving the quality of education and training.

In the five-year plan period to 1980, too, the socialist education system will be further elaborated and perfected with regard to its content. The still more or less persisting differences in the qualification of teachers and educators in the individual bezirks and kreises, as well as in the educational institutions, are being steadily reduced. Approximately 50,000 pedagogs will be trained by 1980.

At the beginning of the academic year 1976-1977 all openings for pedagogical study at technical schools for teachers of lower classes, teachers at day-nurseries and children's homes, pioneer leaders and kindergarten teachers were filled. At the level of advanced school study, however, several hundred student openings remained vacant, predominantly in the subject combinations of mathematics/physics, physics/mathematics, and polytechnics. The proportion of girls and women among the total number of students is nearly 88.1 percent for future teachers of lower classes, and approximately 80 percent for future certified teachers in the advanced pedagogical schools. At the present time, 70 percent of all practicing pedagogs are women.

During the past years special attention has been given to the constant improvement of the working and living conditions of the students. Between 1971 and 1975, 1,200 student places and approximately 3,000 dormitory places were created at the 28 institutes for teacher education and the 17 pedagogical schools for kindergarten teachers. As a result, 10,700 dormitory places were available for the almost 17,000 full-time students in the advanced pedagogical schools. In the nine advanced pedagogical schools, 80.5 percent of the more than 12,000 students live in dormitories.

All students at the advanced pedagogical and technical schools can take part in the "Mensa" food program. In Gotha an eating center was set up this year which is open to all those who study at the technical school for finance administration and the pedagogical school for kindergarten teachers. Last year a center for cooperative meal preparation was opened in Luckenwalde. It provides meals for pupils, teachers, and students.

The legal provisions for the benefit of working mothers, which were enacted on the basis of the "Joint Decree of the SED Central Committee, the Federal Directorate of the Free German Labor Union Federation, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR, dated 27 May 1976, on the Further Systematic Improvement of the Working and Living Conditions of the Workers during the Period 1976-1980," apply also to mothers who are studying. Especially for the married female students and mothers with children--those account for 7.2 percent of the women students at the advanced pedagogical schools--all prerequisites have been created to enable them to complete their studies successfully without protraction and interruption.

The beginning of the 1976-1977 academic year marked the end of the step-by-step introduction of the new programs of instruction for the training of certified teachers in our republic. Thus the entire training of the students enrolled for 1 September 1976 as certified teachers will be carried out on the basis of the study plan introduced in 1975 and the programs of instruction based on it.

As up to now, this training goes on for 4 years for two subjects of the general education polytechnical secondary schools at six universities, nine advanced pedagogical schools, two technical schools, and one academy for music.

The outlines of the programs of instruction were worked out on the basis of a thorough analysis by the central commissions of experts attached to the Ministry for Public Education and the Ministry for Advanced and Technical School Affairs and were presented for discussion in the training institutions. Many constructive suggestions by teachers and students helped to make the programs more precise with regard to their goals and contents.

8970

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

PASSPORT REGULATIONS SIMPLIFIED FOR INTRA-BLOC TRAVEL

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9 Dec 76 p 4

[Text] MTI--Passenger traffic with the socialist countries shows a significant annual increase. The minister of the interior, in the interest of making travel easier, has just issued an order further simplifying the processing of passports.

1. Beginning with 1 January 1977, the issuance of passports and exit permits valid for the Bulgarian People's Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Yugoslav Federal Republic, Polish People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Romanian Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be performed uniformly by the district, municipal and in Budapest by the borough police headquarters.

In accordance with this, requests for passports and exit permits for travel to the above countries must be made in the case of private travel at the police headquarters appropriate to the permanent residence, and in the case of business travel at the police headquarters appropriate to the home office of the organ causing the travel.

The postal service is publishing a new, uniform application form for applying for passports or exit permits, which can be purchased at the post offices. On the application form detailed information can be found regarding what stamps must be affixed to the application, depending on the purpose of travel.

Temporarily the post office will also continue to sell the application forms imprinted with 150 and 100-forint stamps in use earlier, which can be used for applying for passport or exit permits for the Bulgarian People's Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Polish People's Republic, German Democratic Republic and the Rumanian Socialist Republic.

