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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1426

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BULGARIA

TOAST OF BULGARIA'S TODOROV AT EAST BERLIN OFFICIAL DINNER

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Jul 77 pp 1, 7 AU

[Text of toast proposed by Stanko Todorov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, at official dinner given in his honor by Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman and Politburo member of the SED Central Committee, on 14 July 1977 in East Berlin]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Stoph, Esteemed Comrades, I would like to express my gratitude for the great cordiality you have manifested toward us and for the warm hospitality and the wonderful conditions for useful work which you have provided us.

I am particularly grateful to you, Comrade Stoph, for the very kind words you said about the Bulgarian People's Republic and about the Bulgarian people as well as about the BCP.

A wise man once said: "Friendship stems from unanimity of thoughts." This applies with even greater force to the present multifaceted and complex world. Once more we have come, as we always came in the past, as friends visiting friends. The meetings and talks we have held once more confirmed that the relations between the GDR and the Bulgarian People's Republic are based on solid principles. Our cooperation is developing on a solid and durable basis--on trust and unanimity of thought between our two parties and peoples. Our people gave birth to and brought up sons of outstanding character, such as Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann whose deeds and immortal heroism are illuminating our path toward the common goal--communism.

This year is a jubilee year in our relations. It is the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the GDR and Bulgaria. We will celebrate this event together in a magnificent way--we are going to sign a new treaty of alliance--an expression and guarantee that we are raising our relations to a higher stage.

We will be glad to welcome as dear guests to Bulgaria in September 1977 the envoys of the first state of German workers and peasants--the party and government delegation of the GDR, headed by Comrade Erich Honecker.

The personal contacts existing between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker have always given fresh inspiration and impetus to the ascending and accelerated development of comprehensive relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR. Their instruction have been an effective impulse for the comprehensive intensification of mutual relations in all directions.

We, both of us, have noted with satisfaction that cooperation between our two countries is developing and has a great future. Specialization and production sharing are being intensified: Exchange of goods is increasing; and scientific-technical as well as cultural relations between our two countries are being increasingly intensified. The Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR are active participants in CEMA and are making their contribution to implementation of the comprehensive program of socialist integration. This confirms the old truth that the more closely people cooperate, the more successful their work becomes.

Dear Comrades. Today millions of people in our country are devoting their intellectual abilities, their knowledge and their will and efforts to implementing and overfulfilling the tasks assigned by the 11th BCP Congress. We would like each day to become a step forward along the strategic path toward efficiency and quality in all sectors of life.

The working people in Bulgaria are preparing to welcome and celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution--the greatest event of the 20th century--with new labor deeds. In the spirit of the revolution's all-victorious international character we rejoice at the successes of our comrades in ideas and deeds in the GDR. The Bulgarian people are sincerely proud of the comprehensive achievements attained by your people in building their socialist motherland, in implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. Under the tested leadership of the SED, with the fruitful efforts of the people, the GDR has become a good model of socialism, a solid and reliable bulwark of socialist society. The GDR has achieved great international prestige and has quite justifiably taken its place among the 10 most highly developed industrial states in the world.

The historical tasks--namely to build a mature socialist society--is being implemented by our peoples in close alliance, cooperation and interaction with the Soviet Union and with the CEMA member-countries. We highly appreciate the Soviet peace program as well as the personal contribution of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to detente in the international atmosphere and to the consolidation of worldwide peace and security.

The CSCE in Helsinki and the initial act created favorable conditions for the consolidation of peaceful coexistence as a necessary and natural form of international life. They revealed new opportunities for the process of detente to become irreversible. This is why it is our deep and sincere wish that the Belgrade meeting should be held in a constructive spirit, focused on the future, so that commonsense may triumph on our planet, and so that cooperation among peoples in Europe and throughout the world may be intensified.

The Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR are wholeheartedly supporting the peaceful initiatives of the USSR in connection with convening a special UN Conference in 1978 and with convening of a universal conference on disarmament questions. The historical time has come for taking concrete measures for the limitation of armaments, including strategic weapons, so that the sword of Damocles, manifested in a new world war which is hanging over mankind, may be eliminated. History teaches us that more fruits of life and happiness can be harvested in the field of labor than on the battlefields.

It is true that we are watching over and are protecting our socialist achievements with weapons in our hands, but it is our sincere conviction to show to the world our superiority as a social system by our creative deeds. The present visit and our businesslike and friendly talks are a new confirmation of this good will.

Dear Comrades and Friends, allow me to propose a toast to:

--The prosperity and upsurge of the GDR and its working people!

--The fraternal friendship between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR!

--To the health of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council!

--To your health, Comrade Willi Stoph!

--To the health of all those present!

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

COMMUNIQUE ON STANKO TODOROV'S VISIT IN THE GDR

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jul 77 pp 1, 5 AU

[Official Bulgarian-GDR communique on the 14-15 July visit by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, to the GDR]

[Text] At the invitation of Willy Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers paid a friendly and working visit to the GDR on 14 and 15 July.

The two sides informed each other about the implementation of the decisions of the 11th BCP and 9th SED Congresses. In this context they evaluated highly the creative initiative and great successes of the Bulgarian and GDR working peoples, achieved in the construction of the developed socialist society under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties.

The two chairmen of the Councils of Ministers discussed the further comprehensive expansion of the cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR, and exchanged opinions on topical international issues.

They ascertained with satisfaction that the fraternal cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR is developing successfully on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, to the benefit of the two peoples and is contributing to the further strengthening of the socialist community.

The two sides confirmed the great significance of the decisions reached in January 1974 by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee General Secretary, which are being successfully implemented and are thus decisively contributing to further expanding the friendship and cooperation between the two parties, states and peoples.

They evaluated highly the results achieved in implementing the tasks set in the areas of economy and scientific technology, and evaluated positively

the work of the bilateral commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and especially its 15th session. A further intensification of economic cooperation will be achieved through the agreed measures, something which will increase the productivity and efficiency of the national economies of Bulgaria and the GDR.

The chairmen of the two Councils of Ministers evaluated positively the activities of the planning organs, science and technology organs and the two countries' ministries, and stressed the successes which have been reached in specialization, production sharing, scientific research, development works and more specifically in the areas of machine building, electronics, electrical technology and the chemical industry, as well as in the reorganization and modernization of a number of plants.

They expressed their satisfaction with the positive development of the trade exchange. A number of agreements on cooperation in the areas of polyurethane chemicals metal processing machines, electronics and electro-technology were conducive to that development.

The chairmen of the two Councils of Ministers attribute great importance to the further planned expansion of the economic cooperation between the two countries, on the basis of the comprehensive program for perfecting the cooperation and developing socialist economic integration among the CEMA member countries.

They devoted special attention to the coordination of the plans on multi-lateral and bilateral bases.

The two sides declared that the cooperation in all areas of social life is developing well, on the basis of the long-term agreements, and is thus contributing significantly to the further activization of the process of the coming closer together of the peoples of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR.

They confirmed their firm determination to constantly strengthen and develop the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

They evaluated highly the significance of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution--the greatest event of the 20th century--and stressed that in accordance with BCP and SED decisions, this jubilee will be worthily celebrated with mass initiatives and socialist competition in the two countries.

Comrade Stanko Todorov and Willy Stoph unanimously noted that a turning point from Cold War to detente was achieved thanks to the tireless efforts of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, as well as the struggle of all progressive forces. In this context, they stressed the exceptional significance of the CPSU Peace Program and the personal

merit of Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in its implementation.

The leaders of the two governments stressed the great significance of the November 1976 Bucharest Consultative Meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Council. They expressed the firm determination of the two countries to contribute their share to implementing the tasks agreed upon in Bucharest.

They confirmed that the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR will further demand the strict observance and consistent implementation of the principles and recommendations included in the Helsinki Conference final document. These principles and recommendations are a whole unit.

The two sides express the opinion that the Belgrade meeting, which is of a consultative character, must contribute constructively to developing the mutual relations and strengthening cooperation in Europe, as well as continuing the process of detente in international relations.

They decisively declare themselves against the attempts of the revanchists and reactionary forces of imperialism to distort the Helsinki Conference final act, and to intervene in the internal affairs of other states.

The two sides support the USSR memorandum on disarmament, proposed at the 31st UNGA session and the Soviet draft on signing a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

At the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armament in Central Europe, the two sides will continue to advocate that a treaty be signed which is based on the principle of security not being harmed and which is in conformity with the security interests of all European states.

The chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers and the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers stressed that the strict observance and implementation of the treaties between the socialist countries and the FRG are important for stabilizing security and detente in Europe. The two sides advocate the strict observance and full application of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin.

The Bulgarian side evaluated highly the GDR's activities and highly principled policy in securing lasting peace, security and cooperation in the world and above all in the center of Europe.

The GDR evaluated highly the Bulgarian People's Republic's active and consistent foreign policy, aimed at strengthening the peace and cooperation in Europe, and especially its contribution to developing good neighborly relations in the Balkans.

The talks took place in a cordial atmosphere and there was complete unanimity on all issues discussed.

The two sides expressed their conviction that the visit will contribute to the further development of the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the two states and peoples, as well as to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

During the visit of the chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, Mariy Ivanov, Bulgaria's first deputy minister of foreign affairs and Oscar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, initialed the new treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR.

Stanko Todorov, chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, invited Willy Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to pay a friendly visit to Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

CSO: 2200

BCP POLITBURO ISSUES DECREE ON COUNTRY'S ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Jul 77 AU

[Report on BCP Central Committee Politburo decree on Bulgarian architectural development]

[Text] "Remarkable Architectural Creative Works Which Must Demonstrate the Greatness of Our Times"--this is the title of a BCP Central Committee Politburo decree on a further upsurge in the development of Bulgarian architecture and artistic synthesis in the appearance of the populated centers and the environment.

The document emphasizes that the development and perfection of the socialist way of life during the period of building a mature socialist society requires a constant and comprehensive enrichment of the environment as well as the need to make it more beautiful and humanistic. A synthesized expression of this requirement are Comrade Todor Zhivkov's words that the road to communism is the road to beauty.

The party program assigned the task to gradually liquidate the basic differences existing between the town and the village and to establish optimal working, living and recreation conditions for the people. In this respect, architecture is of primary importance for the fulfillment of these tasks. Its present role, as industrialization is confirming itself as a basic trend in designing and construction, is growing. Bulgarian architects are contributing to achieving the basic tasks of the party's policy: Meeting the constantly growing material and cultural needs of man.

Despite these successes, all the possibilities of the socialist system and of scientific-technical progress for creating a comprehensive territorial structure have not been utilized. The decree points out that the multiple-oriented approach to achieving a unity in building structures, towns, architectural projects and decorative monuments that are necessary for a comprehensive development of the territorial environment has not been sufficiently applied. The underestimated impact of this environment on the esthetic education of the people, the lack of sufficient cooperation of investors, designers, builders and technicians for achieving all requirements needed for the building of the projects [words indistinct].

The production base is lagging behind the requirements of modern architecture and scope of building. The role of the designer as a main coordinator in building architectural projects and complexes is being underestimated. To surmount these shortcomings is a major task of the state organs and creative organizations responsible for the development of architecture and artistic synthesis.

The 11th BCP Congress and the July and March BCP Central Committee Plenum assigned further and higher requirements regarding the structure of our environment and dwellings and outlined a new approach to its development.

The decree assigns in detail the tasks facing us. In the first place, is the establishment of a comprehensive and concrete program for achieving a new upsurge in the development of the Bulgarian architecture and artistic synthesis up to 1990, which must be submitted to the Council of Ministers for approval.

The decree points out that in order to improve architecture and raise its general esthetic harmony, an organic unity with the other arts, traditions, historical and cultural monuments and with the environment must be achieved. For this purpose, the committee for culture, the committee for architecture and urbanization, the state planning committee and the Ministry of Finances must prepare and submit for approval to the Council of Ministers the necessary instructions on establishing comprehensive, dynamic and effective planning and a financial and executive system which insures conditions for joint creative work of architects and painters in all stages of creating works of artistic synthesis, of architecture and of the other arts.

In conclusion, the decree states that the BCP Central Committee Politburo believes that the joint efforts of all creators of Bulgarian architecture and artistic synthesis will secure further great achievements in the further complex building and esthetic perfection of the comprehensive territorial environmental structure of a developed socialist society and will create noteworthy architectural works which will stimulate the present and the coming generations and will demonstrate the greatness of our heroic times throughout the centuries.

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

GREETINGS TO INDIAN PRESIDENT--State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has sent a greetings telegram to Indian President Basappa Danappa Jatti on the occasion of the national holiday of the country. The telegram expresses wishes for the prosperity and progress of the Indian people. The telegram also expresses belief that the friendly relations between the two countries will continue to develop and deepen in the interest of Bulgarian and Indian peoples and of peace and security in the world. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 19 Jul 77 AU]

BERLIN PRESS CONFERENCE--Berlin, 15 Jul--BTA report. The talks between the chairmen of the Bulgarian and the GDR Council of Ministers Stanko Todorov and Willi Stoph which were held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete unanimity, ended in Berlin today. Following the businesslike part of his visit, Comrade Stanko Todorov was so kind as to reply to the questions posed to him by the correspondents of the BTA, RABOTNICHESKO DELO and the Bulgarian Radio and Television. Our tasks with my respected colleague Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, was first of all to review the fulfillment of the instructions given by Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker on deepening the bilateral co-operation, he said. I must say that the balance sheet is a positive and optimistic one. The exchange of trade between the two fraternal countries is constantly growing. The mutual deliveries of products of the machine building and electronic industries are exceeding 50 percent of the trade. Concrete agreements connected with certain scientific-technical problems have been signed, joint scientific research works (?are being carried out) and new technical solutions are expected to be achieved. Thirty-four bilateral agreements on specialization and cooperation are in force, there are good ties between the economic and other organizations of the two countries and the cultural ties are increasing. Our attention is also devoted to the period following 1980 and we are looking for ways to deepen economic and scientific-technical cooperation and further develop socialist economic integration between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR. All this gives me good grounds to say that fruitful results have been achieved at the talks and that decisions were made which will enrich cooperation and increase its effectiveness. [Text] [Sofia BTA Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1620 GMT 15 Jul 77 AU]

PREMIER TO BERLIN EMBASSY--Berlin, 15 Jul--BTA Report. Comrade Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is visiting the GDR on a friendly and businesslike visit, this morning met the entire collective of the Bulgarian diplomatic mission to the GDR. Stanko Todorov briefed those present on the tasks facing Bulgaria today as well as on the talks which began yesterday between him and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. He emphasized the successful business talks he had were focused on further deepening cooperation and strengthening the friendly relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the GDR as well as on a number of international issues. [Text] [Sofia BTA Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1632 GMT 15 Jul 77 AU]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK 'PRAVDA' DISCUSSES OFFENSE OF DIVULGING STATE SECRETS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Jul 77 p 4 AU

[Article by Dr Jan Zigo: "Protection of State Secrets"]

[Text] One of the important prerequisites for insuring the protection of our socialist state is the protection of state secrets. All citizens have the duty to safeguard confidential information, consistently observe regulations and other norms governing their protection, and observe all principles of vigilance and watchfulness in their work as well as in their personal life.

The fundamental tasks and duties concerning the protection of state secrets are contained in law number 102/1971 of the code on the protection of state secrets. One of the basic prerequisites for its consistent implementation in work with confidential information is lively activity of a preventive-education nature among those workers who encounter confidential information.

According to the importance of the interest protected, the confidential information are state, economic or service [slvzobne] secrets. The nature of their content is defined in article 89, paragraphs 9 to 11 of the criminal law in accordance with these regulations. By state secrets is understood anything of important political, military or economic interest which must not be disclosed to unauthorized persons. An economic secret is information which is important for economic activity and which, in the general interest, must remain secret. By a service secret is understood important information connected with the activities of a National Committee, court, the armed forces or an armed corps, or other state body, a state, economic, cooperative or social organization, which in the general interest, must not be disclosed to any unauthorized person, such a person being anyone who is not authorized to enter areas, projects or facilities of the military administration.

The basic element in the system to protect state secrets is the principle that only specifically selected and designated persons may have access to

such secrets. The head of the relevant organization is responsible for the selection of such a person. Only a Czechoslovak citizen devoted to the socialist system, and whose character and personal qualities provide the guarantee that the state secret will not be endangered, may be selected. In order for an organization, its chief, to responsibly select a worker who will have access to state secrets, it screens him beforehand, obtaining all the necessary information, including excerpts [vypis] from criminal records. The organization further ensures that the individual is familiarized with the legal duties and restrictions within the scope of his position, as well as with other regulations governing the protection of state secrets. A written note must be signed by the worker showing that he has familiarized himself with these regulations. The note must be included in his personal file. An organization is required to keep the files of those persons designated to have access to state secrets for 3 years after the termination of their employment. When such a person applies for a permit to travel abroad, the organization, in its statement to the passport and visa authorities, must indicate what sort of a person is involved and make a recommendation on the application.

The duties of persons designated to work with state secrets are regulated by the provisions of articles 13 to 15 of the law on the protection of state secrets. Such a person must keep especially silent about state secrets which he encounters and must remain so even after the expiration of the work (service) contract. The person must further ensure that materials containing state secrets are protected in accordance with the regulations during transportation and storage, and that such secrets are not divulged through technical means (i.e., by telephone, telegraph, teletype and so forth). The provision in article 14 of this law concerning contact with foreigners is important. In accordance with this provision an individual having access to state secrets may establish private contact with an organization of a foreign state, international organization or a foreigner only with the consent of the chief of the organization or a body authorized by him. Should a person establish private contact with any of the aforementioned organizations or foreigner without requesting permission, first, it is his duty to report such a contact afterwards. A person designated to work with state secrets may discuss the facts constituting the secret before a state body only when released from the duty of silence on the authorization of the chief of the organization.

The Criminal Code renders liable to prosecution with severe punishment persons who intentionally divulge state secrets to unauthorized persons or to a foreign power, thus harming our state. The most dangerous criminal act against the security of the republic is the criminal act of espionage, according to article 105 of the Criminal Code. This act is committed when a person seeks state secrets with the aim of divulging them to a foreign power, when a person collects information containing state secrets with such intent, or when a person intentionally divulges secrets to a foreign power. For such activity the Criminal Code fixes a punishment of 10-15 years of deprivation of freedom. A person who makes possible or

facilitates for an offender or organization an activity whose objective is to seek state secrets will be punished likewise. A person committing such deeds while a member of an organization whose objective is to seek state secrets, or committing such deeds even though the need to maintain secrecy was especially impressed on him, may be punished by deprivation of freedom for 12-15 years, or by death. This punishment also applies if he committed such deed with profit in mind or on a large scale, if the divulgence concerns a particularly important state secret, or if he commits such an act during a state of combat readiness [brannej pohotovosti] of the state. The divulging of a secret is a punishable offense not only when it is done to a foreign power, but also when it is done to an unauthorized person.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR POST HELSINKI CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL SCIENCE

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 23, 8 Jun 77 p 6

[Article by Ladislav Zboskovic: "Our Science and Helsinki"]

[Text] The growth of scientific research and the related technical demands are so great that they cannot remain the exclusive affair of any country, however large. The work of scientists and researchers requires an ever broader international cooperation and the availability of the most up-to-date information. It would be uneconomical and even useless to conduct research or invent things in areas where progress has already been made in other parts of our planet. However, effective scientific cooperation requires coexistence between countries with different social systems. Social progress and the related improvement in the standard of living cannot exist without a peaceful atmosphere and peaceful international relations.

Following the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, favorable conditions have been created for the implementation of the Final Act and its recommendations which include the development of scientific information and documentation exchange and the availability of this data to scientists and researchers. The Final Act suggests that this can happen through participation in international programs or other suitable agreements, as well as through the improvement and expansion of exchange in scientific materials concerning basic scientific research in the natural and exact sciences and in the health sector. The Final Act especially appeals to scientific institutions and universities to exchange information concerning the ongoing and future research activities in sectors of social interest more regularly. This includes the exchange of scientists and scientific workers. The establishment of scientific teams whose goals will be to implement scientific projects on the basis of agreements among scientific institutes, assistance in organizing international conferences and seminars, meetings of leading scientific personalities whose aim is to discuss complex problems of social interest in the area of current and future developments in science and the utilization of expensive and unique research facilities. This recommendation deals primarily with the exact and natural sciences, such as: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, ecology and astronomy. It also deals with basic medical research in cancer, heart and vascular

diseases and endemic diseases, including social medicine (with special emphasis on occupational diseases), rehabilitation of disabled persons and mother, child and senior citizen care.

The above recommendations of the Final Act are primarily within the jurisdiction of our top scientific institutes, such as the Czechoslovak Academy of Science (CSAV) and the Slovak Academy of Science (SAV). The recommendation of the Final Act concerning international cooperation is, as far as our scientific institutes are concerned, an international norm and since the signing of the Final Act the institutes' activities, in this respect, have been exemplary.

Our foreign scientific relations are based on concluded cultural agreements and their implementation plans or other contracting documents. It is up to the other countries to decide to what extent they are willing to cooperate with us, be it within the framework of signed cultural agreements or on the basis of agreements between scientific institutes. The extent of personal relations of various scientific centers of the CSAV and SAV is best documented by the fact that last year alone we sent abroad almost 3,500 Czechoslovak scientific workers and received in our country over 4,000 foreign scientific workers. This fact alone speaks for itself and proves that our science is doing everything possible for a small country to implement the Helsinki recommendations.

Our scientific relations are best with other socialist countries. They are all based on mutual agreements and in many cases they reach the level of integration. The division of labor in the fulfillment of research tasks necessary for further development of a socialist society has improved. Among the tasks which are being solved through a joint effort we should single out the problems of energy and the methods of its management. An agreement has been reached on the International Information System in the Management of Scientific and Technical Journals. Through a joint effort the basic questions in the area of pharmacology and experimental and clinical testing of various medical preparations important for medical practice were studied.

Cooperation on questions of automated control and cybernetics, including the transmission and processing of information, has its own tradition. This cooperation is put to use in the publishing of encyclopedias, as well as in the field of history and various branches of natural sciences, especially geography, hydrology and petrography. We point to an exemplary cooperation with the Joint Institute of Nuclear Research in Dubna and the Physical Technical Institute for Low Temperatures in Kharkov. Interesting results are achieved through cooperation in archaeology, in the solution of problems of the nervous system and in biomedical electronics. Bilateral cooperation with the Polish People's Republic concentrates on the practical utilization of pesticides, the production of scientific instruments and the sociology of the countryside and environment. In cooperation with the Hungarian People's Republic and within the CEMA framework we have achieved interesting results in the field of radiological safety and peaceful utilization of atomic energy and space medicine, including the manufacture of pertinent equipment. In

planetary and geophysical research we profit from cooperation with the GDR which includes the programming systems and the protection of nature and protected sites. In the forefront of cooperation with the Romanian Socialist Republic we list macromolecular chemistry and research in semiconductors for small electronic calculators. In geodesy and historiography we are developing cooperation with Yugoslavia and other socialist countries.

Multilateral cooperation with other socialist countries includes the organization of summer schools for various problem commissions. We also must list various scientific meetings, conferences, symposia, scientific consultations, etc., the results of which are published in bulletins. One such important activity was the International Congress on the Higher Nervous Activity and an international symposium entitled "The Brain and Behavior."

A new form of scientific cooperation are the so-called base laboratories, established in individual socialist countries in order to investigate serious scientific problems. They are manned by scientific workers from socialist countries who conduct research sponsored by the participating academies of science and test and evaluate the results achieved at the national centers of the individual academies of science. The results of such activities are published. Thus, for example, in 1976 the problem commission INTERMOZG published a total of 136 works and organized 25 scientific conferences on the results of research.

The results of three international centers for the improvement of the qualification of young scientific cadres are noteworthy. They are the S. Banach Mathematical Center in Warsaw which organizes semestral courses in cooperation with leading world experts; International Physical Center of the Academies of Science of the Socialist Countries in Minsk; and the International Center of Academies of Science of the Socialist Countries for the Improvement of Training of Scientific Workers in Electron Microscopy in Halle (GDR). In addition, the socialist countries have concluded an agreement on the establishment of the International System of Scientific Information in the Field of Social Sciences. Important scientific cooperation is also realized within the framework of CEMA.

We must also note the multilateral cooperation in the Joint Institute of Nuclear Research in Dubna. Among the participants are six research institutes of the CSAV and SAV, five Czechoslovak advanced schools and other scientific research institutes. Fifty-two Czechoslovak scientific workers worked there last year. A similar situation exists in INTERKOSMOS, within the framework of which Czechoslovakia participated in the firing of the first technological satellite equipped with instruments of a unified telemetric system of the socialist countries, and the firing of another satellite to study the Earth's ionosphere. Part of the INTERKOSMOS program is a long-range plan which calls for the inclusion of Czechoslovak specialists in the crews of Soviet space vehicles.

Good results were achieved by Czechoslovak experts in international governmental organizations. One of them works as a division chief in charge of

space affairs in the UN Secretariat, and another expert is in the Economic Commission of the United Nations for Asia and the Far East. Czechoslovak scientific workers actively participate also in the carrying out of the UNESCO program. The Microbiological Institute of the CSAV organized a long-term postgraduate course, sponsored by UNESCO on modern problems in biology. The course was attended by members from the developing countries. Czechoslovak experts also cooperate in the international program entitled "Man and the Biosphere" and in international programs of geological correlation. Czechoslovakia was host to UNESCO's international conference entitled "Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Social Sciences."

Even more extensive is the participation of our scientific workers and experts in the international non-governmental organizations, the significance of which is steadily growing in relation to the progress of the scientific and technological revolution. The CSAV coordinates the Czechoslovak membership in 260 such organizations.

An important thing was the establishment of the CEMA Permanent Commission for cooperation in the health sector and the elaboration of the system of scientific medical information of the socialist countries, including prevention, and cooperation in the problems concerning the protection of environment, health technology, pharmaceutical production, labor medicine, and ergonomics. Multifaceted cooperation in health is based on recommendations of the regularly held conferences in individual countries. Such cooperation is most effective with the USSR and the GDR, namely in the integration of production of health technology and medical preparations and the organization of medical days and direct cooperation among medical experts and the exchange of medical personnel. The institutes of the socialist countries have signed numerous agreements on health problems, including research. There is also an exchange of patients to be treated in the institutes' facilities and the exchange of experiences in experimental medicine. Through the good offices of the General Directorate of Spas and Springs, approximately 1,200 Czechoslovak patients are sent for treatment abroad and some 22,500 foreign patients are admitted into our medical facilities each year.

The work of the Czechoslovak medical specialists in the World Health Organization (WHO) is based on the five-year-plan. Last year, Czechoslovakia sent abroad 14 long-term consultants to work in the area of the eradication of small-pox and 52 short-term experts. This puts Czechoslovakia in one of the top places in the WHO. In addition, Czechoslovakia sent abroad 14 experts to study the problems of environment. Also a number of Czechoslovak scientific institutes cooperate with the WHO and Czechoslovakia hosts 14 centers of the WHO which coordinate international cooperation and research in the health sector. Within the framework of the WHO, several courses and symposia on various health problems were organized in our country and our health facilities admitted 33 individual stipendists. Czechoslovakia is also represented in the managing organs of the WHO.

The relations with the international non-governmental organizations (Czechoslovak membership in 283 health organizations is coordinated by the Czech and Slovak Health Ministries) are realized through the J.E. Purkyne Czechoslovak Medical Society which itself is a member of 65 international medical

organizations and in 46 other organizations it is represented by individual members of the society. During the past year, eight Czechoslovak medical workers were elected to leading positions and Czechoslovakia became a candidate for the organization of two large international health congresses. This documents the maturity of Czechoslovak medicine and its reputation abroad. This is also confirmed by the fact that numerous Czechoslovak medical experts received honorary membership in foreign medical organizations as a recognition of their scientific research activity.

While Czechoslovakia has concluded health agreements with all socialist countries, in respect to the capitalist countries this happens only in a few individual cases, according to the existing possibilities of mutual cooperation. In most cases such cooperation is the result of our participation at foreign events organized by governmental and non-governmental organizations. For this and similar purposes, 1,400 health workers went abroad last year and over 3,000 foreign medical workers came to Czechoslovakia. These data prove that there are broad possibilities for direct personal relations of scientific workers.

The effort to broaden cooperation with the capitalist countries in a contractual manner led to an agreement on scientific cooperation between the CSAV and the Finnish Academy of Science. This agreement spelled out the priorities of such cooperation. Similarly there were negotiations on the exchange of personnel and the implementing of plans within the framework of cultural agreements with Great Britain, the Netherlands and Austria. However, we do not always encounter sufficient understanding from our partners in such negotiations.

In spite of various difficulties, active participation of the Czechoslovak scientific workers in a variety of international scientific meetings is growing. In terms of volume of such relations the list of foreign countries is as follows: the German Federal Republic, France and the United States, followed by Great Britain, Sweden, Italy and Austria. However, even in these relations there are more Czechoslovak scientists going abroad than foreign scientists coming to Czechoslovakia. In general, we make better use of the offered possibilities, as documented in our relations with Belgium, Sweden or the United States. Also we must stress that our experiences with the exchange of scientific workers from the capitalist countries are not always the best ones. Thus, for example, certain scientific workers from the capitalist countries, who came to Czechoslovakia as a result of agreements, used their stay in our country for purposes other than those intended and exhibited a hostile attitude toward our political system.

If we compare the results of our scientific and health relations with foreign countries with the recommendations of the Final Act of the CSCE, we will not be able to identify a single area which we would ignore. In our relations with the socialist countries, the recommendations of the Final Act are by far surpassed. In our relations with the capitalist countries, they are determined more or less by the extent of the good will on the side of our

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partners. We wish scientific cooperation to serve peaceful goals while respecting state sovereignty of the contracting parties. In this sense we will do our best to make it possible for the Belgrade meeting to fully utilize the experiences gained so far and contribute to further growth of the possibilities of peaceful international cooperation.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SSR EDUCATION MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON ADMISSIONS TO ADVANCED SCHOOLS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jun 77 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Education of the SSR Eng Juraj Bus, ScC, by Jaroslav Mesko: "Before Entrance Examinations for Higher Educational Institutions--On Topical Questions of School Policy"]

[Text] Objectives of the 1976-1977 Academic Year Will Be Fulfilled-- Which Departments Will Hold Examinations in the August Term--Guarantees of Maximum Objectivity--Who May Be Admitted Without an Entrance Examination?-- Opportunities for Correspondence-Course Study To Be Extended

The fulfillment of the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress on school policy, further expanded by the Guidelines for Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training-Educational System, as well as individual activities, such as oral graduation examinations from secondary schools, the approaching end of the school year, advanced schools entrance examinations--these are all questions in which our public is very much interested. We present here an interview with the Minister of Education of the SSR, Prof Eng Juraj Bus, ScC, on some of those questions.

[Question] In a few days another school year will come to an end. How would you briefly characterize its accomplishments, particularly concerning the demands of a gradual implementation of the Guidelines for Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training-Educational System?

[Answer] It may be said that in the 1976-1977 school year ideological-educational activity has become more efficient and that we achieved good results in the instruction of individual subjects as well as in extracurricular education. As concerns the implementation of the Guidelines for Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training-Educational System, the 1976-1977 school year has been a significant one because it decisively advanced the preparation of the program of instruction, the curriculum, textbooks and methodological manuals. The state-wide review collectives elaborated and clarified a great many methodological points of departure, an action which will positively affect the further progressive development of our training-educational system over an extended period of time.

This school year has been particularly significant for the basic schools where the introduction of those guidelines began with the first grade. We may note already that this first step was a successful one. At this time we have completed preparations for the implementation of a substantial reconstruction in the second grade of the basic school.

We also made an extraordinarily great effort to achieve a substantial reconstruction of vocational education. In agreement with the objective of the guidelines, all measures have been aimed at improved quality, higher level and efficiency of the young apprentices' training, so that an increasingly greater number of young apprentices could also obtain, along with their training, secondary education and eventually complete secondary education. Previous forms of study for graduation of the apprentices are being expanded by an opportunity for those who have completed their special training to continue their study in subjects of the secondary school course for working people. The new system of educational specialties and subjects of study, approved by the SSR government in February 1977, will be gradually introduced starting with the 1977-1978 school year.

What I mentioned in the introduction about the improved efficiency of the ideological-educational activity in schools and the youth's conscious attitude toward socialism also applies fully to secondary schools and secondary trade schools. In comparison to previous years, more graduates of secondary schools are now applying to the technical advanced institutions; also, the results of training and education are being systematically improved, as demonstrated by the final results of this year's successful graduation examinations [from secondary schools]. Thus we can see the intensive effect of schools and teachers who under the leadership of the basic organizations of the Communist Party of Slovakia and with the assistance of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement have improved the forms and methods of their work and their teaching skills in agreement with the task of a continuous improvement in the quality of our youth's socialist education.

Graduates who completed their secondary school education this year were the first to obtain basic knowledge in specialized studies during their course of study within the group of elective subjects. Because of that measure the process of professional orientation of secondary school students is being intensified and pointed toward studies at technical advanced institutions as well as toward a unity of school and life.

At higher educational institutions also, the 1976-1977 academic year was characterized by intensive work to restructure the course of studies and to prepare individual teaching materials which are now being approved.

During the aforementioned period the higher educational institutions further improved the quality of their ideological-educational activity within and outside their curricula, particularly the ideological-educational activity in students' dormitories. We achieved positive results

in the area of scientific research in higher educational institutions as well. And thus, in conclusion, to this question it may be said that the results obtained have entitled us to begin the second year of substantial restructuring implemented in our school system with optimism.

[Question] Advanced schools entrance examinations are becoming a very timely topic. Our public has been informed that these entrance examinations will be held in two terms--at the end of June and then late in August. Could you explain the specific purpose of that measure and name departments admitting students in the first and in the second term?

[Answer] This measure is based on the fact that for a long time a relatively slight interest has been shown for study in certain departments which are of the foremost importance from the point of view of our national economy. On the other hand, a relatively great interest is shown for some humanities, for example, medicine, philosophy, law, etc., where the need of graduates is not so urgently felt. Because of the high number of applicants these popular departments cannot admit all candidates with good potential for college study; we wish to give them an opportunity to reevaluate their interest in further study and to apply to some of the departments where there is a lack of applicants. In the notification that they have not been accepted by the department of their choice all such candidates will receive a recommendation that they apply to those departments which will hold entrance examinations during the second term. The candidates may inform the department where they passed the entrance examination of their decision within 5 days and state the department of their second choice. The dean of the department will transfer the candidate's application to the other department selected. The rejected applicants must avail themselves of this opportunity in due time, without waiting for the results of their appeal, in order to be included in the proceedings of the other department.

Entrance examinations for the second term will begin on 22 August in the following departments: the Engineering Faculty of the Slovak Advanced Technical School in Bratislava, the Engineering and Electrical Engineering Departments of the Advanced School of Transportation in Zilina, all faculties of the Advanced School of Technology in Kosice and Pedagogical Faculty in Nitra, the Lumber Faculty of the Advanced School of Forestry and Lumber in Zvolen, the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the Komensky University in Bratislava and of the P. J. Safarik University in Kosice--and tests will be given individually in mathematics and physics or a combination of mathematics and physics. All pedagogical faculties will be admitting students for the second term, not because of the low number of candidates, but because of the change in the fields of study which took place within the past academic year. Other faculties will hold entrance examinations for the first term, beginning 27 June. In order to increase interest in the aforementioned fields we reduced the number of subjects for entrance examinations and adjusted the criteria for admission; on the other hand, we increased the number of subjects and established stricter criteria for entrance examinations in popular fields.

[Question] I should like to ask you whether those candidates who are not accepted by a department in the first term because of their low entrance examination grade can apply for admission to other departments with admissions in the August term?

[Answer] If the subjects of the entrance examinations are identical in the department to which such a candidate would like to apply and the department where he failed to pass the examination, it is useless to apply for admission for the August term. If the subjects of the examinations differ, the student may apply for admission to some of the departments in the second term.

Even then those who are not admitted to higher educational institutions have extensive opportunities to prove themselves in social and economic practical life and if they keep up their interest in advanced schools studies they may later apply for day courses or for a correspondence-study course for employed people. According to the principles for admission to higher educational institutions, the applicants with practical experience will be given priority, other conditions being equal.

[Question] During this year's examinations, several measures are supposed to secure their maximum objectivity, exclude all subjective considerations and strengthen the principle that the intellectual, civil and moral potential of the candidate himself provides the decisive point in the selection process. Would you elaborate on this?

[Answer] Even in its previous announcements on admissions to study at higher educational institutions the Ministry of Education of the SSR always clearly stipulated that the admission must proceed exclusively from a comprehensive evaluation of the candidate and that students with the highest study potential be admitted. It is not easy to implement these measures in practice--particularly in the popular departments--and in some cases the process has not been entirely objective. For that reason we adopted provisions based on the resolution of the Presidium of the CSSR of 31 March 1977 in order to intensify the objectivity in admissions. Anonymity of the written and talent examinations was introduced, beginning with the secrecy of the questions given up to the evaluation of the written test. At oral examinations the candidate will draw his questions. Boards of Examiners and admission committees will be more intensively prepared for their activity in order to learn better how to evaluate the candidate comprehensively and in order to consider thoroughly how to decide whether to admit or reject the candidate on the basis of his achievements at the entrance examination and in the secondary school, and of all of his civic and moral qualities. We shall also intensify the control and supervisory activities, particularly during the entrance examinations and in the activity of the admission committees. We shall further demand a consistent compliance with the democratic principle according to which the social-class composition of the accepted student must correspond with the composition of our society; the national composition and the territorial cadre

requirements must also be considered. No capitalist country can boast that it follows such criteria. In the academic year 1976-1977 roughly 65 percent of the students admitted came from workers' and farmers' families, while in 1937 only 16.8 percent of students came from such families.

[Question] The importance of the quality of the candidate himself is also supported by the provision which permits admission to higher educational institutions without entrance examinations in the case of a student with excellent or very good grades who has fulfilled other requirements. Which students are eligible and how will such admissions proceed?

[Answer] In reply to your question it should be emphasized that this is not a new measure. The proclamation of the Ministry of Education of the SSR concerning admissions to higher educational institutions offers deans of faculties an opportunity to determine conditions for the candidates' admission without entrance examinations. Because so far the deans of faculties have not adequately availed themselves of this option, in the sense of the aforementioned resolution of the Presidium of the CSSR, they will have to admit, without entrance examinations, to all departments of higher educational institutions, those secondary school graduates whose good moral and civic profile are reflected in their attitudes and actions, provided that:

--they obtained "excellent" grades in all subjects throughout their entire secondary school study;

--they were winners in at least one subject at one of the kraj, state-wide or international olympics in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, Russian language, or if they completed their secondary school studies with at least "very good" grades;

--during their secondary school study as sportsmen (representatives) they won first place in national, state-wide or international sports competitions and completed secondary school studies with at least "very good" grades;

--they are authors of accepted discoveries, inventions, industrial patterns and improvement suggestions, completed the secondary school course with at least "very good" grades and wish to major in subjects of higher educational institutions which correspond to their field.

In addition, the departments of technology and natural sciences at higher educational institutions to be determined by the Ministry of Education (in the academic year of 1977-1978 they will include all faculties of engineering and electrical engineering, all faculties of the Advanced School of Technology in Kosice, the Lumber Faculty of the Advanced School of Forestry and Lumber in Zvolen, and studies of mathematics and physics individually as well as in combination at the faculties of natural sciences and pedagogy) will admit, without entrance examinations, candidates whose good moral and civic profiles are reflected in their attitudes and actions, provided that:

--they completed the graduation examination from secondary school cum laude and obtained at least "very good" grades in mathematics and physics;

--they won first to third place in a kraj competition or they successfully participated in at least one subject in one of the nationwide, state-wide or international mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology or Russian language olympics and completed the secondary school course with at least "very good" grades;

--as sportsmen during their secondary school studies they demonstrated impressive achievements (1st-3rd place) in national, state-wide or international sports competitions and completed the secondary school course with at least the grade of "very good."

The dean of the faculty will proceed with admissions without entrance examinations on the basis of individual written documents.

[Question] The public is being informed that the opportunities for continuing education are about to be expanded. Could you mention some more specific details about this?