2. Hungarian citizens living in the Bulgarian People's Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Yugoslav Socialist Federal Republic, Polish People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Romanian Socialist Republic and in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics who are in possession of a consular passport may enter the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic from 1 January 1977 on using their valid consular passport without additional permission. It

is a further easing of regulations for them that for time spent in Hungary not in excess of 30 days they do not have to report [their residence to the police]. Within 24 hours following the 30th day they must report their temporary residence address to the appropriate police headquarters or police precinct. For reporting the residence address, sections I, II and III of the temporary reporting form in effect for Hungarian citizens must be used, and it must be signed by the person obligated to report and by the person providing the home.

8584

CSO: 2500

YUGOSLAVIA

CONTROVERSY DEVELOPS WITH YOUTH PUBLICATIONS

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 76 pp 20-21

[Text] The monthly journal for problems of society, science and culture PITANJA, whose publisher is the Center for Social Activities of the League of Youth of Croatia, published in No 8, 1976, a lead editorial under the title "Troubles With the Young." We are transmitting here that part of the editorial which speaks directly about two critical texts published in KOMUNIST concerning the situation that exists in one part of the youth press. In the editorial in PITANJA the views of the editorial board on certain critical problems of our younger generation are presented and reference is made to the task of the youth press. The continuation of this text reads as follows:

"...The critical analysis which was set forth in the pages of KOMUNIST, organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, should be all the more valuable and stimulating for everyone who fights with the written word on our "ideological front."

"The occasion for this deliberation is, namely, two polemical articles with an unusually sharp tone published in KOMUNIST on 18 October 1976 - under the title "Intrigues and Scheming" (heading: "Amazing Feuilleton in the Newspaper MLADOST") - and 25 October 1976 - under the title: "What is of Concern" (heading: "Negative Occurrences in Part of the Youth Press"). Whereas the first article is signed by the initials Z.R. (that is, joint editorship), the other is not signed, so that it undoubtedly expresses the opinion of the editorial board, and in line with this, its attitude toward the meaning and the manner of conducting public polemics.

"What are the fundamental evaluations and views of these texts which form a unique totality both as regards subject matter and methodology?

"The article "Intrigue and Scheming" criticized vigorously the feuilleton "The Ideological Struggles in Culture" which appeared in 13 installments in the newspaper of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia and in which the author of the feuilleton tries in a concise and critical form to reconstruct chronologically a series of disputes and polemics carried

out in our best known journals and tribunes over the course of several decades. Evaluating that feuilleton as "a most amazing pamphlet," KOMUNIST accuses the author of the feuilleton of being engaged primarily in the malicious interpretation of positions which are not his own, that "the motive of intrigue is near and dear to him," that his insinuations have ideological and political pretensions, that he fought for "his freedom of plotting." For this reason a warning is given that "it is not possible to fool around with the revolution," and that "ideological and political machinations for freedom of creativity" must be energetically rejected and "the nonsense about freedom which conceals an attack on the strategy of this revolution" must not be permitted.

"A judgment is made that various ideological orientations, liberal-anarchistic and others, which clearly showed their oppositional activities to the policy of the LCY in the past, speak through the author of the feuilleton. One is forced to the conclusion: How is it possible to find such articles in a journal such as MLADOST?

"The answer to this question is expressed sufficiently clearly in the second article. It is claimed, namely, that together with all the positive and significant changes in our press in recent years some youth newspapers "pursue doubtful values." What is more, they have opened their doors to "harmful views." What is the reason for such opinions and for the behavior of one group of persons associated with the youth press? The text responds to this question apodictically: social and ideological roots of such negative occurrences can be found in the pressure of anti-self management forces of the mass communications media and in the submission to this pressure on the part of editorial boards or at least a group of persons to be found on them. It seems that some of these forces have decided (and examples have regretfully proved them to be correct) that certain youth newspapers are still not a sufficiently solid part of our ideological front, so that they have zeroed in on them.