[Answer] Several factors are prompting us to further develop continuing education. With a great scarcity of manpower it is very important for students to remain in the labor process and to obtain valuable practical experience as well as higher education at advanced schools. After finishing their advanced studies many of them became really highly qualified experts. It must be frankly said that this form of study is also acceptable, in view of the present space and housing situation in our advanced schools. Therefore, we are continuously raising the quota of continuing education students. Their number has increased from the 1971-1972 academic year to the 1976-1977 academic year by 89.8 percent. Nevertheless, we still have considerable reserves in the expansion of continuing education; while in the recently completed academic year we have had 25 percent of the total number of advanced school students in the SSR in that class, there were 49 percent such students in the USSR in the academic year of 1973-1974 and this type of study has been introduced there to faculties where it has not yet been introduced in our country. For that reason, in accordance with the Plan for Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training-Educational System, we shall further raise the quota for continuing education, primarily in those faculties with a need for graduates and where excellent opportunities for this type of study exist. In certain faculties we even intend to organize night courses. We realize that in the Ministry as well as in the higher educational institutions we must pay more attention to the level of the work and to the creation of conditions for continuing education in our country.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

CONDITIONS AT VYSKOV MILITARY ACADEMY DESCRIBED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jun 77 p 3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Jiri Hecko: "No Crybabies Allowed"]

[Text] Anyone visiting the school which we will be talking about below who might expect to find the usual academic environment of long, dark hallways, austere classrooms and lecture halls, offices dominated by plaster busts and tall cabinets filled with books, a place where the strict code of silence is only occasionally broken by exuberant student frivolity, would be disappointed. Obviously, the Military Academy for Ground Forces at Vyskov na Morave, which bears the name of the man who was three times designated a hero of the CSSR in addition to being a hero of the USSR, Army General Ludvik Svoboda, is not lacking in any of the facilities that go to fulfill the needs of a university studies program. However, three-fourths of the training undergone by our future young military commanders takes place on the broad expanses of firing ranges, tank fields, and exercise fields, i.e., under the kinds of conditions that they will meet after they leave school to start training soldiers in their own units.

The head of the academy's political department, Major General Josef Sirucka, elaborated on this: "It is the foremost and highly challenging task of the educational and training process at this school, in keeping with the practical requirements and needs of the armed forces, to teach our future young commanders while they are still in school how to take advantage of the opportunities and methods afforded by party political work in the course of increasing the combat-readiness and discipline of army units and training their subordinates. This means that they must be trained to be active participants in the party and youth movement life of their units and proficient organizers of ideological-indoctrination, cultural-educational, and sports activities. After completing their studies an average of 70 percent of our graduates leave to join their units as members and candidate members of the CPCZ, and of these nearly 75 percent had already been assigned to party and youth organization duties while still in school. They also gain much valuable experience as instructors or propaganda workers in local Czechoslovak Youth Union organs or as Young Pioneer leaders."

A long 4 years must pass before a young man can become a commander of a mobile artillery, tank, reconnaissance, paratroop, or chemical unit or a technician of the automotive and tank service, in which case his military rank can be supplemented by the title of engineer. We stopped by to take a look, however fleeting, at the environment in which this complex process of comprehensive commander training takes place.

What kind of commanders would we have if they themselves did not know how to shoot well? What if they were unable to stand up in front of their unit and utter the simple command: "Fire after me!" What if they could not even show green troops how to handle the trickiest kinds of firing missions? In order to know how to do these things, however, it is not enough just to have a good command of marksmanship theory. To acquire this knowledge it is absolutely necessary to go through many hours of practical training.

Perhaps this might consist of training on tank and artillery exercise fields where trainers show students how to "step on it" to maneuver combat vehicles over the most difficult kinds of terrain and where with the help of loaded small-caliber weapons students can get used to operations under heavy fire.

In order to shoot well one also has to be perfectly familiar with one's weapon. A stopwatch held by one of the students marks off the passing seconds without mercy. Crouched beneath him are two of his fellow-students who are transforming a large-caliber machine gun from a destructive weapon into a pile of big pieces and little pieces. Soon they start to put it back together. Not only a good machinegunner, but also a future officer has to learn how to do this right even under nighttime conditions and with eyes blindfolded.

Nearby, another group of students is being drilled in how to perform an apparently very simple task, i.e., how to get in and out of an armored personnel carrier. Here too a stubborn struggle is underway for every tenth of a second. Today this seems to amount to nothing more than an exercise in adhering to a strict timetable dreamed up by somebody or other. But under real combat conditions these tenths of a second would be measured in terms of human lives.

Time in general is the greatest enemy of the "freshmen," and there never seems to be enough of it either during professional training courses or even when it comes to personal leisure time. Those students who have already gone through 4 years of study at the Jan Zizka military secondary schools do a somewhat better job in managing their time. Nevertheless, not even the others who came here from public schools want to let themselves be put to shame.

On the chemical warfare exercise field it looks as if the Vyskov neighborhood is being visited by a large delegation of Martians. The protective

clothing, shoes, gloves, and the new gas masks do a perfect job of masking individual features. It is quite unpleasant enough just to sit or walk around a little in this garb, let alone to have to work in it or perform combat missions over a period of several hours. Nevertheless, our future commanders have to learn how to do this too.

The socialist countries were not the first ones to equip their armies with the new combat weaponry that is generally referred to as weapons of mass destruction. And as has been said on more than one occasion, we do not want to compete with the West in this area, and we are in fact urging that they should be banned outright. But to be unprepared, to not know how to confront these weapons would mean that we would be unable to mount an effective defense against their use.

We took advantage of the brief breaks in the training work to talk with some of the first-year students. Private Karel Krca had the following to say: "As I approach the end of my first year here I am coming to the conclusion that I made a good decision. I have always been interested in mechanical equipment, and in this career I will have more than enough opportunity to come into contact with it. Naturally enough, this career, just like any other, has certain apparent negative aspects in addition to the positive ones, especially for a young person used to civilian life. Strict organization, rules, discipline--everybody gets fed up with all this at first. But within a year we all come to be convinced that we will be able to get used to it."

Private First Class Ladislav Filip, who came to Vyskov from the military secondary school in Mor. Trebova and is already a party member, had the following comments to add: "In the beginning we enjoyed a certain advantage over our 'civilian' comrades. But everything was quickly evened out owing to the efforts of the good unit collectives. The housing conditions in the new dormitory have also made a great contribution to our better and more efficient training. Only 1 month ago there were 35 of us sharing a single dormitory hall, and now there are two of us to a room. I am attracted by the technical facilities, but I am also appreciative of the fact that we will be learning how to work with people here."

Up until 3 o'clock we continued to watch the relentless struggle with time. The red signals switch to green on the traffic control light standards. Simultaneously with the command transmitted by radio these light signals represent the order for the armored personnel carriers, driven by fourth-year students, to set out on a combat maneuver of several kilometers around the tank field. The carriers are quickly enshrouded by an opaque, dark cloud of dust. When it rains the dust turns into a sea of mud. Everything looks just like it would under actual combat conditions.

The big stopwatches mounted in the uppermost deck of the driver's turret again show no mercy in counting off the seconds. The combat vehicles then proceed to negotiate their way around several treacherous obstacles,

even including antitank trenches filled with water. The eyes of closed-circuit television cameras are also following every movement even on the remotest part of the course on the far side of the forest. Up in their high turrets the drivers have a perfect view of the terrain. Next to the drivers we can see that many of the students have taken the wheel. All of them without exception passed their driver's tests with flying colors.

Safely concealed behind camouflage netting in the oak forest tanks and trucks are being repaired under field conditions. A good commander not only has to be a competent repair mechanic, but he also has to be familiar with the functions of the principal part assemblies of the combat vehicles placed under his command.

The Vyskov Academy also has a number of other exercise fields and operational facilities on its grounds. For example, there is a deep lake in which after manually assembling the necessary fittings to be mounted on their vehicles students learn how to fearlessly traverse the bottom of deep bodies of water.

During our visit the weather was exceptionally nice. However, exercises and professional training take place in accordance with a precisely defined schedule, even when rain is dripping down your neck or when your fingers are numb with cold. This is done in order to simulate the kinds of conditions that the young commanders will be working under when they join regular army formations.

Next to the older buildings a new and modern village is springing up. Nobody is bothered any more by the dust from the building sites that annoyingly gets into your nose, eyes, and mouth, and nobody minds that after it rains rubber boots are the universal regulation footgear. By the end of next year all of the building work will have been completed. Not only will there be an improvement in the students' living conditions, but, more importantly, the new classrooms, laboratories, offices, and other work areas will be open for business. Even now these facilities can already boast of outstanding and, in many cases, unique kinds of equipment. The officer's pavilion will also be able to accommodate cultural and sports events. Not to be selfish, the Vyskov student body will also share these facilities with the civilian population.

All of this is not to say that life at the Vyskov Academy has been all work and no play given the current somewhat more cramped conditions. The Vyskov student body has always been represented by those who have won their way through the eliminations trials all the way up to the All-Army Arts Festivals held in Kromeriz and Bechyne. For example, it is a truly pleasant experience to be able to see a performance of the "Tatran" folk song ensemble. It is almost hard for one to believe that the singers and dancers appearing on stage in original folk costumes from Central Slovakia and Detva are first-year Vyskov Academy students coming from every corner of Slovakia, backed up by musicians from Bohemia and girl

singers and dancers from the Nursing School in Vyskov. The forthrightness and zeal with which these young people inspire so much optimism and enthusiasm in the Vyskov student body and among such a large number of the civilian spectators attests to the encouraging mutual understanding and increasingly closer relations between our two national cultures.

The enormous white mat in the school's gymnasium trembles under the impact of falling bodies. The judo and personal self-defense detachment is holding one of its regular training sessions. This is more than just idle leisure-time recreation. Can one say that it is a minor accomplishment that the Vyskov Academy has produced CSLA champions in judo in four different weight classes? Only an adequately broad base can produce true champions.

Positive results are not achieved overnight whether it is a matter of academic study, the arts, or sports. Conscientious training is required in all of these fields. This forces young people to learn how to organize their time so that there will always be time left over every day for their personal hobbies.

Even at the time of our visit a wave of pre-final exam nervousness began to set in among the senior students. Even so, they took time out from their studies to tell us what they would like to tell those boys who are weighing whether or not to choose a career as an officer or technician-engineer in the CSLA.

After a brief moment of reflection, comrade Second Lieutenant Stanislav Sevcovic, a graduate of the secondary metallurgical industrial school in Kladno who has been a member of the CPCZ for 3 years and is now serving as chairman of the school's basic organization of the Socialist Youth Union, had the following to say: "Every young man ought to have a clear idea as to his reasons for coming here. Anyone who is only thinking about the glitter of officer's insignias and medals would be better off by not joining us. Those who make an honest effort at the very start of their training will get a lot out of it: organizational aptitudes, the ability to work with people under the most complex conditions, and professional and technical knowledge in several fields. Most importantly, however, they will learn fortitude--the ability to overcome, with the help of their work collective comrades, the most formidable difficulties and problems."

Second Lieutenant Josef Balak, a graduate of the Jan Zizka military secondary school, added the following: "From a theoretical standpoint, the school has provided us with a wealth of knowledge. But only experience in a regular army formation will show us where we should have applied ourselves with greater effort during our training and, conversely, what areas were the object of too much attention. But there is one thing about the school that I appreciate right now. Namely, even though I previously held a variety of different posts in the pioneer and youth movements, this is where I have really learned how to work with people.

"Most of the guys are afraid of the military discipline and day-to-day routine. It is true that things are complicated at the beginning, but they soon realize that they do not have to anticipate military life as if it were some kind of bogeyman."

Second Lieutenant Sevcovic went on to say: "I would like to mention one other thing, namely, that no one here has to be afraid that the school is going to take too much of a one-sided approach. The curriculum in our school does not just impose demands in terms of intellectual activity, rather it also requires physical work. Both kinds of activity are made easier by the most up-to-date teaching aids. If on the other hand someone has decided to make a life-long career as a crybaby and carper, then he had better not enroll here. The same goes for anyone who supposes that the school will show him how to comfortably coast through life. There is only room here for those who want to become real men."

There is no need to add anything at all to these comments. Except perhaps to say that they ought to be reflected upon by those young men who are still weighing their options or who have not yet decided for certain what they want to do in life. Based on what we managed to see at Vyskov in not quite 2 full days, we were persuaded that the future of the CSLA's young officers corp is being well provided for.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR POLL ON BEER CONSUMPTION REPORTED

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 29 Jun 77 p 3 AU

[Interview with F. Drozen and B. Dolejsi of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economy by Miroslav Pavel, entitled: "Consumption Habit--An Iron Shirt"]

[Excerpt] [Question] Am I to understand that price, as regards to the rational consumption, plays no role?

[Answer] This, understandably, cannot be universally claimed, but in some cases it is true. This is evidenced by, among other things, also a poll which we recently conducted at Prague schools on the 1-3 cycle. This poll dealt not only with milk consumption habits, but also with beer. We ascertained that already in the ninth grade of the basic 9-year school 76 percent of pupils drink beer, although--of course not regularly. Of the pupils polled, only 8 percent said that they do not drink beer because they do not like its taste, but that their parents would allow them to drink it. At the secondary schools which we polled, already 80 percent of pupils drink beer, of which almost one-half drinks 0.5-3.5 liters a week, and 12 percent even more than 3.5 liters. At the university-level schools, 85 percent of students drink beer, of which one-third drink more than 3.5 liters a week.

CSO: 2400

## EAST GERMANY

### POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION OF YOUTH STRESSED

#### Pressure on Families

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 117, 22 Jun 77 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Political Pressure on GDR Families--All Parents Are To Bring Up Children as 'Young Communists'"]

[Text] Political pressure on families in the GDR is obviously increasing. In the impending elections of parents' advisory councils in the GDR schools, which take place between September and December, it is also to be discussed whether all parents are educating their children to "partisanship for socialism" and "to be young communists." This emerges from a policy statement on the elections by the SED officials' periodical NEUER WEG [East Berlin Vol 32, No 11, 1977 signed to press 2 Jun 77, pp 509-512, article by Egon Freyer: "1977 Elections of Members of Parents' Advisory Councils--A Concern of Millions of Citizens"]. It cannot be overlooked, says the statement, that "there are still families whose life together does not yet correspond to the new requirements and in which obsolete ideas of life and education are preserved." It is "an important duty of society and all parents that these families also be helped better to comply with their educational obligations." SED members would have a high responsibility in this, because many non-party parents are guided in their educational behavior by how the comrades "bring up their own children as young communists." These experiences must be "mentioned in the parents' meetings and disseminated for the use of all parents." In this connection the officials' periodical welcomed the fact that the party organizations in the plants "are devoting increasing attention to the upbringing of children in the families of their members."

Over 100,000 Parents' Advisory Councils will be elected in this year's parents' advisory council elections in the GDR; their members are primarily SED members.

#### Ideological Work of FDJ

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 117, 22 Jun 77 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Guidelines for Ideological Work in Free German Youth (FDJ)"]

[Text] The Politburo of the SED has issued detailed guidelines on future ideological work within the GDR youth organization FDJ. The resolution is dated 2 May 1977, but was only just published. The instruction says that in the framework of a concentrated political education, FDJ members, among other things "are to be made capable of countering all variations of imperialist policy and ideology uncompromisingly and convincingly." In this political proselytizing work, stresses the resolution, it is of "special importance to take into account the age, differing interests, levels of education, and spheres of activity of the youth." At the same time, educational work in the FDJ is to be coordinated to a greater extent than previously with the teaching, instructional and study plans of the educational institutions.

As "points of emphasis in the contents" of the political education work in the FDJ, the resolution sets up such themes as "the change of the relationship of forces in favor of socialism," "the consolidation of the socialist states and the tasks of socialist economic integration," "the historical lessons of the struggle of the SED and the revolutionary achievements of the GDR" and "the growing importance of ideological work." In the interests of the effectiveness of the education, the Politburo indicates, in the resolution, that it is necessary in the FDJ "to promote a creative exchange of opinion, to give convincing answers to the questions of youth, to make them capable of greater sureness in argument and to stimulate them to basic self-study."

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

MARXIST CONCEPT OF PERSONAL FREEDOM DISCUSSED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 25 No 4, Apr 77 signed to press 4 Feb 77 pp 397-413

[Article by Prof Dr Otto Finger, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Freedom of Personality--Materialistic-Dialectical Basic Positions of the Marxist-Leninist Concept of Freedom." For related information see the following JPRS issues of this series: 69293, 22 Jun 77, No 1404, pp 105-127; 68796, 18 Mar 77, No 1367, pp 82-91; 68228, 17 Nov 76, No 1320, pp 19-33; 68187, 9 Nov 76, No 1317, pp 17-27; and 66515, 7 Jan 76, No 1182, pp 33-44]

[Text] The article describes the basic positions of the Marxist-Leninist concept of freedom. The materialistic-dialectical concept of freedom is compared with contemporary bourgeois freedom phraseology and also with the freedom concept of enlightened materialism and classical idealism. The scientific theory of freedom is rooted in the class struggle of the working class and is implemented in practical terms under real socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist concept as to the essence of freedom, the individual's freedom of action, and the conditions for the free development of the human personality is in sharp theoretical and political contrast to present-day bourgeois and revisionist freedom phraseology. The philosophical-idealistic, metaphysical and historical essence of bourgeois ideology of the present is combined, with regard to its concept of freedom, as if in a prism. The deceptive character of this ideology, its demagogy and its mendaciousness are expressed particularly tangibly in the freedom tirades disseminated by imperialist propaganda and aimed at veiling the real lack of freedom in capitalist society and at ideological subversion directed against the real freedom of socialist society. These tirades also in a particularly clear manner reveal the anti-worker and antipopular, anticommunist and antihuman basic feature of imperialist ideology, no matter how much it might seek to conceal the cynicism of imperialist policy and rule--with its contempt for the human individual--behind the mask of its libertarian prattle.

The "Manifesto of the Communist Party"--in a manner valid to this very day--pointed up the concrete class concept to be found in bourgeois thinking in

such basic ideological and political concepts as the individual personality, family, nation, property and of course also freedom. Marx and Engels analyzed the social-political content of conditions, reflected by these concepts, in connection with the rejection of the accusations of bourgeois ideologists to the effect that the communists would wipe out precisely those values, those "sacred" goods of any human order. Bourgeois ideology attacks communism first of all and primarily because it denies capitalist property as a naturally necessary condition. "The thing that distinguishes communism," Marx and Engels emphasized, "is not the abolition of property to begin with but the abolition of bourgeois property" (1). To be sure, it thus removes the "last and most perfect expression" of the method of production and acquisition based on exploitation and class conflicts. This is what comes out of this in bourgeois anticommunist ideology: elimination of the foundation of all personal freedom, activity, and independence. But this foundation is supposed to be property, especially to the extent that it is personally acquired, "self-earned" property (2). Something that is actually the foundation of "freedom," that is to say, the "free activity" of capital, the rule of the class which sustains those conditions, is converted into the condition of personal freedom and activity as such. As always, the specific and special class interest in idealistic philosophy of history and in bourgeois ideology takes on the form of generality and abstractness. In this form, the concrete is expressed in a reversed and veiled manner, if it is to be withdrawn from the grasp of revolutionary action. Dialectical materialism, compared to all idealisms and mechanical materialism, is distinguished precisely by the fact that it reduces the principle of activity to its social, historical, materialistic-dialectical and socialist-revolutionary concept, that activity under dialectical materialism ceases to be a mere abstract principle but instead is determined on a concrete material basis as social production activity.

The "Manifesto" now shows us how illegitimately this principle is taken over by bourgeois ideology in that it is being restricted to the mode of action of bourgeois property. Modern bourgeois property however for this very reason cannot serve as the foundation for free, self-motivated activity because its origin, its economic operating procedure, and its social-political consequences are based precisely on the exclusion of the overwhelming number of all individuals in capitalist societies. Something that, on the basis of capitalist production conditions, appears to be "independent and personal," something like independently acting and active persons, actually turns out to be capital itself; the productively active individual on the other hand appears dependent and impersonal. Depersonalization and "massification" is not the result of communist upheaval but rather the tendency of capital movement. It brings about the degradation of the mass of active and working individuals to the status of completely dependent, unfree objects of exploitation and rule, impersonal also in the sense of the destruction of their self-awareness. The bourgeoisie--the "Manifesto" emphasizes in this connection--could with justification call the elimination of this condition or relationship the elimination of the individual personality and liberty. Of course not of "the" personality and "the" freedom "of the" individual--instead, this involves "the cancellation of bourgeois personality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom" (3).

Bourgeois freedom means the implementation of feudal bonds of limited capitalist exploitation, the liberation of wage labor which includes its total lack of freedom due to the tie-in with capital, freedom of capitalist trade, "freedom" of purchasing and selling commodities. The wage worker's freedom essentially means the freedom for him to sell his labor. All "libertarian" figures of speech of the bourgeoisie have their social-historical meaning only against the background of feudal unfreedom and their restrictions which enable capital to move around. The same is true of the individual personality whose freedom--according to anticommunism--would be canceled out by the nationalization of the means of production. In the bourgeois class concept, the individual personality coincides with the person of the capital owner and his freedom to subject alien or outside labor. This person, that is to say, the personification of social power ties to capital, should and must of course be canceled out, as the "Manifesto" points out. This cancellation is the condition for the unfolding of the individual personality of the working individual, his material and intellectual-cultural social relationship treasury.

Bourgeois freedom ideology centers around the idea that freedom and the private ownership of the means of production are construed as factors which are indissolubly connected with each other. This basic concept can always be proved against the background of the motley freedom tirades of bourgeois politicians and ideologists. It points up the class meaning of all bourgeois freedom theory, regardless of whether we are dealing with existentialist, positivist, or theologically fashioned views; this applies also regardless of whether we are dealing with social-reformists or right-wing conservative concepts. SPD ideology already in the Godesberg program justified any renunciation of the change in capitalist production conditions--which form the basis for the economic and political unfreedom of the workers--with the help of hypocritical assurances to the effect that the working class is no longer an exploited class: "He who once upon a time was the mere target of exploitation of the ruling class now takes up his place as citizen with recognized equal rights and duties" (4).

The SPD ideologists maintain--and so do the ideologists of the CDU with phrases that sound the same--that freedom along with justice and solidarity is a "basic value" of social democratic policy, a decisive aspect of the "quality of life" of capitalist society which is to be improved. This policy and its strategies are supposedly guided by freedom as a "fundamental moral value." It is obvious that the term "freedom" has become a complete phrase here: the realistic policy of the state under imperialism might be pursued by social reformers or other political parties but it is always a policy that is in the interest of the ruling capitalist class. But in this way it does not promote and protect the freedom of the workers but rather that of the exploiters. A pretended "fundamental moral value" called freedom--whose final justification is supposed to reside in the conscience of each individual--plays no role whatsoever here. What is involved here, in reality, is the freedom to make a profit. Lenin's comment is still valid and he indicated "that in the bourgeois republic, even if it is the one with the

most freedom and the most democracy, 'freedom' and 'equality' cannot be anything but and never were anything but the expression of the equality and freedom of the commodity owners, the equality and freedom of capital" (5).

The Marxist-Leninist freedom concept counters the idealism, the metaphysics, the abstract-unhistorical way of thinking and the class subjectivism of bourgeois ideology, which is hidden behind the claim as to general humaneness, with materialism, dialectics, the concrete-historical approach and the proletarian class viewpoint. Nonetheless, the freedom concept of dialectical and historical materialism ties in with the progressive traditions of bourgeois philosophical thinking. What the latter produced in terms of theoretically meaningful achievements to clarify the essence of freedom, freedom ideas with a humanistic and revolutionary tendency that sometimes pointed beyond the barriers of the bourgeois exploiter system--that belongs to the age of the bourgeois emancipation movement and reached its high point in the bourgeois revolution, particularly the period of the preparation and implementation of the French Revolution of 1789. Its philosophical-theoretical processing in the form of classical idealism also with regard to a dialectical concept of freedom, especially in Hegel, provided the, until then most profound insights. The progressive bourgeois thinkers were caught in the illusion of being the protagonists of the freedom of "the" individual to promote the freedom of the individual personality as such, of clearing the way for human reason and morality--and thus also making room for equality for all, for justice in general, and for the sovereignty of the people--in order to lead all mankind toward unlimited perfection. They proclaim highly abstract ideals which are infinitely far removed from the realistic possibilities and social-economic requirements of bourgeois society. Nevertheless, the progressive bourgeois thinkers made their theoretically richest contribution to the solution of the problem and to the essence of freedom precisely as a contribution to a very specific economic, political, and ideological task.

This task consisted in liberating the capitalist production method, which sprang from the lap of feudal society, from the feudal fetters that prevented its complete unfolding. In particular this revolved around the freedom of capitalist property and the "freedom" of the wage worker. Without the doubly free wage worker--"free" of the ownership of the means of production, which brought about the original accumulation, and free of personal conditions of dependence and servitude, in which the majority of the producers of feudal society, the serfs found themselves--the development of the form of production, the capitalist method of production, which was decisive for the development of bourgeois society, was unthinkable. One main goal of the liberty ideology of the revolutionary bourgeoisie resided in providing a theoretical justification for the struggle of the bourgeoisie to achieve political power, and to pave the way for the replacement of the feudal superstructure by the bourgeois superstructure, but especially the creation of the bourgeois-capitalist state. To the extent that, during the epoch of the decline of feudalism, the serfs, the peasants, and the craftsmen, also suffered from the outdated rule of the feudal aristocracy, along with the "Third Estate"

and in addition to the bourgeoisie, to that extent the antifeudal freedom slogans of the bourgeoisie reflected interests of the entire people and became the driving force of the entire antifeudal freedom struggle. Herein lies the real social reason for the illusionary idea of the general-human substance of the demanded bourgeois freedoms and of bourgeois-democratic fundamental rights as developed in progressive bourgeois ideology. The slogan of freedom of thought, freedom of opinion, freedom of religion, the ideal of the freedom of science, the demand for freedom from the cult of authority, from the control of thinking by religious precepts and theological dogmas--all these essential factors of the bourgeois freedom ideology likewise had a specifically historical pivot: what was at stake here was liberation from the ideological fetters which the feudal system had placed upon bourgeois growth. The ideologically-specific task consisted in smashing the feudal-religious image of the world and that meant above all breaking the spiritual power of the Catholic church and theology. We recognize this: a concrete class content is moving around in the abstract form of the general humaneness of bourgeois freedom concepts; it can be detected by the very specific "against whom," "what for," and also "for whom" as regards the freedom that is demanded here.

Basically, this relationship of abstract form and concrete content also applies to the freedom concept of imperialist ideology. The difference resides in the fact that the progressive content, during the bourgeois age of emancipation, in the period of imperialist decay of capitalism turned into an entirely reactionary content. If, with regard to present-day bourgeois freedom phrases, we ask the question "against what?" then the answer is: its attack target is socialism and communism, that is to say, the progressive alternative to capitalism and the lawful historical prospect of all mankind. And to the question as to "what for?" the answer is: these phrases are aimed at the prolongation of the lifetime of capitalist society beyond its historical measure which has been fulfilled long ago. Freedom "for whom?"--under imperialism that means the rule of the monopoly capitalists over all economic, political, and intellectual life and precisely, as a result of that, the unfreedom of the working people.

The demand to defend "Western freedom" and the "free democratic system" contains this doubly reactionary nucleus: on the one hand, it pictures really existing socialism--which for the first time implements freedom for the working class and all workers--as the enemy of freedom and thus wants to mobilize aggressive behavior against the innermost historical perspective of the working class in the capitalist countries. Besides, it pictures the capitalist state, which is always an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as the guarantor of freedom and democracy as such, which is why it should be believed as being the very highest possession and which is why it should remain untouchable. Nothing is said here about the fact that the specific factors of freedom and democracy, within the framework of bourgeois society, owe their origin to the antifeudal emancipation movement of the bourgeoisie and are preserved during the imperialist period of decay of capitalism only to the extent that they can be wrested from the monopoly

bourgeoisie by the worker movement and the antimonopolistic struggle. The following, historically decisive fact is also concealed by the freedom phraseology of imperialist ideology: this is the liberation of the working class from capital, accomplished under socialism, this is the conversion of formal bourgeois democracy into real socialist democracy which no longer enables the imperialist bourgeoisie to implement its dictatorship over the entire life process of present-day capitalist society unhindered.

The points of crystallization of the bourgeoisie's progressive philosophical thinking, with a view to the problem complex of freedom, are made up of the question as to the freedom of the individual and his subjectivity, the question as to the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, between man and nature, between human action and law, between the individual and society. Within pre-Marxist bourgeois philosophy, the following two tendencies are characteristic for the solution of the theoretical and practical problems that are included in these relationships. First of all, the individual is absolutized. The reconciliation of individual freedom and social development process simply does not come off. Second, determinism--the view that human action is objectively conditioned--and the theory of free subjectivity, of the selfdetermination of the individual as a thinking, willing, and moral being--these fall apart. The empire of necessity and the empire of freedom are juxtaposed in bourgeois thinking as spheres with totally different essences. Where an attempt is made to reconcile the two, especially in Hegel's philosophy, this comes off only on an idealistic basis, through the idealistic mystification of both, of necessity and of freedom, in other words.

One ideological main tendency of bourgeois materialism, regarding the question as to freedom, consisted in stressing the objective conditions, the factors of human action outside the individual person and to explain all this in the light of the sum total of the effects of the particular environment and the physical nature of man, his fundamental desires and efforts, in other words, in terms of the striving for happiness and individual advantage. This undialectical determinism is formulated most clearly in Holbach's "System der Natur." That the individual could be free is equated here with the idea there could be something that had no causes. Freedom is construed as the opposite or absence of causality. The alternative is: freedom or necessity? With militant thrust against theology and religion and also against the belief in religious miracles, which after all presupposes the design cancellation of the laws of nature, inviolable, universal causality is set against freedom. Because the soul cannot be removed from the effectiveness of the laws of physics, because will power is determined not because of the individual's psychological energy but always by objective motives, man could not be free (6). Because, as Holbach said in the same context, our "ways of thinking" are necessarily determined by "our ways of being"--which however, according to Holbach, means by natural body structure and the modifications which the human "machine" experiences independently of willpower--because of that, neither man's action nor his thinking, feelings, and sensations could be free and arbitrary (7).

In contrast to that, classical idealism, in the form of the "active side," the stress on the activity of human recognition and of man in terms of his historical existence to begin with, brings out something that is essential in justifying the possibility and necessity of freedom. In Kant, freedom and the laws of nature still constitute absolutely separate sectors. Freedom as self-determination of the human personality and necessary prerequisite for moral action is a process beyond the necessity of nature and has its own intelligible basis which goes beyond natural necessity and which is transcendental. The organ of freedom is reason, provided it is, according to Kant, not subjected to any conditions of the empirical and the sentiment, no form of time and no sequence of time; to the extent that it is in this sense unconditional but at the same time precisely the ability to generate the sentient condition for an empirical sequence of effects (8). "Causality from freedom" the ability of the subject to begin a state [condition] by himself and from himself--this is something which Kant explains as the prerequisite for moral action and judgment. If, according to Kant, we condemn a morally evil action, if we censure the moral evil-doer, if we pronounce him morally guilty, then the basis for that is provided by the recognition of a law of reason which can persuade the individual to act in a morally good manner, specifically, also against all empirical conditions of the character, the temperament, education, and all other circumstances which otherwise influence man. Only under the condition of complete freedom of reason from those factors and external circumstances are morality and moral evaluation possible according to Kant. In classical idealism, freedom has, since Kant, been the basic concept of ethics and of bourgeois historical philosophy to begin with.

Fichte tried to eliminate the conflict between necessity and freedom by-- in an extremely subjective-idealistic manner--construing all reality as the product of the intellectual [thinking] subject. Necessity is merely the product of the discarding of freedom. The relationship between the necessary being and free consciousness is based in consciousness itself. As the original "deed" which justifies all other events, reason manages to generate self-awareness. It becomes aware of itself and thus is reason not merely "in itself" but also "for itself"--it appears to itself as something else; reason as a subject establishes itself as object. The free and active ego, obeying only its drive to action, thus differs from the non-ego. But this distinction is made only in consciousness itself. The subject-object relationship, its reciprocal determination and thus the relationship between necessity and freedom, is established by Fichte as follows, in contrast to metaphysical materialism and Kantian idealism: through the elimination of the materialist factor in Kantian philosophy, the recognition of a thing, in itself, which is independent of the subject.

The non-subjective-idealistic but rather objective-idealistic reconciliation of freedom and necessity is something which Hegel accomplishes on the basis of the preliminary work done by Kant and Fichte in the theoretical overcoming of metaphysical determinism and its undialectical causality concept. Hegel also exercises fundamental criticism of metaphysical determinism which excluded the possibility of human freedom and the individual's self-determination and even man's individuality to begin with.(9) According to Hegel it

is in the essence and nature of man to be free. But his freedom is based on the fact that he is reasonable. Man in Hegelian philosophy is reason and self-awareness. If man knows that he is free when he becomes aware of himself as a reasonable being then he is indeed really free according to Hegel. But in this fashion, freedom--archidealistically--becomes a mere phenomenon of consciousness: man has freedom when he knows, when he has an idea, that it is in his nature to be a free individual. And the opposite of freedom--unfreedom--here appears merely as the nonpresence of this self-awareness, as a defect in the concept of freedom [as a lack of the concept of freedom]. Quite logically, according to Hegel, it adds up "to a tremendous change in the world-historical condition" whether or not man conceives of himself as a free individual (10). Hegel also makes political freedom dependent on that. It is not real social conditions which, in Hegelian idealism, generate the consciousness of freedom or unfreedom, it is not they which constitute the basis for the formation of the ideologies of the freedom struggle but instead the exact opposite applies here: where the subject thinks of himself as a free being, this is where political freedom also begins, according to Hegel. In Hegelian philosophy, the thought is the general thing in itself and also that which in itself is free. The principle of Christianity, which is present in the "Germanic world," is proclaimed by Hegel--here in restorative contrast to the materialistic philosophy of enlightenment and its critical attitude toward religion and atheistic form--as a principle which is the freedom of the spirit. Christ redeems and liberates the world because of His spirit. And in this "Christian-Germanic" world, there emerges the thought, the in itself free aspect, finally with such overwhelming force of consciousness that it is He who determines the political world, the constitution, the law, and who brings about revolutions and transformations of the state (11).

The most profoundly conservative tendency of this kind of liberty idealism is quite obvious: this theory mystifies freedom into a spiritual substance and, precisely because of this idealism, cannot justify any real action in the real liberation struggle of the progressive social classes. Here again it is true that ideas as such always lead only beyond the ideas of a given social condition but never over that condition itself. To change real conditions, we by no means need only to think but we also need practical action. What has been gained in terms of real freedom through fighting--regardless of the conditions under which this was accomplished--and what is being gained today in the world through fighting is the result of material action.

To the extent that the thought, as that which is free as such, determines historical development, all world history thus appears to be "progress in the awareness of freedom" (12). For Hegel, being free means being with oneself: the individual is with himself when he grasps reality, the objective, the alien, the external, the subjective, and natural necessity in its substance as reason. The development of this consciousness is the progressing awareness of freedom and it is the way to the highest truth. It is the truth of Hegelian dialectical philosophy in which the conflict between

being and consciousness is at last reconciled: "In it, the conflict between freedom and necessity, between spirit and nature, between knowledge and subject, between law and drive, the conflict and the contradiction as such ...no longer has any validity and power. This proves that neither freedom, for itself, as a subjective thing, separated from necessity, is something absolutely true, nor could one credit necessity, isolated by itself, with truthfulness" (3) [sic]. Freedom and necessity are so intertwined with each other that freedom consists in conceived necessity. Marxist-Leninist philosophy ties in with this viewpoint, specifically, in the form of its dialectical negation. It is subjected to materialistic correction and experiences a historical-materialistic concretization.

The classical authors of Marxism-Leninism subjected the freedom concepts of bourgeois ideology equally to theoretical and class-oriented criticism. The real basis of bourgeois theories on freedom and equality of the human individual is made up of the economic conditions in capitalist society. If the individuals in capitalist society appear as free and socially equal beings--and if this is expressed in philosophical theory as general freedom, as freedom of the individual, as freedom of the subject and the concept--then this is due to the following peculiarity of the capitalist production method: under it, activities and work products are exchanged against each other because of their barter value. Commodity and labor are determined as barter objects. The various individuals, commodities, and activities are equated in the process of exchange. The objects of exchange or barter are related to each other as being equivalent. The natural differences among individuals, the difference in their needs, the difference of individuals as the owners of the various utility values--these are combined into society; and in this socialization they behave toward each other as free subjects. To the extent that the "natural differences of the individuals and the commodities of those individuals...form the motive for the integration of these individuals, for their social relationship as presence engaged in barter, wherein they are assumed to be and proved to be equal to each other--to that extent the determination of equality is also joined by that of freedom. Although individual A may feed the need for the commodity of individual B, he does not obtain that commodity by force, nor vice versa; instead they recognize each other reciprocally as owners, as persons whose will permeates their commodities. Accordingly we first have the juridical moment of the person and of freedom, to the extent that it is contained therein. Neither individual seizes the property of the other by force. Each individual gets rid of the item voluntarily" (14). Marx furthermore says this: "If, in other words, the economic form, that is, barter, establishes the equality of the subjects in all directions, so is the content, the material, of an individual and objective nature, which strides toward exchange or barter, "freedom." Equality and freedom thus are respected not only in exchange, which is based on barter values, but the exchange of barter values is the productive, real basis of all equality and freedom. As pure ideas they are merely idealized expressions of the same; when developed in the form of juridical, political, and social relationships, they constitute this basis only in another power" (15).

Now it so happens that this equality and freedom, generated by capitalism, are only seemingly equality and freedom. Their proclamation as absolute and real abstracts from the contradictory conditions of capitalism, of the class conflict between capital and labor. Behind the surface of capitalist society, behind the circulation sphere, there are processes taking place which prove the implementation of bourgeois freedom and equality as unfreedom and inequality. In this society of "free" competition it so happens that, in truth, individuals are not made free "but instead, capital is made free. So long as production, based on capital, is the necessary and therefore the most suitable form for the development of social production force, so long does the movement of the individuals within the pure conditions of capital appear as their freedom; but it is then also dogmatically assured as such through constant reflection upon the barriers that were torn down by free competition. Free competition is the real development of capital. Through it there is established, as external need for individual capital, that which corresponds to the nature of capital, that is, the production methods based on capital, which corresponds to the concept of capital. The reciprocal compulsion, which their capital holdings exert upon each other, upon labor, etc. (competition of workers among each other is only another form of competition among capital holdings) is the free and at the same time real development of wealth as capital" (16). Free competition proves to be free development on an entirely narrow-minded foundation--on the foundation of capital rule. Thus it is a type of individual freedom which "accepts the most complete cancelation of all individual freedoms and the complete subjugation of individuality to social conditions which take on the form of objective powers and even superpowerful things which are independent even of the relative individuals [independent of the individuals that procure them]" (17).

Dialectical and historical materialism shares the Hegelian view that freedom requires insight into necessity but it does not stop at this point. Taken by itself, this formula by no means leads beyond the illusionary character the idealistic theory of freedom. Freedom would thus remain within the sphere of consciousness and of concept. If freedom were to be confined to that, then the exploited and oppressed proletarian of capitalist society would be free already merely by virtue of the fact that he understands the objective conditions of his proletarian existence and the capitalist production method in terms of its necessity. Obviously however the slave in ancient society, the serf peasant of the Middle Ages, and the wage worker under capitalism--obviously the producers of material goods remain unfree in all exploiter societies, regardless of whether they can or cannot develop an awareness of the historical necessity of prevailing circumstances. Insight into necessity constitutes a necessary but not an adequate condition for freedom. Necessity properly understood furthermore must be joined by this: the possibility and the ability to decide expertly and to be able to act according to that consciousness and that expert decision.

Engels gave the classical Marxist determination of freedom--freedom not only of the individual human personality but also freedom of the social class and society as a whole--in "anti-Duehring." Here freedom is construed as a process wherein natural necessity, laws of social development, scientific

discoveries, and conscious action by man form an indissoluble whole. It is a determination in which materialism is united with dialectics, determinism with the recognition of conscious activity of the social individual, and objective conditions with subjective factor. And it is finally a determination which ties the viewpoint of the unification of necessity and freedom in with the concept that freedom is a process and result in historical-social development. Engels wrote this: "Freedom does not reside in the dreamed-of independence of the laws of nature but rather in the recognition of these laws and in the resultant possibility of making them work according to plan for certain purposes. This applies both to the laws of external nature and to those which regulate man's physical and mental existence--two classes of laws which we can separate at most in our concepts but not in reality. Freedom of the will therefore means nothing other than the ability to decide with expert knowledge" (18). Engels emphasizes the materialistic-dialectical nucleus of this freedom definition with the following sentence: "Freedom thus consists in rule over ourselves and over external nature, based on the realization of natural necessities" (19).