"If that is really so, what should be done? One must, it is held, do everything in order to make the above mentioned newspapers stable in a "self-managing and socialist manner and socially responsible." This is the urgent political task of the social organs of the youth press and their editorial boards and of the organizations of the LC in them - it is asserted in the conclusion.

"And so, after who knows how many times - again troubles with the young?

"Judging by the texts which we just cited in a detailed fashion, the situation on the ideological front is not only of concern but is exceptionally full of ideological deviations, alien conceptions and politically unacceptable points of view requiring an energetic and urgent social cure.

"But let us nevertheless ask ourselves whether the situation is really that black, and what is more important, whether the method of public polemicizing,

as practiced by KOMUNIST, contributes to the positive solution of the ideological malady in our socio-political system?

"In our judgment--it does not contribute, but makes a solution all the more difficult.

"Is it really necessary publicly to polemicize about phenomena which we do not approve of, with points of view which we judge as a failure and without any basis in Marxist theory, so that before every argument, or even in the absence of one, it is necessary to blacken and to discredit to the bitter end the author of such opinions, to proclaim him at once and without appeal an opponent of the LC and a national enemy of the people? Why is KOMUNIST convinced that it is impossible to polemicize with the young author of the feuilleton on the question of our ideological struggles over the past three or four decades employing arguments and utilizing Marxist analysis, but that it is possible to pursue the method of intervening politically and employing accusations? What can free us in public polemics from the obligation of putting forth our own position and point of view about questions which the author of the feuilleton poses, instead of superficially pursuing opposition tendencies and currents which lurk obscurely in the background?

"Such a way of polemicizing, beside the fact that it is profoundly anachronistic and sectarian, is incorrect and irresponsible from the professional journalistic point of view, given the fact that it underestimates equally the intelligence of the reader and the public. If arguments are not presented in a polemic, but rather there is an out-and-out enumeration of political criteria, what is there left for a reader to do but to believe--or not to believe. Where does KOMUNIST get the right to treat its readers, Yugoslav Communists, in such a way?

"Finally, given that there are matters of concern on our ideological front, does everything that KOMUNIST knows and wants to say boil down to a laconic accusation concerning the submission of part of the youth press to the pressure of anti-self management (more precisely, anti-socialist) forces? Shall we indeed keep on exhausting ourselves by senselessly suspecting one another of submitting to pressures, while competing to prove that intelligence is not always vigilance's faithful companion?

"What is nevertheless most devastating is that the comrades from KOMUNIST, whether they wished to or not, because of the worried way that they survey our ideological front and search for various opponents, necessarily divorce themselves from the front, creating at the same time the illusion that there has taken place a separation from the front--of others. When a newspaper like KOMUNIST wants to warn about "how things stand"--for example in the youth press--then it is expected, justly, that it speaks to the given situation, and not outside of it or past it, that it always keeps in mind its own role and responsibility for the solution of the problem under consideration.

The Third Conference of the LCY concluded in 1972 that communists (and KOMUNIST as well) are responsible for the socialist orientation and the involvement in self-management of the younger generation.

"If KOMUNIST is dissatisfied with the situation in the youth press today, is it not also obliged to keep in mind its own coresponsibility for that situation?

"And if it is not conscious of that coresponsibility, with a minimum of communist and intellectual honesty, the situation discussed above and only then draw conclusions. If it would first of all go into problems openly which were the occasion for their writing, and only then look for culprits who were responsible for the appearance of these problems. If it would be first of all concerned with the solution of problems, not to speak about the implementation of these solutions, and only then with distributing raps on the knuckles. We speak about this in the conviction that the task of KOMUNIST does not consist, and cannot consist, of looking for a "Pedro" behind all good and bad tidings. Otherwise, not only would KOMUNIST have trouble with the young, but there also would be continuous trouble among the young with KOMUNIST."

Advocate of Politically Unacceptable Positions

We would accept the criticism which the journal PITANJA addressed to the criticisms of KOMUNIST, stating that KOMUNIST lacks arguments, if this was really the question. But PITANJA did not evidently care about arguments and therefore its editorial board, while quoting the texts from KOMUNIST, carefully avoids the arguments which are provided therein. Consequently, this is not the question. But what is it then?