Engels clarified this essence of freedom in the bitter debate with a view held by Duehring whose main point, in view of present-day subjective idealism and eclecticism has remained timely on this issue. According to Duehring freedom consists in the fact "that rational insight pulls man to the right while irrational drives pull him to the left and, in this force parallelogram, the actual movement takes place along the direction of the diagonal. Freedom would thus be the average between insight and drive, between reason and unreason..." (20). Precisely this phony-theoretical both-and, the eclectic coupling of the natural irrational with the human rational moment, in whose midst human life is supposed to be, partly unfree and partly also free--to the extent that reason conquers drive--precisely this undialectical thinking prevails in those directions of late-bourgeois thinking which develop anthropologies on a thoroughly traditional idealistic basis but which they at the same time, by referring to data of natural-science research, shroud in modern, pseudo-scientific garb. In that context we also place those theories on man and his freedom which tie in with the results of behavior research, with the results of depth psychology, and other disciplines. Freedom means the possibility and the ability to be able to command the objective conditions of the real life process. The measure of real freedom therefore depends on the degree to which men have recognized the totality of natural laws, into which the existence of human society is bound, as well as the social laws, which the development of human society obeys and the degree to which they can act in agreement with these realizations and arrange practical-material behavior.

With regard to the connection between freedom--to the extent that it signified mastery over nature--and the individual as well as social perception process, Lenin emphasized the following: "The development of consciousness in each individual human person and the development of the collective knowledge of all mankind show us, with every step, the transformation of the not recognized 'thing in itself' into a recognized 'thing for us.' the

transformation of blind, unrecognized necessity, of 'necessity in itself' into a recognized 'necessity for us'" (21). The Marxist-Leninist concept of freedom, which ties freedom to material necessity, which, as its decisive moment, stresses man's practical, objective action, precisely because this action alone creates the prerequisites for freedom and because freedom itself essentially resides in a certain type of action by the human personality--this consistent materialist view however by no means signifies that the role of theoretical consciousness has been diminished. Lenin clarified that without any doubt in the passage quoted from "Materialism and Empirio-criticism." Here again of course we once again presume the existence of materialism. Scientific-theoretical consciousness is construed materialistically as an adequate reflection of objective reality; only under these conditions can it do that which Lenin emphasizes--the conversion of "things in themselves" into "things for us," the achievement of freedom in the form of command over things natural. What Lenin developed in justifying the theory of the new-type party, in working out the theoretical foundations for the first victorious socialist revolution in the history of the world, for the practice of the first-time implementation of socialism about the relationship between spontaneity and consciousness, that is likewise a definitely materialistic theory of the liberation of the working class and the implementation of freedom for the entire working people.

This revolution and this practice have consciousness; here is what that means: their actors act on the grounds of a scientific theory of their development laws. This scientific theory is socialist ideology--the ideology and class consciousness of the working class. As a result of the ideological leadership activity of the revolutionary party, the social development process thus, compared to all of the past epochs of history, takes on a completely new quality, the quality of consciousness. There is a lawful connection between ideological leadership activity of the party of the working class, the growing consciousness of the workers, and, precisely connected with that, increasing freedom in the form of assets, on all levels of socialist practice, but in particular the ability to decide and plan expertly in the sphere of material production. Individual behavior and the behavior of the work collective can be reconciled productively in an ever better fashion with the objective conditions and requirements of the advancing development of society as a whole. The interrelationship just mentioned--quite within the meaning of the action of laws in general and regardless of the field of natural or social development involved--is lawful. This interrelationship is necessary, it is generally valid, it has a lasting effect and reveals the characteristic of repeatability. This interrelationship emerged for the first time during the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. Lenin based his necessity particularly on those writings in which experiences of the October Revolution were generalized and were the requirements for the improvement of its results and the development process of socialist society were formulated. Outstanding documents of this aspect of Lenin's theoretical works are such studies as "State and Revolution," "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power," "The Great Initiative," and "Rather Less, But Better."

The principle, developed by Lenin in creating the foundation of the theory of the new-type party--the principle to the effect that, without revolutionary theory, which is introduced into the class and the masses by the party, there cannot be any revolutionary practice--by no means loses its significance after the victorious struggle for political power. The socialist revolution is not only the relatively short-term act of taking power away from the bourgeoisie and smashing the bourgeois government machine, replacing it with the new, socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead, as a social revolution, wherein the old capitalist production methods is radically changed, where a new basis, the socialist basis is created, where a new socialist superstructure is developed, it encompasses an entire epoch. And it is precisely during this epoch that socialist ideology, as the theoretical foundation of this uniquely radical and comprehensive revolutionary transformation process, must go through trials and tests with a new quality and dimension in terms of world history. Precisely also because we are dealing here with the act of social liberation which is the most thorough and the most mass-like in history so far, with the first-time implementation of real freedom for the working people. "In the bourgeois revolutions," Lenin emphasized, "the main task of the working masses consisted in the execution of negative or destructive work, in wiping out feudalism, monarchy, and the Middle Ages. Conversely, the main task of the proletariat and the poor peasantry led by it, during every socialist revolution, is the positive or also creative task which also consists in establishing an extraordinarily complicated and fine network of new organizational relationships encompassing the planned production and distribution of products necessary for the existence of dozens of millions of people. Such a revolution can be accomplished successfully in combination with the independent historical creativity of the majority of the population, especially the majority of the workers. Only if the proletariat and the poor peasantry can muster enough consciousness, force of conviction, self-sacrifice, and persistence will the victory of the revolution be secured" (22).

In our context, the following can be emphasized from this Leninist position. First, The political liberation of working class and all workers through the socialist revolution can continue to exist only if it is backed up by economic liberation. Political freedom and economic power belong together. Second, Economic liberation however and the economic power of the working people are only the result of the "expropriation of the expropriators." Instead, this step must be followed by the buildup of socialist production conditions, the development of the "complicated and refined network of new organizational relationships." Third, The latter however is not done spontaneously but rather consciously, on the theoretical foundation of a scientific program, scientifically justified goals of economic policy, and management activity on all levels of social life. Fourth, Consciousness however presupposes the ideological leadership activity of the party of the working class. "The first task of every party of the future," Lenin emphasized, "consists in convincing the majority of the people as to the correctness of its program and its tactics" (23). As Lenin stressed at the same time, this task can "never be completely done." This is true last but not least because, as a scientifically justified program, as the theoretical reflection of lawful

interconnections and the norms and rules for social action based on that must develop further along with social practice itself.

The above-mentioned organically imparted economic, political, and ideological factors form the foundation for the implementation of real democratic basic rights and of real freedom which for the first time are possible and necessary in socialist society. The SED program adopted at the Ninth Party Congress emphasizes both a review of achievements so far and the task of the socialist state in securing real freedom: "The socialist state guarantees all citizens political freedoms and social rights: the right to work, recreation, free education and health protection, material security in old age and in case of sickness or loss of the ability to work; equal rights for citizens regardless of racial and national background, ideology, religious faith and social position. It guarantees equal rights for men and women in all sectors of governmental, economic, and cultural life" (24). The totality of fundamental social rights, such as socialism for the first time was able to secure them for the entire working people, at the same time contains the fundamental freedoms which socialism has developed. The exercise and implementation of these rights is the real process of freedom under socialism, the free shaping of relations among individuals, free from the fetters of capital, and the relationships between individuals and society. This also includes the decisive aspects of the freedom of the individual personality under socialism, the release and conscious unfolding of all of man's creative forces.

The freedom of the personality means infinitely more under socialism and its quality is entirely different in social terms from what bourgeois freedom ideology and bourgeois democracy can offer with their formal liberty. It permeates all walks of social life and unfolds on all levels of socialist practice. It begins with material production activity, in the work process, and extends all the way to education and intellectual and moral culture. It develops in a totality of material and ideological conditions within which of course the material ones, the ones which exist in socialism's production method, have primacy. It is precisely the last-mentioned factor which is decisive for the real and no longer formal character of the freedom of the personality under socialism. Under socialism it begins precisely where it comes to an end under capitalism, at the very latest. It begins in the sphere of material production activity. When freedom, deep down, means nothing more than the ability to be able to rule according to the grasped necessity of objective living conditions, then the seizure of the means of production by the producers themselves is the economically decisive guarantee for the unfolding of the entire spectrum of freedom. With this act begins the rule of the producers over the foundation of the entire social development process, in other words, material production.

The enemies of socialism, revisionists and social reformers, the open apologists of capitalism and its pseudorevolutionary "critics" stubbornly deny that there is an internal connection between the ideological leadership activity of the party of the working class, the consciousness of the masses, and real freedom. The main attack target of contemporary anticommunism,

the leadership role of the party of the working class and the socialist government, are the preferred targets of attack in the form of socialist ideology. That it--as a prevailing ideology--is indissolubly tied to the entire progressive development of socialism, its real humanism, and also the historical self-awareness of the working people under socialism, their awareness of freedom and their action in freedom, is supposed to appear as the exact opposite of that. Political rationalists and existentialists, representatives of the "critical" theory and theological opponents of communism agree on this point: socialist ideology, in their social-philosophical views, appears as something like the principle of something evil, a chief evil in the world of today, responsible for all kinds of imaginable shortcomings, conflicts, and problems, the incarnation of dogmatism. Above all however guilty of the asserted unfreedom of socialism and the most dangerous threat to "Western freedom," the intellectual creator of totalitarianism, the dark source of the individuals living under socialism without control over their own lives. This alleged debit account could be expanded even further and the number of bedeviling labels is legion. Indeed, the chorus of lament over socialist ideology and its presumed nonlibertarian essence first of all reflects one thing very clearly: the enemies of communism have an entirely realistic insight into the actual revolutionary historical effectiveness of this ideology. And they very well also grasped the following: the implementation of the goal of the communist movement, founded on this ideology, the emancipation of the working class and thus the liberation of the entire working people from capitalist exploitation and oppression is necessarily connected with violence, compulsion, dictatorship, and unfreedom. But not with abstract dictatorship and nonfreedom; instead, quite specifically: the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes smashing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; freedom of labor presupposes the unfreedom of capital. Denying this and concealing this is not one of the least among the reactionary tasks which bourgeois liberty ideology has always tried to accomplish.

Something which in presocialist history by and large applied only with regard to natural conditions of human history--that along with the advance of knowledge, the original domination of man by natural processes was also progressively penetrated--that applies, along with the erection of the communist social formation, also to the social conditions of human existence. But just as the knowledge of nature does not mean the cancellation of its objectivity, so does the perception of society, the possibility of also being able to decide expertly in social life, to base planning and the shaping of social process on a knowledge of their laws, not mean that its [their] material nature has been extinguished. Consciousness as a new quality of the social life process under socialism and communism and as a necessary prerequisite for freedom therefore is not equivalent to saying that now indeed ideas would become the demiurge of reality and that the new society in this way, in the final analysis, would after all prove the correctness of the old idealism. That something happens with consciousness here likewise does not mean that it has been produced by consciousness. And finally we must also stress the following with regard to consciousness: if it is an active historical force, which is indissolubly linked to real freedom under socialism, then there is rooted in it the fact that socialist ideology correctly reflects the social development process.

From what we have said here it follows, first of all, that freedom--both with regard to natural conditions and to social conditions--can be tied to theoretical consciousness and is tied to consciousness in the case of the communist social formation, but can by no means be reduced to theoretical behavior with respect to reality. Instead, the following applies rather materialistically: freedom is a specific aspect of practical behavior: its primary foundations are material processes and relations, of nature and of society. With regard to domination over nature already it emerges that men must be able to muster a practical force here (25), that natural-science ideas also become material force only through the objective action of people and that it is the material production forces, tools, instruments, and equipment thanks to which freedom becomes possible as domination over nature. With regard to society likewise it is the material conditions, primarily the production conditions, which determine the character and measure of possible freedom and of course also unfreedom. Freedom is not simply a state or an unalterable quality of this or that social condition but rather a historical growth process. It is a dialectical process inasmuch as it is always implemented in the establishment and resolution of such contradictory conditions as those between nature and society, between practice and theory, production forces and production conditions, basis and superstructure. In the revolutionary liberation struggle of progressive social classes, which flows into social and political revolutions, precisely such contradictory conditions are resolved and they receive a historically new quality.

Understanding freedom as a dialectical growth process precludes the idea that history could be subdivided into two sectors, one in which freedom prevails and another one in which unfreedom prevails. To be sure, the following must be kept in mind with regard to some very decisive areas of economic, political, intellectual-cultural, and scientific life: all production methods based on the exploitation of man by man are societies of oppression and unfreedom of the materially producing agents, that is, the working masses. In ancient slavery and in the feudal Middle Ages and under capitalism, economic power is in the hands of the particular exploiter class and that includes political and ideological rule. And the exploiter classes exercise the latter for no purpose other than to break the resistance that is being put up against exploitation and oppression, to nip any attempt by the working class to liberate itself from that in the bud. Nevertheless, with regard to the type of dependence of the producers on the owners of the means of production and thus with regard to the character of unfreedom and with regard to moments of social freedom one must very well distinguish between the situation of the slaves, the serfs, and the wage workers. Likewise it must be emphasized that the basic rights and freedoms guaranteed within the framework of bourgeois democracy by parliamentary constitutions--the substance of those basic rights and freedoms in terms of formal rights and freedoms--form a prerequisite for the organization of the working class, for its emancipation struggle, and for the revolutionary transformation of formal into real rights and freedoms, for the revolutionary transition from formal bourgeois to real socialist democracy.

Third. During all presocialist history, the characterized, decisive aspect of freedom--that is, the ability to master the condition of man's existence

according to plan--is confined to nature. The conditions for this freedom in the sphere of social life--which has a social quality and historical dimension entirely different from what might for example be formulated in the rules of the game of bourgeois parliamentarianism--are not fulfilled in history which came before socialism. The social development process remains uncomprehended and is not mastered. The laws of its course are not recognized and they work in the manner of a blind natural force. This alienation of lawful social conditions of those whose conditions they are, of the individuals of the particular society, applies not only to the oppressed popular masses but also to the ruling exploiter classes. In the sphere which is decisive for all social life, in the sphere of production, Marx discloses the unfreedom of the personality of the working individual prevailing under capitalism with these words: the capitalist production process appears as "martyrology of the producers, the working tool appears as a means of subjugation, a means of exploitation and impoverishment of the worker, the social combination of work process as unorganized suppression of his individual liveliness, freedom, and independence" (26). Job and personal life diverge. In his work the worker is "outside of himself" and he is "with himself" only when he is away from his job (27). But the essential social aspect of the freedom of the capitalist class, its power of command over labor, the fact that it has the possibility of organizing this production process for the purpose of making a profit, that certainly does not mean that it would be capable of mastering the overall social development process. This is expressed not only in the constantly recurring economic and currency crisis of the capitalist world and its increasing social-political weakness. It is also expressed in the fact that the necessary social progress, the transition from capitalism to socialism is being implemented on a revolutionary road in the form of the increasing aggravation of the class struggles into socialist revolution, in the form of the breaking of the resistance of the capitalist exploiter class against social progress.

From what we have said so far it follows, fourth, that social freedom for the working class and all working people, growing out of economic power can be implemented only with the establishment of the communist formation of society. The objectively necessary foundations and guarantors for the implementation of this freedom are the socialist production conditions and the political power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here again it remains immaterial that freedom is a social development process. The character and measure of the freedom of the individual and of the free development of society as a whole are essentially influenced by the development of the production forces and the development of the political organization of society. Engels speaks of the need for "mighty production forces" which are required for communist freedom, that is to say, for the free development of the personality in such a state "where there are no longer any class differences, any worries about individual resources for existence, and where one can for the first time speak of real human freedom, of an existence in harmony with the recognized laws of nature" (28).

"Absolute" freedom is a fiction also under the conditions of the communist formation of society. It remains a fiction to prevent conditions under

which the individual is supposed to exist independently of society and to accept that as the freedom of the individual. It is just as fictitious to construe the freedom of society as a whole as its independence of natural conditions. "Real human freedom," that is, freedom under communism, as Engels stressed, is existence in harmony with the comprehended natural laws, not in illusory independence from them. Such concepts--characterized in political respects by petty-bourgeois-anarchist attitudes, and in philosophical respects by subjective idealism--are not just reactionary utopias but get an open anticommunist and counterrevolutionary cut to the degree that freedom develops in really existing socialist society on the grounds of its concrete economic and political conditions.

So long as there are classes, the individual's freedom cannot be any greater than that of the class to which he belongs. The development of the individual's and the personality's freedom--that is to say, essentially the free development of the individual's socially significant qualities--takes place not outside but within the conditions of the social class, its economic situation and its political position. In terms of their quality and scope they are bound to the concrete-historical development stage of the class, independently of whether it is a powerlessly oppressed, revolutionarily fighting, or victorious and ruling class. In the development process of the working class it is above all the following changes which form a profound caesura also with respect to the formation of the personality of the workers and the unfolding of their freedom: this first of all involves the transformation of the working class from a class "in itself" into a class "for itself," that is to say, a class which gains its revolutionary historical self-awareness and which, equipped with communist theory, launches its organized struggle against the rule of capital. Besides, it is that quality jump which is decisive in terms of world history--that is, the socialist revolution--with which the working class is beginning to accomplish its world-historical mission as the conscious builder of the communist society formation. This revolution creates the objective conditions for the fashioning of the completely new relationship between the individual and society and for the new quality of freedom. It is a relationship and a quality which are fully shaped up along with the transition from the socialist to the higher communist phase of the new society. The "Communist Manifesto" in a classical form clearly showed that this is not a process beyond the class struggle, not a process outside the political prerequisites. The "Manifesto" makes it clear that it is an essential historical mission of the political might of the working class precisely to generate the necessary prerequisites for communist freedom, the release of the creative forces of the working people which is inherent in communism. "After class differences have disappeared in the course of development and after all production has become concentrated in the hands of the associated individuals, then public power loses its political character. Political power in the actual sense as such is the organized power of a class to be used in oppressing another class. If the proletariat, in the fight against the bourgeoisie, necessarily unites into a class, if it makes itself the ruling class through a revolution and if, as ruling class, it cancels out the old production conditions by force, then, with these production conditions, it cancels out the conditions for the existence of the class conflict, of...classes in general

and thus its own rule as class. The old bourgeois society, with its classes and class conflicts, is replaced by an association wherein the free development of each individual is the condition for the free development of all" (29).

The decisive condition for real freedom under socialism and communism, the prerequisite for the advancing rule of the producers over their natural and social living conditions, for the unfolding of its creativity, is the development of the productivity of social labor. The empire of freedom is based on the empire of natural necessity and of economic necessity. The "true empire of freedom," in terms of freedom beyond this necessity, is always based on the former, as Marx emphasized. The quintessence of the materialistic-dialectical determination of freedom, such as it has been implemented with the erection of the communist formation of society in a contradictory economic, political, ideological, and cultural development process, is contained in these sentences taken from Marx' "Das Kapital": "Just as the savage must struggle with nature to meet his needs, to preserve his life and to reproduce, so must the civilized individual do the same thing and he must do so in all forms of society and under all possible production methods. With his growth, this empire of natural necessity expands because this involves needs; simultaneously, there is an expansion of the production forces which meet those needs. Freedom in this area can only consist in a situation where socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulate this metabolism with nature, bring it under their community control, instead of being dominated by it as if by a blind power; this is true to the extent that they accomplish it with the least expenditure of strength and under conditions which are most worthy and adequate in terms of their human nature. But this always remains an empire of necessity. Beyond that begins human strength development which is considered as an end in itself, the true empire of freedom which however can blossom only if it has that empire of necessity as its basis" (30).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," K. Marx, F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Berlin, 1959, p 475.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p 476.
4. SPD Program of Principles in "Materialien des Ausserordentlichen SPD-Parteitag vom 13.-15. November 1959 in Bad Godesberg," [Documents of the Extraordinary SPD Congress of 13-15 November 1959 in Bad Godesberg," p 173.
5. V. I. Lenin, Foreword to the Publication of the Speech "On Dissension of the People with the Slogans of Freedom and Equality," V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 29, Berlin, 1961, p 369.

6. See P. Th. d'Holbach, "System der Natur," Berlin, 1960, p 146.
7. See: Ibid., pp 149, 151.
8. See: I. Kant, "Kritik der reinen Vernunft," [Critique of Pure Reason]. Published by K. Kehrbach, Leipzig, no volume, p 442.
9. See: G. W. F. Hegel, "Phaenomenologie des Geistes, [Phenomenology of the Mind] Leipzig, 1937, p 225 f.
10. See: G. W. F. Hegel, "Einleitung in die Geschichte der Philosophie," [Introduction to the History of Philosophy], Berlin, 1966, p 105.
11. See: Ibid.
12. See: G. W. F. Hegel, "Saemtliche Werke," [Complete Works], Published by H. Glockner, Vol 11, p 46.
13. G. W. F. Hegel, "Aesthetik," [Esthetics], Berlin, 1955, p 136.
14. K. Marx, "Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie," [Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy], Berlin, 1953, p 155.
15. Ibid., p 156.
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17. Ibid., p 545.
18. F. Engels, "Herrn Eugen Duehrings Umwaelzung der Wissenschaft" [Mr Eugen Duehring's Transformation of Science], K. Marx, F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Berlin, 1962, p 106.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p 105
21. V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 14, Berlin, 1962, p 186.
22. V. I. Lenin, "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power," V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 27, Berlin, 1960, p 230 f. (Emphasis supplied by author.).
23. Ibid.
24. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [Program of the SED], Berlin, 1976, p 41.
25. F. Engels, K. Marx, "Die heilige Familie" [The Holy Family], K. Marx, F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 2, Berlin, 1962, p 126.

26. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, K. Marx, F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, p 528 f.
27. See here the chapter on alienated labor in the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscript" as well as chapter 1 of "Deutsche Ideologie," especially the chapter "Communism--Production of the Form of Intercourse Itself."
28. F. Engels, "Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats" [The Origin of the Family, of Private Property, and of the State], K. Marx, F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 21, Berlin, 1962, p 107.
29. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei," loc. cit., p 482.
30. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 3, K. Marx, F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 25, Berlin, 1964, p 828.

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WORKER MILITIA'S 1977-80 TRAINING PERIOD REVIEWED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German No 6, Jun 77 p 1

[Article by Maj Gen Karl-Heinz Schmalfuss: "Fighting Power and Combat Readiness Are Not Constant Magnitudes--On the Status of Training Program Accomplishment--Unity of Political and Military Command Must Always Be Implemented"]

[Text] The worker militia of the working class is successfully accomplishing the class mission assigned to it by the Ninth Congress of the SED. The requirement for a constantly higher level of political and military training is also a basic requirement for the 1977-80 training cycle. A review of the first half of the 1977 training year shows that this task is being accomplished in many different ways.

Political-ideological education activities have become more effective because their content and methods were further improved. Training is being prepared, organized, and carried out in a more exact fashion. Training results could likewise be further improved through more efficient methods.

They are at the same time being analyzed more thoroughly and more specific conclusions are being drawn with regard to further work. Many new reserves were tapped and this helped improve the effectiveness and quality of training.

We can see quite clearly that the [company] commanders as well as platoon and squad leaders are doing an ever better job in expressing the always, constantly high performance readiness of all fighting men in the form of greater fighting power and combat readiness through a well-conducted training process. All of this constitutes evidence for the fact that all members of the worker militia have correctly understood the basic political concern: fighting power and combat readiness are not constant magnitudes. This is precisely the direction along which we must continue to work consistently and in a goal-oriented fashion.

Increase in Fighting Power Permits No Pause

The worker militia of the working class, led by the SED, has all that is required to accomplish the tasks assigned to it within the framework of national defense. Its high level of political morality is expressed in the

unrestricted readiness of the individuals involved when it comes at all times militarily to protect their socialist fatherland.

There has been a growth in terms of knowledge, abilities, and skills, as well as tactically correct action, when it comes to wisely and efficiently using weapons, equipment, and gear to win victory on the battlefield. But there is no cause for complacency. The situation demands constantly renewed motivation to promote the conviction and readiness of the fighting men and to impart even more pronounced military knowledge and skills. These are the primary tasks of political and military training in our worker militia units which we have now been carrying out for almost 25 years with steadily improving quality and efficiency.

There must be no break in the implementation of the demand for continually attaining a measurable increase in fighting power and combat readiness. Everybody must clearly realize that the "growth rate" in our training must not decline and that the tempo of its increase must not slow down. This is the only way we can guarantee that the worker militia units will at all times be up to the tasks facing them. Efforts must be concentrated on main points which will guarantee us the greatest increase in fighting power and combat readiness.

The training programs and the other training and teaching documents for the 1977-1980 training cycle constitute a good foundation for attaining the training objectives with the desired results. But they are only the written word which must then be converted into fighting power through action directed by all commanders and fighting men. This is precisely where we still have a whole series of reserves which we must tap and which we must make to serve our cause.

In practice, we detect differences in the level which can be overcome by getting everybody to move up to the level of the best. In the same way we can achieve a further increase in the fighting value of each fighting man and each unit in this fashion. These level differences must by no means be equated with the success or failure of commanders as well as platoon and squad leaders; they are instead based on the most varied experiences which the particular commanders were able to gather during their activity. What, in other words, would be more obvious than to generalize the best experiences and the most efficient methods even more effectively than has been the case so far. The exchange of experience is still the cheapest investment and that applies to us likewise. Wherever the exchange of experiences was organized, where individuals discussed the situation together, where units hosted each other, where the best was generalized through training lectures and demonstrations--that is where the benefit always justified the effort.

What are the main questions we must concentrate on?

The readiness to defend the socialist fatherland is developed in depth through political-ideological education; the determination to perform deeds for

military protection is consolidated and this is finally expressed in the regular participation of all fighting men in training and in their readiness to bear severe physical and psychological stresses. The decisive prerequisites for this are being created in thousands of party organizations in our enterprises and institutions. All [company] commanders, as well as platoon and squad leaders must, in a goal-oriented manner, continue to aim this persuasion effort, by way of preparation and implementation of training activities, at the accomplishment of all assigned tasks.

Where the commander, together with his deputies and the secretaries of the party groups, does this work with high quality in the platoons, good progress is made, as experience tells us. Every commander, every superior is a political and military educator and leader of this team. He must adjust to that already when preparing the training effort; he must contribute to the development of consciousness of his comrades through suitable and convincing arguments and methods.

#### Precise Planning--Goal-Oriented Implementation

The need for the organization of combat training is of course a matter of common sense. Without minute organization, one simply cannot achieve any good training results and the training objectives cannot be attained. Correctly thinking the course of training through and drawing up a corresponding plan therefore are indispensable measures here.

If we do not make maximum use of time, then we will be wasting time; order and discipline slack off and many ask themselves with justification whether this wasted time could not have been spent more effectively in the interest of society. If, on the other hand, scheduled tasks cannot be accomplished objectively during the available time because of poor organization, then commanders and fighting men are denied success. The absence of such an experience of success likewise has an inhibiting effect on further work. In other words, the important thing is wisely to think through the course of training activities, to figure accurately and to plan precisely, if we want to secure success in organizational terms. In other words, thorough planning and rigid execution form an inseparable unit. No matter how good a plan may be, it will be worthless if it is not carried out.

Another main point is training in the methodology of instruction. Here we must above all answer the question as to "how." What do the best training methods look like, what are the requirements for the training terrain, through what situations can we facilitate complex training, how can we make training realistic in terms of combat, dynamic, and all-encompassing?

Sometimes one still hears the view that we have a requirement for complex training only because we happen to have a relatively favorable training time available. That is a mistaken conclusion! It is not the time but realistic combat conditions which confront us with that requirement. Combat reduces or differentiates, not in terms of training elements, but relentlessly demands of us everything at the same time, regardless of whether this involves

our skills with regard to effective tacticle performance, top-grade marksmanship, or in [CBR] protective and first-aid training. Training must be developed in keeping with these objective requirements.

The mastery of this methodology in combat training is an essential element in the review of the status of combat readiness at the conclusion of the 1977 training year, quite in keeping with its significance. This is why the thorough and all-around preparation of this review is of decisive significance. That applies especially to all commanders but also to all comrades of the German People's Police who are responsible for the training of the worker militia units.

On the basis of training documents, it is therefore, necessary carefully to secure planning, a high degree of organization, and practical methods in connection with the intensive briefing of commanders and units. That applies also to the precise selection and briefing of umpires. The more politically responsibly our combat training review is prepared, the better will be the results, the better will we arrive at clear statements as to the status attained in the effort to raise fighting power and combat readiness.

#### Manifold New Initiatives

On the basis of the dash and optimism, with which we started the training year, the worker militia units of the working class will, with all their might, struggle to make sure that the year will be closed out with a further measurable improvement in fighting power and combat readiness. These justified expectations will materialize for two reasons--and we can predict that with good conscience already today.

1. The worker militia units of the working class have joined the great competition movement in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. As communists and patriots of our socialist homeland, the commanders and fighting men are developing manifold initiatives in order to document their loyalty and devotion to the cause of socialism-communism with excellent results in military activities.
2. Our commanders and NCOs are being trained in an ever more experienced and military manner. They are doing an ever better job in effectively planning training activities and carrying them out with a high degree of quality; they are using the most suitable methods and they are employing socialist competition as a mobilizing force toward the accomplishment of the tasks and the attainment of the objectives of our training programs.

The direct leadership of the worker militia units of the working class by the SED, the strict implementation of the unity of political education and military training, and the realization that fighting power and combat readiness are not constant magnitudes--these are the decisive factors that guarantee the steady growth in our factory militia's fighting power and combat readiness.

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POLISH OPPOSITION DEVELOPS STRATEGY

Paris ROUGE in French 29 Jun 77 p 2

[Article by Arsene Dupain: "Strategies of the Polish Opposition"]

[Text] Since June 1976 the Polish opposition has developed; KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers] appeared in September as the logical outgrowth of the intellectuals' activities in solidarity with the working class. Last February, ROPC [Movement for the Defense of Human Rights] was created, then in May following the assassination of Pyjas, SKS [Students' Solidarity Committee] made its appearance in Krakow. The opposition's development should not, however, seem to be a mere increase of acronyms. It has emerged above all from the working class movement, from the bond which the intellectuals of the opposition have been able to form with it and from the growing impact that their proposals are having on all social strata.

The appearance of several regular typed or mimeographed publications which are circulating, such as BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY, U PROGU or, finally, OPINIA, the most recent to appear, are playing a major role in opening up the opposition's debates to the largest number of people. Little by little these publications are making their way into workers' homes.

ROPC was formed concurrently with KOR, not on the specific basis of defending the workers but more generally on the issue of democratic rights. ROPC is better established than KOR in most of the industrial towns.

It has 1,000 members and probably a large number of sympathizers, mainly among the strata of the lower middle class technical intelligentsia. A solidly structured movement, it publishes a mimeographed monthly discussion bulletin in which different points of view can be expressed from nationalist stands to those favoring democratic socialism.

The movement has opened up two "intervention offices," one in Warsaw, the other in Lodz whose addresses are widely known and which deal with "social" problems such as abusive dismissals and various individual "cases" which come up. Its activities are not fundamentally different from those of KOR.

## The Church, the Country's Second Political Force

One of the sources of the extraordinary influence of the Catholic Church today is the fact that it has succeeded in proving itself to be an institution independent of the state's omnipresent thrall.

The Catholic hierarchy's commitment to the opposition side is a new fact. In the 1950's, the Catholic hierarchy as a matter of principle followed an opposition policy strongly tinged with anticommunism. From 1956 on, its attitude was limited to seeking "normalization" of its relations with the state.

The coming to power of the Gierek (the present first secretary) faction made it possible for it to secure a certain number of advantages and its policy became that of "critical support." Nevertheless, the refusal of permits to build churches and various acts of chicanery on the part of the bureaucracy's local bodies and especially the introduction of a new school system in the countryside, which the church considered a major attack on its domain, ended up in causing the hierarchy to move in the direction of more and more critical positions.

The mass movement which followed the price increase of 24 June 1976, the commitment of the lower clergy, which is very involved in the inmost depths of Poland, to supporting the workers, in the end shaped this movement. The church to a sizable number of oppositionists today appears as the principal agent for the changes they are hoping for, others like Michnik consider it a powerful ally for the opposition.

Another important factor is the marked leftist tendency of the Catholic intellectuals. Formed in the blaze of 1956, the KIK [clubs of the Catholic intelligentsia] are the only survivors of that period's club movement. They have two reviews, ZNAK [THE SIGN] and WIEZ [THE BOND] very much appreciated because of the open-mindedness they display.

This movement has attracted a whole series of intellectuals who without necessarily being Catholic have recognized each other from the socialist and democratic outlook of those clubs. That is doubtless why the government recently deprived WIEZ of its financial support condemning it to disappear or to beg for official financial support.

## KOR Has Proved It Is Possible To Get Organized

Created last September around known intellectuals of the capital, KOR from the start has made itself responsible for material and juridical assistance to workers who are the victims of repression and distributes information. The Pyjas affair may serve as an example of its tactics. Immediately following the student's death, two KOR statements widely disseminated by the "samizdat" [underground] method summed up the events in a factual way. This information doubtless made organizing the impressive student demonstration

in Cracow possible. In that case, as on previous occasions, KOR acted in a completely open way. It is moreover persisting despite the recent arrests of a few of its most active members. It parades its own legality, its right to disseminate information, to conduct political activities, in short, its ability to function as an autonomous institution outside of the official institutions. Neither legal nor illegal, KOR not having requested legalization so as not to have it refused, its influence has grown to the point that the government can do nothing but simply tolerate it.

KOR therefore functions as a parallel institution bypassing the obstructions by official institutions. In the face of the official trade unions' attitude, it makes itself responsible for solidarity with the workers. Kuron, moreover, explained that this situation is temporary in that organizations emerging from the working class must appear to take its own interests in hand. "The spontaneous regeneration of the forms of collective solidarity, as at Ursus, is a step towards the creation of a genuine workers' defense body. The creation of such a body is an indispensable condition for resolving the crisis which our country is experiencing." So many are beginning to realize that there are places where one may go to find help against the government's abuses.

One of KOR's major goals has been to smash the state's monopoly on information. It has done so by the roundabout approach of regular communiques. In addition, the news is picked up again by the INFORMATION BULLETIN under this heading: "This bulletin has for its purpose breaching the wall of the state's monopoly over information which ensures the existence of censorship. It contains news of a nature to make public life actually public and to constitute a chronicle of the measures of repression. To disseminate this bulletin is to work effectively in the defense of civic rights, it is to use one's right effectively." And several thousand copies of the bulletin are put into circulation.

One finds for example in one of its recent issues various articles rejected by the most important official weekly, POLITIKA.

#### The Strategic Debate

KOR's present attitude, according to the opinion of the members of its "socialist core," fits into an over-all strategy to create social movements independent of the state and capable of exerting pressure on the government. In his "Reflections on an Action Program," Kuron explained that society must be organized into movements (worker, peasant, student, intellectual movements) and the existence of these autonomous movements will force the government into negotiations having as their goal the increase of freedoms.

But the whole problem resides in the extraordinary difficulty for these autonomous social movements to be created and to exist. In this connection, Kuron forgets the urgent necessity of a real political opposition party implementing its self-managing revolutionary program in the face of the bureaucracy.

That "forgetting" is doubtless not fortuitous and stems from an over spontaneous view of an autonomous counter authority. "We therefore do not wish to conspire against the government nor to apply pressure on it since we are organizing ourselves outside of it. Consequently, we do not have to take a stand with respect to it, whereas on the contrary it must make up its mind with respect to what we are accomplishing (interview with LIBERATION, 26 May 1977). The government's problem does, however, crop up somewhat sharply especially since the recent arrests.

This trend has definitively diminished the prospects of evolution within the party. "The totalitarian system and the party are by their nature incapable of changing and of being reformed. One can expect nothing of them. The party's evolution, its fluctuations do not interest me," Kuron declared to LE MATIN (18 April 1977).

For his part, Michnik explained in a conversation in Paris that the opposition could no longer count on the help of the party's liberal wing since the latter does not exist.

On the other hand, relying on a mass movement, the opposition can reach a compromise with a "pragmatic" splinter group of the bureaucracy which will prefer to make concessions rather than run the risk of a sudden confrontation. That is no doubt a divergence from Modzelewski who for his part does address Gierk seeing in him a supporter of this liberal wing. Modzelewski is all the more attentive to the phenomena of distinctions which may appear within the party.

However, all of these oppositionists are for a new reformism. Their goal: Utilizing the pressure of a mass movement to negotiate "reasonable" changes with the government on the basis of a balance of forces. This new reformism is founded on a "realistic" view of the situation: The fear of Soviet intervention in the event of an over radical change in the nature of the regime.

This view is no doubt not totally unfounded after Budapest and Prague, first of all it again raises the question: Just how far not to go to avoid the Soviet tanks? There is, however, another way of posing the problem: What to do to raise the political price of such intervention sufficiently high so that the Soviets will hesitate?

Despite the Polish opposition's claimed reformism, the program it has drawn up (the right to strike, freedom of speech, independent trade unions, worker councils, political pluralism) would go far beyond a mere accommodation with the regime if it were to obtain just the slightest beginning of its implementation. This is moreover true of all the struggles for democratic freedoms.

Each victory in this sphere becoming a threat to the regime's principal attribute: its absolute monopoly on "political life."

ROMANIA

EMIGRE SOURCE INTERVIEWS DISSIDENTS STEFANESCU, MARCOCI

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian  
16 Jun 77 pp 7,8

/Exclusive interview with Serban Stefanescu, Roxana Marcoci/

/Text/ In the last issue we noted the arrival of Serban Stefanescu in Paris; 24 years old and originally from Bucharest, he is a technical designer and one of the first to sign the letter sent to Belgrade in February.

Arriving in Paris with him was Roxana Marcoci, 19, a former employee at the French Library in Bucharest.

We asked whether both would be kind enough to answer our questions for our readers.

Here is what Serban Stefanescu said:

"The idea and text for the open letter sent to the Belgrade conference belonged to Sergiu and Carmen Manoliu and it was signed by the first group of Romanians--eight of them. Here they are in alphabetical order: Adalbert Feer, Ervin Geswain, Emilia Geswain, Paul Goma, Carmen Manoliu, Sergiu Manoliu, Ana Maria Navodaru and Serban Stefanescu.

"The first reaction of the RSR authorities to the signatures on the letter was to cut off contacts among ourselves and to isolate us, which the security apparatus took care of, while the political measure was dictated by the communist leader Ceausescu in his words--'there is no place in Romania for those who do not accept communism'--delivered at the congress of public control councils. This reaction combined with the arrest of abusive persons continued until 1 April, when the entire arsenal of repressive Stalinist methods was reinstated. The ones who put their signatures of solidarity on the list I had and with whom I had continuous contact

and whose situation, of course, I know better, without exception were investigated, threatened or even molested, as was the case of Mircea Cornel Velicu, Mihai Dimitriu and Grigore Andrei. The last two mentioned, together with Paul Stefan Gaina, Cristian Boboia, Constantin Horvath, Daniel Garabet and I, were part of the group condemned to forced labor at the Progresul Processed Goods Plant.

"With regard to the trial on 2 April I want to mention that it took place behind closed doors, at midnight, that none of us had the right to qualified defense and that we were judged in the state of arrest which we were under from 1800 until 2000 on 4 April, when the sentence of conviction which was final and executory was put into effect.

"I should mention that not one of us could be the subject of Law 25 through the proofs in effect and with material proof and also the fact that following this sentencing the investigations, arrests and searches of the homes of the signers of the letter continued with the same vigor as 30 years ago.

"With regard to receiving the passport, it was the confirmation of the directives given by the communist Romanian leader in the abovementioned speech and it was taken from me on 1 April, two days after they had told me to leave the country within three days. The investigators went to various persons and places, each time under a different name.

"I state that we were employed in forced labor at the Progresul plant as unqualified laborers to unload sawdust and sand from the cars, with a salary of 1,250 lei per month.

"In the period which passed since publication of the letter up to the date of 1 April, when I saw Paul Goma for the last time, I had continually had contact with him, but on 4 April I received confirmation his residence had been changed. From 1 April on nobody could make contact with Paul Goma and this, of course, was until my departure from Romania.

"On 18 May I was told at the Progresul plant to go to the passport service on N. Iorga Street where my passport was returned with no reason given for keeping it, after which I left the country in the morning on 19 May; a short time before that Andrei Grigor with his family also left Romania, emigrating to Austria.

"At the time of my departure from Romania another five signers of the letter still remained in forced labor; again they are Paul Stelian Gaina, Cristian Boboia, Mihai Dimitriu, Constantin Horvath and Daniel Barabet.

"There are 17 who did not withdraw their signatures from the letter and whom I know very well. But , of course, there could be more. With regard to the ones who did withdraw their signatures, they all did this under pressure from the security, even if some of them withdrew them too easily."