Taking into consideration the fact that a few months have already gone by since the appearance of the feuilleton in MLADOST, and almost two months from the publication of the critical text in KOMUNIST, let us recall certain facts.

MLADOST, the newspaper of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, published a feuilleton of 13 parts, "Ideological Struggles in Culture," from the pen of young Dusan M. Boskovic, from 4 June to 1 October of this year. From polemics carried out over a period of about three decades, the author chooses certain excerpts and details, quotes them, pits one against another, embellishes them with his comments. Thirteen stories, strung together one by one in this fashion, though without any chronological or historical order.

But in that, one might say subjective approach, apparently without any system--there is a system. All quotations, all selected polemics are designed to be a confirmation of the author's thesis. And that thesis is in essence this: politics, daily, pragmatic politics, was (and remains) a determining factor in our culture. In support of such a thesis "the

ideological struggles in culture" are presented as a continuous clash of two positions, one which politically distanced itself from the Stalinist, Zhdanovite model of cultural and artistic life but which did not free itself from "the fundamental assumptions of this outlook on culture and art," and the other which stood for the "human element" in art, for the "liberation of man" against "the theory of reflection." That first position is a state, official, or at least very close to official, position. That other is not only implicitly proclaimed as progressive and humanistic. And when matters are presented in such a way, then it is not difficult to grasp which position (in the interpretation of the author of the feuilleton in MLADOST) got the short end of the stick.

The author of the feuilleton thus writes only superficially about culture, while in essence he writes about politics, ideology, revolution. Looked at from that point of view, the message of the feuilleton is quite clear: we haven't completely overcome Stalinism. And that is already quite a familiar refrain. Such positions, warnings, messages were addressed to the League of Communists as well as to this society from the champions of "the criticism of everything that exists."

The thesis of D. M. Boskovic should also confirm the fate of the heroes of that feuilleton. When they are adherents of that other line, they become "outcasts" or turncoats, and become state theoreticians. At this point the author of the feuilleton is consistent--he selects and enumerates details about the fate of individual personalities in a way that allows them to fit that model.

This is not the entire argument against the feuilleton in MLADOST, but represents its essence and meaning. Is it necessary to go into a broader explanation, an argumentative discussion and juxtaposition of the theses of that feuilleton? If so, we are naturally ready for that too. But, we think it is not necessary to do this for the sake of the editorial board of PITANJA, since we are convinced that everything is familiar to them.

We passed judgment on the text in MLADOST and there is no need to repeat it here. PITANJA now attacks those appraisals but it does not address a word of criticism to all those theses in the above mentioned feuilleton. And yet they say something, they take a stand nevertheless. For them "the author of the feuilleton tries to recapitulate in a concise and critical form a series of disputes and polemics carried out in our best known journals and tribunes." Only this and nothing else does PITANJA see in the feuilleton of MLADOST, not even after all the political remarks which have been made about this feuilleton, nor after the resignation of the chief editor of MLADOST and his deputy.

In the other text of KOMUNIST we cited certain examples of the misunderstanding of socio-economic relations, the pursuit of doubtful values and the offering of space to harmful views in certain youth newspapers,

mentioning them, naturally, by name and giving a separate evaluation of each of the examples in question. PITANJA is not interested in arguments nor does it bother to clarify itself in respect to the materials alluded to. However, it does get upset about something else. It is trying hard to persuade us how KOMUNIST, by hook or crook, is looking for suspects and various ideological opponents.

Turning around the order of cause and effect, PITANJA reproaches KOMUNIST for "separating itself from the front." The question is, however, what kind of separating and what kind of a front we are talking about. If, under "front" the author of the text in PITANJA understands not positions and beliefs of the League of Communists but the "co-existence of various beliefs" then let us repeat once more that we do not want to belong to such a "front" nor did we ever wish to.

In its editorial PITANJA makes another intentional mistake: its editorial board wants to identify itself with the entire youth press and in addition with the entire younger generation. This carefully thought out thesis is also expressed in the title of the editorial: "Troubles with the Young"! Allegedly, you see, KOMUNIST has troubles with the young. The editorial board of PITANJA pretends not to know that in our country there are about 200 youth newspapers, and that KOMUNIST criticized several articles in two or three newspapers, and that it criticized them concretely by naming them individually. PITANJA tries to declare that the criticism of certain newspapers, or more precisely, certain texts, is a criticism of the entire younger generation! That means, looked at from one point of view, that the editorial board of PITANJA also wants to shift its own responsibility on to the shoulders of those who have nothing to do with the matter. For the editorial board of one journal is not, nor can it be, the representative of an entire generation. Our youth newspapers and journals are neither representatives nor articulators of the most creative part of our youth. (In our last issue of KOMUNIST in the Croatian edition there was published a discussion concerning the youth press in Croatia which eloquently reaffirms this position.)

Then there are other acrobatics. KOMUNIST is identified, for the immediate purposes of PITANJA, with the party, not to say with the party leadership. This is necessary for the reason that KOMUNIST (that is to say someone outside of the editorial bodies and the editorial boards of some youth newspapers) could be held responsible if something is not in order in these newspapers. There is no word about the responsibility of editorial bodies and of editorial boards of newspapers.

From these positions PITANJA criticizes the criticism of KOMUNIST. Here the question is, first of all, about the defense of the criticized positions and views. And the question then arises, is there an entirely wrong approach toward criticism, and not criticism as style but criticism as essence. And the essence of criticism the way PITANJA views it and

presents it is not acceptable. It cannot be accepted because behind it there is nevertheless irresponsibility. For regardless of how hard PITANJA tries to point its finger at others while interpreting the party's conclusions, the question remains--what is the measure of its own responsibility, and, it is understood, what is its responsibility in this case when it places itself in the role of an advocate of positions which are in clear contradiction to the policies of the LCY.

1930

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

ARTICLE IN CROATIAN YOUTH PUBLICATION CRITICIZED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 76 p 22

[Article by Vjekoslav Koprivnjak: "PITANJA--Discrepancy Between Orientation and Realization; Can Critical Engagement be Reduced to the Assembling of Various Oppositional Forces Around Oneself?"]

[Text] The journal PITANJA, which focuses its attention on society, science and culture, and is published by the Center for Social Activities of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia, from the beginning of its publication in a new series (January 1975) has been emphasizing both the need for communist engagement of the young generation along the line of struggle for socialist self-management as well as its own engaged position with respect to these questions.

In its last issue (8/1976), an editorial in which the point of departure is the Third Conference of the LCY, places an emphasis on the following: "The conference summons the young generation advising it to mature ideologically and politically for a self-managing social involvement through its socio-political organizations, all organized forms of its activities, its papers and journals, rather than through rebellion or abstention.

This, as well as the acquisition of such a political personality of the young, must be supported in full measure by the youth press through discovery of directly engaged forms of activity which would not in an elitist and pretentious manner underestimate the everyday problems and existential doubts of the young, nor would they opportunistically abhor the most significant social issues [which are] crucial for the future of the community and the life perspective of the entire generation.

For this reason, any critical expression or analysis which strengthens, makes more precise, and stimulates such an orientation, particularly if it is coming from the lines of young activists and authors, is not only welcome but also necessary. Without such a creative atmosphere youth journals are doomed to ideological impotence and imperceptibility, to lack of fulfillment of their social roles and tasks."

Precisely this editorial and the fundamental orientation of the editorial board of PITANJA, as well as the concrete realization of the latter by being published in the journal, are the immediate reason for this article.

At this point we are interested in two articles published in issue No 8 of PITANJA: an unsigned one (therefore we assume that it is an editorial), "A Note on Mao Tse-tung's Leninism" and the article by Antun Soljan, "We Are So Destined." Let us dwell upon the analysis of the first article. It should be mentioned in advance that, as far as we are concerned, the revolutionary role of Mao Tse-tung is not controversial nor do we intend to question it. On the contrary...it is necessary to emphasize yet another thing. When assessing the position and the role of a person, by selecting what we consider to be his merits, in some respects we are also defining our own standpoints not only in regard to that particular person but also in general. Provided the role of the person is of such proportions we are also defining ourselves according to our own situation, aspirations and activity. Since the subject of discussion is Mao Tse-tung, it is also one of the Chinese Revolution, the Chinese Party, Chinese foreign policy, and thus of revolution, party, and foreign policy in general. Thereupon we also speak of ourselves, our revolution, our party, our foreign policy.