Here now are Roxana Marcoci's answers to the questions posed by BIRE:

"My passport was suggested to Serban Stefanescu by the passport service on Nicolae Iorga Street at the same time as his exile, they said, 'so that he would not go on a hunger strike in Paris to bring me to France.'

"My passport was issued on 29 March in Bucharest with a French consular visa on 30 March. It was confiscated on 1 April together with Serban Stefanescu's passport without giving me any explanation although the tickets had been purchased and the departure was to take place 11 hours later. I was arrested and interrogated at the central security headquarters (Domnita Anastasia Street in the former building of CURENTUL magazine) six or seven times. They attempted to exert pressure and threats on me. The interrogators always continued with questions about the open letter sent to the 8 February conference in Belgrade for the defense of human rights. I was continually being interrogated about the activity of those who were among the first signers of the letter, whom I knew personally. I also had my telephone service cut off by security order while, in turn, my mother was interrogated and forced to make statements on the same subject.

"Until 4 April I worked at the French Library in Bucharest as a librarian and on that date I was licensed by the RSR office involved with placing personnel in foreign firms and embassies. On the same day I was taken by two security men to the labor office where I was summoned to choose one of the positions they had offered me. I accepted a job as telephone operator for the ambulance service, but when I went the next day to report for work I was told that it was no longer available. I found a job myself as a drawer at a design institute where I was told after 10 days that I could not continue working because I had friends in Paris going on hunger strikes for me.

"On 18 May I was telephoned to go the passport service where, without any comment, my passport was returned at the same time as Serban Stefanescu's and the next day, 19 May, I took off on the plane to Paris, where I intend to settle permanently."

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KURTOVIC DISCUSSES INTERNATIONALISM OF THE WORKING CLASS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23, 24, 25 Jun 77

[Article by Todo Kurtovic, member of the Executive Committee of the LCY Presidium for ideological work and propaganda]

[23 Jun 77, p 9]

[Text] National Actions Cannot Be Separated in a Simple Mechanical Way From Internationalist Solidarity. Solidarity Must Not Have Any Sort of Supranational Attributes: Relinquishment of One's Status as an Independent Agent and One's Responsibility in the Expression and Acceptance of a Certain Solidarity

It is obvious that our domestic socioeconomic system, which presupposes conclusion of agreements among the nationalities and ethnic minorities or among the republics and autonomous provinces--in accordance with the constitution--leads us directly to that conclusion and orients us toward maintaining in the future--as up to now--that same course in international affairs. This is all the more significant on the international scene if we bear in mind that interests are not bound together and interwoven as they are here in Yugoslavia, which is natural and understandable, since we are a unified country and state in which socialist self-management relations are developing. This makes the fight for equality on the international scene as well all the more relevant, crucial and necessary. We can therefore say that equality and the fight for equality are becoming an indispensable component of action and that it is no longer possible to take a progressive stance or to behave in a progressive way without that element.

The Glaring Conflict Between Theory and Practice

Experience is showing that numerous parties are drawing their strength from the masses and act as independent and equal agents when they undertake social action; this directly contributes to their influence, reputation and authority both in their own countries and on the broader international scene. So, it is not merely a question of theory or doctrine, but a very practical political interest and vital interest of every nation, every party

and of socialism in general. It is here that the national and international merge dialectically. It is here that they are manifested in deeds. There are numerous examples we should take in making an extraordinary analysis of certain world movements and of the behavior of particular movements and parties.

It is certain that these questions are also important to contemporary science. But that does not mean that there are still not quite a few longings for the past in the fields of science, especially in the writing of history and journalism. There have been, for example, attempts to rehabilitate events from the past such as the revolution of the Cominform and certain of Stalin's moves. The new, which is making its way, is nevertheless on the offensive; it is strong, and the old acts like any resistance coming about as an inevitable concomitant in the process as the new comes into being.

Even now there are the old attempts to conceal historic truths, attempts to conceal flagrant intervention in both our movements and our country, that is, to draw a veil over the centralistic aspirations which always came into conflict with the independence of movements and parties. At that time an extremely strong pressure was brought to bear on our country and on our independence. Now this is done differently, sometimes in sign language and sometimes covertly, but it is still done openly enough for one to know what is involved regardless of the extent to which the various authors discussed in this article of mine attempt to conceal it. They evade the concrete, they take shelter behind general principles or precepts, who refer generally and verbally to the principles of Marxism and Leninism, giving them an arbitrary construction in any way that suits them. This is all, of course, indicative of a glaring conflict between theory and practice.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia looks at all major issues and events from all sides: when the question involved is internationalism, when it is the policy of nonalignment, and when it is phenomena like Eurocommunism, etc. We attribute great importance to all these questions, because they are part of our overall view of relations among movements and among countries particularly. We also attribute very great importance to questions such as the struggle for a new economic order and the questions of culture and mutual exchange of information, which have become particularly relevant in cooperation among the nonaligned countries in the recent past. In view of the importance of complete and objective information, a one-sided account is at the same time a falsification, a reduction of what is new and positive to weaknesses and disagreements. Recently there have been such cases concerning important activities in our country.

#### Solidarity--An Ever More Significant Factor

It is understood that the solidarity of the working class is an important process in all of this. Cooperation on that basis necessitates exceptional efforts and a relation between parties and movements that is quite clearly differentiated and selective, since those movements have differing policy and practice. Since the question of nationality itself is showing exceptional energy and importance in this phase in view of its breadth and

intensity, internationalist solidarity is becoming more and more relevant. National actions cannot be separated in a simple mechanical way from internationalist solidarity. Cooperation will become increasingly important and comprehensive, but at the same time increasingly complicated, many-faceted, and its content will be altered and considerably broader. That is one reason why we have had so many debates about internationalism recently, and there will be more and more of them, just as there will be quite a few pronounced divergences of opinion. However, these debates, and in most cases even the divergent opinions, do not at the same time signify a negation of the fight for the principle which Marx and Engels stressed in the Communist Manifesto: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite." On the contrary, that unification is the ultimate goal of the struggle.

Our Program makes it clear how much importance we attribute to this and the character of our practice in this connection since establishment of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which includes positions taken toward the October Revolution, the Spanish Republic, the Chinese and many other revolutions such as the Cuban, the Algerian, the Vietnamese and Albanian, and toward numerous liberation movements, both the previous ones and the ones in the more recent past. However, solidarity must not have any sort of supranational attributes: relinquishment of one's status as an independent agent and one's responsibility in the expression and acceptance of a certain solidarity. In that case the elements of solidarity have themselves lost. This element must be borne in mind in view of the theories of certain authors and in any case.

When it comes to solidarity, I would say that one can draw the conclusion that only those who bear their own responsibility are victorious, and, of course, they are the only ones who know the full range of uses of the support of all. They can accept support creatively, knowing how to use it; anything else, that is, support which is differently conceived, can be transformed into its opposite. The failure of movements and countries in the struggle for development of socialist relations is even predicted in certain series without certain aid, which in fact diminishes their independence. In practical terms this means that one should adopt the thesis that we need unity in difference, that is, full respect for differences in national conditions, independent revolutionary forces, for the independence of revolutionary movements and differences of views, as well voluntary ascertainment of interests by means of agreements whose forms would show the greatest diversity. This supports the conclusion that we do not need separate headquarters, directives and monolithism on that basis.

A much more integral view should be taken of all these new phenomena, of the breadth of the movement--especially the national liberation movements and nonalignment. What we should see is the increasingly fine shades of content and the multitude of different views. After all, the new factors are inevitably demanding this when it is a question of the internationalism of the working class. Certainly Eurocommunism is one of the thrusts in this direction, particularly with respect to the division into blocs and the tension between them. Here again, from the standpoint of strengthening positions,

nonalignment or the internationalism of the working class as a whole, Eurocommunism deserves understanding and support. At the same time, we should say in this connection that the struggle for the new economic order is also involved here; without that it is difficult to understand the internationalist approach under our conditions. What all this amounts to is an approach which precludes pressures and undercuts those objective factors which are perpetuating them under the present conditions, that is, which make it possible for them to survive. We can also fully expect that there will be such resistance in the future as well--in both theory and practice. It would be an illusion to think that they will not occur. There is reason enough in the fact that the breadth and structure of internationalism will be changing. That gives rise to the need for a new theory and a new practice: that need is more urgent now than every before. Along that road we should look in a new way at the theoretical legacy in this area, at essence and forms; along this road certain academic theoretical debates at the present time also deserve particular attention.

#### Something More About Centralistic Tendencies

It is obvious that the centralistic tendencies today have made it necessary for them to be spoken about separately. However, I have not spoken about them in detail in this discussion; I only wanted to point them out. To some extent their content is also mentioned in other sections of the text. Nevertheless, at this point I would like to add something more about certain of these tendencies. The tendency toward centralization and unification frequently shows signs of invigoration and of attempting to impose itself in various guises. For one thing, both intentions and theories such as exist concerning integration within individual nations are of doubtful authenticity when they fail to see all the specificities of interests and all the available rich experience, and also, among other things, the wealth of ethnic expressions within a single culture or single language, or the wealth of using more than one spoken or written language and the specificities of individual countries. All of these particularities have been affected by historical development, and they are now based on real interests. In addition to grasping the importance of what is real in the present, then, it is also important to have a comprehensive and objective attitude toward the past and to strive to explain it in a scientific and realistic way.

The fact that our nationalities, for example, have lived under different conditions, that some have been free longer than others, that the processes of national emancipation, to mention one factor, were more rapid in some places than others, does not mean that they do not all have their own histories, their own events, their own important figures and deeds. Nowhere can one say that life has been a tabula rasa for centuries. That is why the past should be taken as it is, and this should be particularly emphasized. It is important to bear in mind in this connection that the psychological aspect of the nationality question also has very great importance, and this is also true when we are discussing internationalism. For example, there are even psychological reasons why we cannot accept Stalin and Stalinism, though, of course, they do not represent what is most decisive in all this.

So, that is why these particularities cannot be taken as something which has passed and which was less progressive. Interests and conditions are specific, beginning with the development of creativity even within the framework of individual cultures. Creativity differs from region to region in many of its elements even when only one ethnic group is involved. There are even examples of marked differences. That element must therefore be borne in mind in adopting approaches and in many other respects. Cultures have been integrated and linked together within nations, and they are also coming closer together within certain entities, as indeed throughout the world for that matter, but this is done on a level and in a way which are not hampering independence and initiative, nor are they clouding over or alienating whatever specific interests there might be. Under our conditions, centralistic tendencies of this kind could manifest themselves particularly adversely in the form of ethnocentrism and dominance exerted from a center, that is, in the form of the interests of certain monopolies and abuse of certain traditional views. In this context, when we are talking about an individual nation, the policy of the bourgeoisie failed in Yugoslavia because it could not be accepted, since it looked upon the nationality question in the egoistic bourgeois way. As for the national aspect, it is not an unnational approach to see the multitude of interests that lie even within the limits of that nation or nationality or within its individual parts; taking cognizance of certain particularities does not mean that we are in conflict with the interests of that nation as a whole. On the contrary, any other approach would be uncreative.

#### National Interests in a Progressive Light

If one does not see those particularities, he will be unable to see the whole. For some people this is a problem even now, a problem that sometimes even comes out in public life; it has been present to a significant extent in the euphorias, whether we are talking about the mass movement or quasi-liberalism. It is all the more necessary to stop nationalism, since it is obvious that certain parts of ethnic groups also have an interest in common with others who live in the same area. So, all of this is an integral part of the interests of the nation as a whole (all of this is embodied in the theory and practice of the nationality question in Yugoslavia, and there is no need to repeat it here since it is widely known). If note is not taken of specific interests in a region inhabited by sections of various nationalities, then it is not possible to see the interests of the ethnic groups with which they live either. I think that this can be vividly seen in the example of the Serb and Croat ethnic group in Bosnia and Hercegovina. It is obvious that aside from the common ties that bind the ethnic groups--Serbs, Croats and Moslems--together within their respective groups as a whole, which is well known and I am not talking about that--very great importance must also be given to the vital interests of those sections of these ethnic groups, to that interest which binds them together, say, in a common state and that which binds them together within the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina. It has been said several times that this interest is manifold, economic, political, cultural, psychological and so on. After all, by the very fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina is Serb, is Croat and is Moslem, it also represents their own republic in which they live freely, pursue their own interests

and resolve questions involving broader interests, all of which is done under national flags bearing the socialist emblem, aside from the common flag which stands for what they have in common in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which binds them and joins them together both directly and indirectly and makes them independent. This inevitably has a constructive effect both on the ethnic groups as entities and also on the relations among them.

So, this is something else that should be looked upon as national or ethnic interest in a progressive light, as a negation of the bourgeois approach to the nationality question. It is well known that the bourgeoisie capitulated, but this is an issue it could not resolve by its very nature, because its interest was egoistic and exclusive. There is all the more reason for us to bear this approach in mind because our country is organized in a specific federation, which represents the extended arm of republics in which there are broad and comprehensive linkages, especially concerning the most significant areas and uniform conditions, the socioeconomic system, freedom and equality. The old bourgeois conceptions did not acknowledge this, nor indeed were they accepted by our nationalities.

When these assertions, which are essentially bourgeois, are repeated under present conditions, whereupon they encounter resistance, an attempt is then made to represent this as national nihilism, which supposedly will engender new nationalisms. It is actually a question of unitaristic nationalism, which in and of itself is nationalism and has nothing new to give rise to; as some are saying, it is that nationalism itself! The nationalities establish links and come closer together because the interests of the parts of ethnic groups are taken into account and because the interests of the parts and the freedoms of the nationalities are not submerged, but are elevated. This is the good fortune and future of that nationality. This is not a loss, but a gain. This is the road both in the present and also in the future. Such theories are actually supposed to serve as a kind of basis for expansion, for establishing dominance over others under present conditions, not only of parts of individual ethnic groups, but understood in an even broader context. In practice that kind of theory desires to affirm only one specific interest, one which is similar in origin to the bourgeois interest, since it is engendered by everything in the present situation that tends toward a similar basis--be it technobureaucratic or the tendency toward a relationship based on capital.

Neither a Policy Nor a Theory Patterned After the Piemonte Could Ever Be Realized

It is important to understand all of that objective reality taken into account by our view and our policy in this field, but such people cannot or will not understand. It is not just our ideology that is in conflict with such views, which are alien, but also objective reality. Moreover, we should emphasize that no one can correct a nation as an ethnic group; they have their own course, their own development, their own objective interests. Even when it is a question of the interests of Bosnia-Herzegovina or of the people in it--between the wars and before--everything that was tried to

create something on a basis which did not take that into account--I am thinking of separateness in the given nation--was artificial and failed. The bourgeois political parties provided the best demonstration of this. The people itself, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, found its way and its solution in the revolution. Thus in our case, for example, neither a policy nor a theory patterned after the Piemonte could ever survive or be realized. It proved to be altogether unrealistic; it was an uncreative copy, an approach that was not independent, which was based on an interest that was objectively unacknowledged, and at the same time it failed to take a multitude of interests into account. It thereby constitutes an anti-internationalist approach under present conditions. In the past it could be imposed by force, but it could never be accepted and could never maintain itself. In and of itself it collapsed at the time when it was imposed, and it left, therefore, only negative consequences.

It is well known that interests and development cannot be imposed; they must be understood and guided in a realistic way, in conformity with the socialist orientation, with consideration given to the objective course and everything that that means. Within a particular nation, in addition to those things which act in the direction of integration and community, there have also been numerous differences manifested even on a regional or other basis, which is a well-known fact, and I therefore will not speak about it. This came about through development over many years and had many causes and events in the lives of the sections of the nationalities and of the nationalities with which they lived, that is, it derives from an intertwining of historical and world circumstances. There is nothing unusual in the nature of that development, nor nothing harmful in it under our conditions. Thanks to our good policy and the role of the subjective socialist forces, our life makes this both creative and richer; that is, we have been seeking and we have found solutions which suit our conditions--they have been part of the reality of everyone for a long time, that is, they have been a part of objective reality, as we have already mentioned, and as such they have their own spontaneity as a part of the spontaneity of a socialist self-managed society. We have thus been successful in the building of our society and our community life, which repelled every resistance, every uncreative approach and any possible formation of groups separate from the community, just as it rejected the mass movement and quasiliberalism.

That is why both theory and practice in this field have such great importance under our conditions. That theory and practice helped enormously in understanding movements in the world, although we are, of course, against all oversimplified analogies. I feel that concerning present and future trends and their fuller elucidation, science should be given full freedom and real conditions for making itself felt to a greater extent. The policy of the LCY and our country have quite sound foundations in this respect. However, our present inclinations and tendencies to neglect practice in our theory, especially those delegate issues, are obviously not good in themselves, just as it is not good to resort to verbalism and to evade a struggle in which things are called by their right names in a social action.

## The Genesis of That Which Is Equally Valid to Everyone--Both Large and Small

One thing which helps to knit nations or ethnic communities closer together internally or to bring nations closer together to one another is their familiarity with one another, the development of an internationalist spirit and cooperation; each exerts a more comprehensive influence on the other. Rapprochement is also achieved by the improvement and exchange of mutual information and through familiarity with the languages and a great number of other facts. This kind of rapprochement is not imposed, nor can it be; that is, the nations are not violating their own identity thereby; this does not mean a loss of identity for a particular culture, but enrichment and creation of something which they have in common. That which they have in common is new both in spirit and frequently in content, and even in overall structure. This is not a mechanical merger, as those in some quarters would like to represent, nor forcible integration of nations. This actually amounts to creation of new common ties, which never can be imposed on anyone; in such a process everyone is a creator, everyone makes a contribution of a portion of his identity, so that in this respect the identity of every culture is extended without detracting from the identity it already has.

This is the state of the facts, one which is now to be found in our practice, and in a way one might also speak of this on a world scale if one looks at the essence of things. The evolution of the new also means the evolution of something which is equally valid for all--both large and small. After all, without that equality which Lenin spoke about, without Tito's policy under our conditions, this would be assimilation. That is why a theory patterned after the Piemonte among the socialist countries, be it on a broad or more restricted scale, would be difficult to accept. Some world experiences at the present time are quite widely known in this respect. Even the Catholic Church is tending at the present time toward local church autonomy, since there is no other way it can solve some of its vital problems, including internal unity. We can say that even if Yugoslavia were not a multinational country, it would still be a necessity to understand the federal system in view of certain contradictions and differences in regional development. The drawing of analogies from current history, be they domestic or foreign, and the framing of oversimplified conclusions, therefore is very dangerous in our own context and could not be accepted on the international scene. These analogies are not in accord with the internationalism of the working class, since a great deal of this, just like the theory patterned after the Piemonte or something similar, tends toward a centralization which necessarily must be rejected; reality is rejecting them more and more in both theory and in practice, and elsewhere in the world. Our experience makes it easier for us to understand those processes.

### Tito's Way Has Opened Up a New Era in Mutual Relations

By its very nature self-management also creates authentic conditions in this respect for the independence and freedom of the nations and for closer ties among them. It is significant that everyone in the world is talking about self-management in one form or another, and this is one of the major questions for the development of nations as well, for their freedom, for their

independence and for closer ties among them. When it is developed on a broad scale, it will open the way for everything that is fighting tentatively and effectively against everything that is being imposed by might and force in whatever form.

Tito's way has deepened and developed Marxism in this area and has opened up a new era in mutual relations. The LCY has always known how to link together independence and responsibility, democracy on the one hand with organization and solidarity on the other, mutual aid on the international scene. The entire time we have been helping both socialist revolutions and also, be it noted, all liberation movements. We are aiding them even today, as I have already said. We have freed ourselves or are freeing ourselves--viewed most broadly in the mass--both of national prejudices and also of national boundaries as limits keeping apart the working people and population and eternally given as such, when it is a question of conceptions of the development of socialism and the interests of the working class in the most general terms. That is, some people even now do not show awareness of the historical character and context of those questions. We see in this area both the vitality of interests and also their independence, that is, an interest in their independence even when it is a question of socialist development.