What do we learn about Mao Tse-tung from this article? [We learn] that "in the inherent duality of a revolutionary and a ruler (in conformity with the principles of his doctrine), he was successful in constantly disrupting the equilibrium, much more frequently than anyone else, in favor of the revolutionaries."

We learn further that this was because Mao "was more ingenious and more persuasive than anyone after Lenin--more persuasive, in addition to everything else, because he was simultaneously creating a revolution and its presuppositions under conditions not only different from Lenin's but also from those under which all others operated who (with greater or lesser right) aspired to operate along Lenin's path." The party, "of which he was the head, was the first one to confront the Stalinist theory and practice of the Third International (which can be demonstrated theoretically by Mao's writings themselves, which won masses of millions for the Anti-Japanese United National Front of 1937)."

Further, we also learn the following about Mao: "He succeeded in influencing decisively the formulation of the subsequently widely accepted principles of peaceful coexistence (Panch Sila 1955), but also in demonstrating, indeed not the first one to do so, on the example of his own country the fundamental impossibility of conducting a principled international politics under conditions of essential division of interests in the modern world."

And so forth and so on, let us not quote any further.

Let us examine the meaning of these viewpoints. In doing so we emphasize the fact that it is not our desire to haggle with anyone over primacy and avant-gardness in the international labor movement since this would be essentially and directly opposed to both the policies and nature of the LCY.

To appraise Mao as one who more frequently than anyone else disrupted the equilibrium in favor of the revolutionaries, means in certain respects to negate and question the revolutionary efforts of all others, including our own, since, for the author of "A Note..." our efforts in the struggle for socialist self-management probably mean a struggle for power rather than revolution. At this point we shall not analyze the "Marxist position" with respect to Mao-Tse-tung who like "deus ex machina" himself facilitates the Chinese revolution and, along the way, "ushers history into China."

The point of departure in the thesis on the pre-eminence of Mao's critique of the Stalinist theory and practice of the Third International (again without haggling) is contained in another thesis which was frequently used to oppose and attack the LCY. Shortly and clearly stated, this thesis departs from the view that the LCY until 1948 was (and for some, such as those around PRAXIS, that it still is) a Bolshevik Party of a Stalinist type.

From "A Note..." we learn about the fundamental impossibility of conducting a principled international policy under conditions of essential division of interests. Since currently we are still operating under conditions of essential division of interests in the modern world, the comrades from PITANJA are advising us that our international policy is fundamentally impossible as a principled policy. This means that the policy of non-alinment is practically unprincipled since, according to PITANJA, it is impossible to conduct a principled international policy.

Does this require a commentary: A question indeed arises--Is this the engaged position which the editorial board adopts in its editorials?

We shall not say much about Soljan's article. We would agree with the recent assessment by Dr Stipe Suvar that it is a matter of an extremely tasteless and banal lamentation over the alleged suffering and tragic fate of the Croatian poet. In private, Antun Soljan can think whatever he wishes and be whatever he wishes, even a nationalist (since this is the case in his article)! However, when someone publicly reveals viewpoints with such a content, he must designate his orientation himself!

Surprising and astounding, however, is the editorial note which is supposed to explain the reasons for printing such a text. This note says the following: "Motivated by the skirmish which developed this spring on the pages of the Zagreb [journal] OKO with regard to the Anthology of Croatian Poetry, compiled by Slavko Mihalic, we are publishing the controversial article by Antun Soljan in which the author analyzes and appraises the cultural

background (sic: V.K.) of the entire dispute. According to his old conviction that in literature only such objectivity, the objectivity of creative people, can serve as a measure of value, Soljan sets forth his 'key' to the understanding of our spiritual situation."

And that is all. A text which is least concerned with the spiritual situation and the analysis of the "cultural background," published several months subsequent to the conclusion of the controversy, is attended by those two sentences. It is probably considered that the editorial board has disassociated itself from the article and expressed its standpoint by having written that it is a matter of Soljan's "key to the understanding of our spiritual situation." A question necessarily arises as to what is the key of the editorial board to the understanding of our spiritual situation?

Let us conclude. Our society needs both critical and polemical expression. It also needs a courageous, engaged youth press and journals which would not opportunistically abhor the most significant social issues, crucial for the future of the community and life perspective of the entire generation," to repeat the fundamental orientation of PITANJA.

A question is nonetheless posed to PITANJA--Is this that road? Is this the concrete way to realize that engaged and critical position of the youth press and journals? Does one actually contribute to the struggle for socialist self-management by holding such views? And this crucial, and thus most decisive question posed to PITANJA--is critical engagement reduced to the assembling of oppositional forces around oneself and the objective creation of a "coalition of the opposition" whose public platform is the journal? Is this the meaning of the self-managing socialist engagement of PITANJA, and does one have the right to assemble along such a concrete line both the entire young generation and the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia?

It is essential to our position not only how we fundamentally affiliate ourselves but also where we locate ourselves by our practical activity.

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CSO: 2800

MEETING WITH SLOVENIAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 27 Jan 77 p 2

[Text] "The relations between the socialist self-managed society and religious communities that are in swing in Slovenia and are based on well-known principles of our policy that have been tested out in practice, especially during the National Liberation Struggle have been blazing a path for more than three decades," stated Stane Kolman, president of the Slovenian Commission for Relations with Religious Communities, at the beginning of the speech he gave when he arranged the traditional New Year reception for representatives of all religious communities functioning in Slovenia.

Ljubljana Archbishop Dr Jozef Pogacnik, his Suffragen Bishop Dr Stanislav Lenic, Apostolic Administrator for the Slovenian Maritime Region Bishop Dr Janez Jenko, Maribor Assistant Bishop Dr Vekoslav Grmic, heads of monastic orders, many professors from the theological faculties of Ljubljana and Maribor, representatives of the Cyrillic Society of Slovenian Theologians, and the entire board of the Society of Slovenian Priests attended the reception as representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. Representatives of the Slovenian Evangelical Church, the Baptists, the Adventists, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and other smaller religious groups also attended.

The New-Year meeting was also attended by Tone Fajfar and Franc Kimovec-Ziga in the name of the Slovenian Republic conference of the SAWP, Rudi Cacinovic, Vice-President of the Republic Executive Council, and Zdenko Svete, newly-appointed Ambassador of the SFRY to the Holy See.

Afterwards, Stane Kolman emphasized that relationship to the national liberation war of the Slovenian people, to the leading role of the LC, to the development of self-management, and to the SFRY as a whole continue to be of decisive importance for cooperation between the self-managed society and the religious communities. This undoubtedly was reflected also in the law on the legal position of religious communities in Slovenia, which means separation of Church and State in such a way, however, that does not mean the division of the Church from society, nor under any

circumstances does it mean a division of citizens into believers and non-believers.

"Of course these relations will continue to depend mainly on our own selves. We must set up mutual understanding with common efforts patiently and conscientiously in harmony with respect for the constitution and laws, especially in the religious commissions of obcinas, in regional communities, and within the SAWP with respect to the proper coordination committees. In the front which encompasses the structure of our society, let there be a place for all people concerned to come to an agreement as to how to work and live in harmony."

Dr Jozef Pogacnik, Ljubljana Archbishop, thanked Stane Kolman in the name of the guests present for his good wishes for the New Year, stating among other things "that today Marxist writers are clearly distinguishing between religion, religious activity, and clericalism, and between religion and sectarianism. It would be difficult to find a desire in any priest for any kind of authority in the world that would not be in harmony with the Gospel, for this would be against the teachings of our founder."

"Even the church in Slovenia lives a rather active life in its own sphere, without any slowdown or real crises. This development is being aided considerably by the well-ordered relation of Yugoslavia to the Holy See," stated Archbishop Pogacnik, and at the same time, he expressed the hope that the church in Slovenia through its efforts for religious knowledgeability and moral uprightness of people is contributing to the material and moral progress of our homeland.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

CATHOLIC PAPER OBJECTS TO 'VJESNIK' ARTICLE

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 76 p 2

[Text] The article by Sime Pieroti entitled "The Senselessness of the Tactics of the Legendary Ostrich" (VJESNIK 21 November) deserves our serious consideration, not only because of the disparity between the introductory note and the article itself. Specifically, the unknown writer of that note seemed to be justifying articles about religion and the Church in general in the press. He asserted that the theme was an important one "because church parishes are attempting to express themselves in a more strongly opposition manner by their politization" and thereby "the Catholic hierarchy was forwarding its goal by establishing itself as the intermediary between the believer and the social community..."

We have heard such arguments many times without bothering to refute them, but precisely Sime Pieroti's article indicates that we should not have to listen to them this year. Nonetheless, it turned out that the editors and policies of our leading newspapers try simultaneously to formulate toward the Church a policy that would bring shape to various forces that think variously but that have access to the last phases of editing and printing the newspaper. If our observation turns out to be correct, it is still not sort of reproach to the editors of VJESNIK, for pluralism is a normal occurrence both in editorial boards and in the groups that affect the newspapers' appearance at all. (It would only be desirable that the writers of such introductory notes read the texts to which they are appending their remarks).

However, a quote from Pieroti's text itself, emphasized by placement in the center of the page, states: "It is ever clearer that in essence, religious conviction cannot be opposed to Socialism, in conflict with science and general progress." This thought must be extolled. Believers have long proclaimed that religion (here the word must be used chiefly in the sense of biblical faith!) is not in conflict with knowledge and general progress, that the apparent contradictions are the fruit of ignorance or a false interpretation of either faith or knowledge, or both. It is also clear that there can be no contradiction between faith and socialism either, to the extent that socialism is regarded as a truly more just and advanced social

order. God did not inform his Church as to which social and political system was the best, and perfect interpersonal relationships will be achieved only in the end times, so that in its historical course the Church can only influence people to strive for better and more humanly meritorious solutions, and to oppose systems that would advocate or even justify theoretically injustice, oppression of basic human rights, racial, class, ethnic, ideological or any other form of discrimination, genocide, or any other such monstrous evil.

Pieroti notes that the modern Church strives to find its place and strives to become independent of ruling forces in the West, while--according to Pieroti--it is achieving an ever more defined and more positive role in the socialist countries of central and eastern Europe. Although the data which Pieroti presents would have to be disputed, we assert that the same thing could be stated in other words as follows: "In the West the Church is with difficulty extricating itself from the embrace of old ruling forces, while in the East it is very rapidly falling into new embraces. This can bring no joy, for in these areas we still wish to believe in the possibility of a free church in a free society.

We cannot look with enthusiasm at the decisions by which bishops, merely because they are bishops (and why for any other reason?) have become members of high forums of socio-political organizations, which according to Pieroti's assertions is already taking place in Hungary. We would also like to believe that the state is hardly anticipating that these bishops, by their official declarations of loyalty and support for its various endeavors in domestic and foreign policy, will strengthen their prestige at home and abroad, providing it with such expressly political assistance, as occurs in Poland. All of these and similar events remind us too much of that which on these pages, -- fearing very predictable evils -- has been called numerous times "red Constantinism," and what others prefer to call "a partnership." Must we indeed return to the long past times of the development of Church, society and state in Europe?

Paul the Sixth has just warned us that in the name of the Bible we cannot and must not impose any social or political order, not even socialism! In avoiding its own misuse by reactionary public forces, the Church must also avoid accepting the role of a political tool for the establishment of socialism. Just as it does not adhere to any official ideologies, as we do not believe that Marxist atheism should be a form of state religion, so we do not claim the possibility that Christianity in any manner should become a state religion (favored at least for that portion of the populace which has not "matured" for atheism!) Never again should the Church dare to become either the accomplice, partner, or companion of any definite political power. Only in that manner is the Church's very active presence possible in the modern world, its involved and fruitful serving of good and progress for the individual and for society as a whole. At least here, we would like to believe in that possibility and to pledge ourselves to it, even when it may be necessary to "hope against hope."