We have always insisted on the independence of all in seeking their own roads, since this approach leads to the overcoming of national separation [sentence garbled--translator's note] it has been confirmed in Yugoslavia and it is being demonstrated and confirmed in the world as well as the authentic way for the proletariat to become the vehicle of both revolutionary action and brotherhood among peoples, which offers the world a future. That is what socialism, together with the unheard-of capabilities of creativity, brings to the individual and to peoples. We have fought for an understanding of the essence of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin and have based our solution, action and policy on such an understanding, and on that course we have fought against all exploitation, pressures and monopolies. We have always linked the dictatorship of the proletariat to the construction of a classless society, to the class' concrete and direct role in that process, to its creative mission, and to its climb upward in everyday life. We have not separated one from the other, just as we have not separated the concrete interests from the general interests, since under other conditions all of this can be transformed into its opposite.

We have known how to bear responsibility for the situation in Yugoslavia, but at the same time we have also known that we must stand alongside all other peoples and movements, that is, the working class of the entire world. After all, that is in our own interest as well. That is the way we have always been and still are--even when it was difficult for us, when rough pressures were exerted on us from various quarters. At a time when it was most difficult for us, we believed in solidarity and we received it broadly and from all quarters. For a certain time we were unable to receive it and find it in the communist parties, but we did find it in the liberation movements, in the other worker parties, in groups of progressive intellectuals and progressive people in general; gradually the situation changed in the communist

parties, and now we have a different situation. But it should also be said that this was internationalism of the working class, this is a process taking place under the banner of Marx' slogan: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" set forth in the Communist Manifesto and is inseparable from that process. This is one of the things that indeed guarantees the victory of socialism in the world.

#### We Have Been and We Remain Opposed to All Violence Against Nations

We can say that the stronger the power of the working class and the socialist forces in general, the more obvious the weakening of capitalism's forces has become. But one must immediately say that this does not mean that national freedom and the independence of peoples are any less important. The principle of equality and of democracy based on equality and the ever fuller expression of these principles give stronger affirmation under those conditions to the movement, give it a certain authority regardless of whether the movement be large or small. It is today progressive to fight for this kind of authority from those positions, and we support it.

Both in the previous period and more recently our movement has recorded significant activity in this field as well. However, all of this does not mean that we have been unaware of everything that is anti-internationalist; we opposed this at numerous points both in World War II, as well as before and after it. What is particularly important, there has been no difference between our thoughts and our deeds, between our theory and our practice. Our action has always been given concrete form, and even in this respect our theory has been quite clear and always relevant.

Our solidarity has been concrete on matters involving our country and the world. We have managed to do this--we have opened up the way toward construction of the fullest equality of nations, we have been and we still are against any violence against nations, just as we have been against violence toward individuals and peoples. The National Liberation Struggle made a creative linkage between these two aspects. We have also striven to throw as much light as possible on the nationality question from both the practical and theoretical standpoints; it was particularly important to find ways of developing socioeconomic relations and now of the sociopolitical system particularly. It was and still is important to militate against any practice which might tend to enslave nations, peoples and nationalities, since this would be incompatible with the role of the working class; that is, this is incompatible with the liberated mission of the working class. Along those lines we have always been inclined to study the experiences of others and have been devoid of all national self-satisfaction and envy of the rich experiences of others; we are heartened by them! The process which is now taking place in Yugoslavia will certainly emphasize even more this strategy of ours. Comrade Kardelj recently had the following to say in talking about the political system:

"Thanks to all that our society has taken on a much firmer socioeconomic content of its own and a structure which rises up out of socialist and self-management production relations which have been worked out and strengthened

in concrete terms. These relations have developed further and are developing both from the standpoint of socialist and democratic principles and also from the standpoint of functionality and organization. They make it possible and guarantee that our society will be increasingly free and will develop independently through self-management on the basis of our own objective internal laws. This means that the functioning of society will be based less and less on the role of the government machinery, and more and more on the strength and initiative of the workers and all the working people, democratically organized and associated with one another on the basis of self-management, who more and more will be uniting their work, which is associated on the basis of self-management and done with socially owned assets, into a community of free producers. In other words, instead of strengthening the role of the state and of its machinery--which is a characteristic of state-ownership forms of socialist production relations--the independent role of the workingman in associated labor and in other self-managed communities representing his interests as well as in the democratic delegate mechanism of our society will be undergoing a strengthening process on an ever broader basis."

[24 Jun 77, p 11]

[Text] A Powerful Process Has Begun in Which Nations Are Coming Closer Together and Forming Links on the Basis of Freedoms and Equality

The formation of ties among nations and what is known as the theory of national integration and internationalism obviously deserve special consideration today. Certainly they deserve it within the limits of individual countries and nations, but they also deserve it within a worldwide context. When these questions are raised in our context, I would say that a powerful process has already begun in which the nations or nationalities are coming closer together and forming ties on the basis of freedoms and equality. The fuller the affirmation of our system of self-management, freedoms and equality, the common interests and resources of life in the community, that is, the more comprehensive the development and manifestation of the elements of the new, such as the political system we are now building, the fuller the workingman will express himself on his own in creative work and action, beginning with establishment of his individual interests and ending with establishment of the general interests. That is why in our context, the more fully a plurality of interests is expressed, the more evidently and obviously one can see this rapprochement. But we should also say in addition that this does not break down the mutual ties among these nations on a one-to-one basis; ethnocentrism, which has been an ephemeral inclination in certain nations, has certain claims of thwarting this process, as I have already said. This desire to centralize the links among the nations and their general mutual exchange, be it psychological or any other, represents an obvious attempt to bring the nations into conflict. The particularities within the nations were quite pronounced even in the past. In Bosnia-Herzegovina we have the deeds, for example, of Petar Kocic with the Serbs, Tugomir Alaupovic with the Croats, and so on.

## New Aspects of Socialist Energy

A struggle is now going on in the world to obtain national freedoms and for the national liberation of individual peoples and countries. Often many phenomena have not been differentiated nor fully analyzed, and certain approaches to national arrangements and commitments in various parts of the world are just becoming evident. There is a search for solutions everywhere in the world, which deserves separate emphasis. This is one of the things that is contributing to the victory of socialism and to the progressive and socialist orientation in general. When I say this, I am referring in large measure to Africa, Asia and Latin America. But this is certainly also the essence of Eurocommunism. After all, here, too, the working class is becoming more and more the vehicle of the national interests and of internationalist views concerning this question. I would say that these are all new aspects of socialist energy as well. The debates about internationalism are obviously also taking on greater importance in this context. Reality is demonstrating that the vehicles of internationalism cannot be reduced merely to certain forces or certain parties. Reality has also shown in various revolutions like the Algerian and certain others that when the problems surface, the solutions are sought elsewhere than with the communist parties when they are not capable of grasping them, of penetrating and of expressing them and of securing the vital national interests, and it is well known that there are such parties and such conceptions. After all, it is obvious, and reality demonstrates it, that the question of the leading role is not settled a priori regardless of views to the contrary. One might say that it is set as a task, but it is not bestowed on anyone.

Reality is showing not only that there are opposed views, but that there are also opposite solutions which altogether negate them in practice. It is theories of this kind belonging to certain authors that come directly into conflict with reality and with practice. I think that this has been demonstrated by both Algeria and Cuba, which I have already mentioned, but by numerous other cases as well. Along the same line these examples also show clearly what the resulting theory of monolithism signifies. Since it is an uncreative dogma, it did not bear fruit and still has not. This interpretation of proletarian internationalism is not solidifying the communist movement, as some people think, but is shattering it, as it is the working class movement in general. This is the basis for theories which construct various "laws." They do not lead toward communist solutions, but toward administrative and other pressures. The sounding of an alarm to create a holy alliance against concepts understood in this way is actually a rather artificial creation and is serving other goals. A slogan of that kind has other purposes as well.

## Something About the Defeat of Anticommunism

Anticommunism should not at all be underestimated in view of certain interests and forces in the world. But we should say that today it has been largely defeated in many of its actions and ideas. This does not mean that it will not arise with new actions and ideas, that is, that it will not go

on reproducing itself, but to a large extent it has suffered defeat in its old form. Thanks to the gigantic efforts made by the socialist and progressive forces in the world in general, the anticommunist forces have largely been shattered and have disintegrated; first of all, they suffered a collapse in World War II. Progress was so significant and the objective need of social development so great that those forces--like fascism--necessarily had to be removed from the world scene, which is obvious.

As for anticommunism at the present time, we should say that the solution does not lie in aggravated tension and stridency in propaganda and ideology, since the Cold War was the best demonstration of that. The struggle against anticommunism is the struggle for peace and democratic development in the world, for an equal share of large and small, and for the essence of the internationalism of the working class. A struggle waged on this basis is both in favor of socialism and against anticommunism. It is only on this basis that one can wage a successful national and internationalist struggle. After all, internationalism, to put it simply, is not some vague mystery, but concrete action on a broad scale. All the progressive forces join up in this struggle, and the proletariat unites, as envisaged in the Communist Manifesto. Under our present conditions this should be understood by everyone. It is a question of a worldwide socialist process which in practical terms one must understand and accept and consciously become involved in. Now is the time to undertake practical realization of that slogan and to use our eyes in a new way.

In Lenin's time the Communist International signified progress, but today affairs cannot be centralized, and any attempt at repetition is harmful in and of itself. Stalin's actions offer the best evidence of that. We should bear in mind what became of all that when the question of centralization is raised. After all, it was not just a question of Stalin's subjective shortcomings and views, but also of objective conditions, which afforded the inspiration and opportunity for what happened. Even in Stalin's time, and also thereafter, attempts were made to create miniature communist internationals in various forms. But reality demonstrated that they were unviable, just as the Communist International was untenable, which Stalin himself realized, accepted and understood at the time.

It is not a matter, then, of a formal commitment to internationalism, be it this kind or that kind, but a question of practical action. To make it still easier to understand, the principle of internationalism is inscribed on the flags and stands as an epigraph to the programs of certain parties, but still there is no abundant experience in practical realization of this principle and in relations among the individual movements. The various manifestations can be called this kind or that kind of internationalism, socialist solidarity or any one of a number of other names; in our case this is not decisive, the decisive things are practice and behavior and the concrete principles which are taken as points of departure.

In short, the world socialist process is shattering every holy alliance and every anticommunism, which best demonstrates that even the church, as an

important anticommunist force known as such even in the last century, is beginning to look for a way out, abandoning numerous aspects of that struggle for which it was well known. After all, the theory of the Holy Alliance actually can now only be a theory representing a particular interest and not the interests of socialism in the broadest terms.

I would particularly emphasize that today we must bear in mind that a great many important, revolutionary and evolutionary events have taken place since Marx and Lenin. First of all, a world socialist process is developing, colonialism has disintegrated, revolutions are much broader and inclusive, it is obvious that anticommunism has been defeated, nonalignment has evidently been developing, and strategies of socialist development have become more diverse.

All of these are significant new facts which are among those which we must keep in mind when we debate the internationalism of the working class. It is a normal thing for theoretical and practical conclusions in this area to contain different positions, a different content and different meanings than those once held. In this connection we should say that the changes are increasingly significant, the struggle for freedom and equality and social transformation is more and more inclusive, and both of these are becoming more and more fully manifested in the world. It is quite natural that these developments have had an impact not only on the international working class movement and the bourgeoisie, but they have also had a considerable impact, for example, on the churches, so that they have begun to stand aloof from the capitalist order and from bloc-oriented policy, at least verbally, they are abandoning certain aspects of the policy of anticommunism, their fundamental condemnations of Marxism are different, theories have been devised which look a bit differently on atheism and revolutions. These, of course, constitute glaring contradictions, but the church itself is reproducing capitalism, particularly some of the churches; in certain areas they are coming into serious conflict with one another. All of this, this entire area, abounds in contradictions, but it is a fact that powerful processes in the world are having an impact on all this.

It is obviously natural to be more and more fully concerned with this in our time and under our conditions. For that reason we dare not ever lose sight of this side of the matter, that is, these global and concrete processes; we must remain aware of both the overall process and its details. This is a necessity if we are to be able to realistically debate all this, including mutual relations, and examine it analytically, if we are to be able to build this kind of cooperation, if we are to be able to see the interests of others as well, and if we are to be capable of fighting for our own interests, we will inevitably have to enter into practical dialogs; we must all have a fuller grasp and understanding of this, since the free development of peoples and individuals is bound up with free development in the world, with the free development of society as a whole under our present conditions. This is also our vital interest. Nevertheless, there is much that is old, as I have said, in both theory and practice, in mutual relations, in the progressive worker movement as a whole, but we should also say in this connection that the way is nevertheless being cleared toward equality, Stalin's

efforts are nevertheless being abandoned, and similar recurrences are being rejected in international practice. The principles of socialism are in the fullest accord with all this that is new; by their nature they call for full equality in a context of creative independence of all factors.

So, the question of the independence of movements and of national freedoms is an integral part of the struggle for socialism, as can be particularly seen in numerous examples from all the continents. Precisely because it is universal, because it is worldwide, the internationalism of the working class represents equality; this is one of its major internal premises. Under our conditions internationalism can be accepted only if we view it in terms of socialist manifestations and other diverse progressive activities, in terms of relations on a new basis. So, it is not something imposed from outside and based on an interest that negates the interests of others. (We do not accept the standards built up in international law on that basis.) Only that kind of internationalism is a tendency and a practice which can link together the endeavors of the working class, encompass all countries and peoples, and always understand and find room for all processes, aid everything which is progressive in the world whether it is a form of political, economic or other solidarity or some other expression of internationalism. On this basis the workers will more and more establish mutual links and understand each other in the world. And it is that understanding on a worldwide basis that will grow with the growth of all its relevant internal elements when it is a question of socialist principles and the general interests and endeavors of the working class in performance of its historic mission.

#### We Cherish the Rapprochement of Peoples

So, we cherish everything that signifies a rapprochement of peoples, everything that guarantees independence and equality, but in all of this we, of course, cherish solidarity as well. Differences can never be a hindrance to relations of this kind, and they are successfully overcome, and issues are appropriately resolved. That is why the rapprochement of peoples, aside from its spontaneity, is also a process consciously guided toward the new relations which are springing up from below out of the depths of the people and the working class itself. This is important, since it is introducing new elements of liberation in a gradual process and is negating capitalist laws. That is why self-management is strongly developing those processes, since it represents the depths of the people, represents in practical terms the essence of the working class and also the working class in terms of its vital interest and mission. In Yugoslavia this is expressed and created through direct self-management. Which means that it has a course of development that is organized and directed.

The free development of what is national can strengthen the worldwide socialist process and liberate within it forces which in this way manifest themselves more easily. The fact that we represent the interests of nations under such conditions does not mean that we are nationalists, which is something we have never been even in our outlook. This was most fully demonstrated in our revolution, but in more recent times as well. That is our

stand concerning domestic and foreign effects and also concerning the experience of our struggle. Now we have also ensured this in our practice. Our policy has taken as its point of departure the view that every country should manage its own resources and wealth, that every nationality and ethnic minority, every republic and province in Yugoslavia should have that opportunity, those rights and those duties. We feel that relations of that kind should also be fought for on the international scene. This must be the consciousness of world public opinion, which should be freed of the pressures from various monopolies.

The process developing on that foundation will certainly lead toward mutual rapprochement and will abolish the limitations which the capitalist treatment of the national concept has brought. This is all the more true because ever greater emphasis is being put in this process on self-management as a desire, as I have already said, toward social equality, and we must necessarily bear these elements in mind. It therefore negates every pressure under our conditions, regardless of its source; it negates all racism and similar approaches, religious intolerance and other similar things. As for views of religion, our program is not antitheism, but that is not our topic. That is why the experience of self-management is becoming more and more attractive in the world; it has a bearing both on the nationality question and also on the international question.

In this same context a new ethics is also growing up in relations among peoples. The way Egypt was invaded, say, by Great Britain and France, that is, by a conservative and a socialist government in France, would now be unthinkable. After all, this would conflict with the ethics which have already become widespread, but it would also conflict with the relevant balance of power as well. I think that this is a major issue when we talk about the relationship between the advanced countries and the underdeveloped. After all, here again a new ethics is obviously winning out, it is obvious that certain of the great powers are willing to change their attitude and to commit themselves and their resources significantly, though, of course, they have certain motives and interests. But it is a question of the objective conditions compelling them to do this, regardless of their subjective desires. Along with all of this, we should always bear in mind that revolution does not come from outside, but grows from within, that it is the concern of each people, which is something which must be understood in practical terms. Revolution cannot be exported, nor can it be copied from anyone else. As for theory and practice, I think there is enormous importance in everything that has been achieved between us and the Soviet Union and between the LCY and the CPSU in the very effective cooperation we have had in the recent past.

[25 Jun 77, p 9]

[Text] We Can Speak About Unity in the World Only If We Also Bear All the Differences in Mind

It is difficult to entertain the idea that separate rules prevailing among countries within a particular group should be valid for all. The special rules prevailing among the countries of a group, be they socialist countries or not, are the rules of that group of countries, and if they are voluntarily accepted, then quite naturally no one has anything against them. However, they cannot be imposed on others, especially not on world socialist developments. We neither accept them, nor do we impose ours on anyone else. We do not impose on others what we set forth in our constitution, just as we would reject any imposition of what others have set down in writing. There is still quite a bit written which is unacceptable, which will experience an inglorious destiny, along with much that there has been in the past.

Worldwide socialist developments have their own laws, and it is illogical for groups of countries to attempt to impose on them some one vision, practice or view of their own, that is, to negate such general laws by an appeal to the general line. In a way this confrontation can also be represented in the theory and practice of the conception of the relation between the national and the international. After all, under such conditions an attempt is made to impose the international as if it outranked the national. It is obvious that efforts of this kind at the present time are equated with practical needs at certain points in what one might now say is almost the remote past. The theory of a division of so-called qualities into lower and higher, which insists on subjugating the one to the other, is obviously unacceptable. After all, it subordinates the national to the so-called worldwide interests, which is stated abstractly, unity is shattered, there is disintegration on the international scene, and solidarity dwindles. Reality has provided the best confirmation of this. If certain changes were subjected to a practical analysis, a clear conclusion to this effect would be the result. Under our conditions, this tends in the direction of bloc-oriented logic and comes into direct conflict with the essence of the policy of nonalignment.

One Thing Declared, And Then Something Else Is Done

It follows, then, that we should draw the conclusion that the totality of these developments should be viewed more completely, and that totality of developments obviously suggests that we should respect everything which is national and that everything established as international solidarity should be voluntary. Aside from those propositions there may exist certain interests of one or several countries, which should be called by their right name, and should not be taken as a reason for justification of the general line, that is, they should not be proclaimed as something generally valid or something subordinate to something else. Moreover, it can bring down with it or displace a certain elementary interest, a policy on the international scene like coexistence in international relations, independence,

cooperation, and the like, which are vital principles and which respect the internationalism of the working class.

This cannot be justified, as I have already said, by stressing general principles of Marxism and Leninism or the like. After all, this can by no means serve as a replacement for that specific thing which is to be created and developed. In this way an attempt has been made to have the national interest treated as though it were a bourgeois category, which in and of itself is a dogmatic view, and under our conditions, one would say, it is not socialist, nor can it be accepted. The principles of coexistence, then, cannot be treated as rigid forms of class struggle, since this is an attempt to justify the blocs and antagonisms between certain forces and certain interests, since the world is demonstrating that there is also another alternative--not Cold War, but nonalignment--and a different approach, which is defensible.

The changes in the world have liberated numerous latent national and socialist energies, and under these conditions those energies spontaneously lean toward the progress and development of socialism. There can be no talk about Marxism-Leninism and mutual relations and principles on that basis, but one must necessarily see what this is in more concrete terms, and not just make a general assertion of something and in the name of something to justify or negate a particular practice, which is then transformed into hypocrisy: one thing is preached, while something else is practiced! This is a conflict between theory and practice.

#### We Are Interested in Everything That Is New

We are interested, then, in everything that is new in this content and along these lines; we approach it and critically evaluate whether it is socialist or not socialist, regardless of verbal attempts to represent it in a particular way. In this context we are also certainly interested in everything that is developing in international legal standards, and we must approach them from a fundamental position based on principle, regardless of whether we are talking about relations among parties or states and regardless of the character of states. On this basis we make an assessment as to what is hegemony and pressure, since it is obvious that certain pressures evoke and result in militaristic motives; we were not able to exclude them as factors in the past, nor can we now. For us it is a fact that we must bear in mind tense relations on the borders of the socialist countries and take it as a reality under socialism. There are numerous contradictions which bring that about.

So, we cannot look upon what is specifically national as if it were governed by some general worldwide law and derive therefrom laws which we declare to be general laws of Marxism and Leninism or of the theory of Marxism and Leninism, and then attempt to proclaim any criticism and objection to this to be an attack on Marxism and Leninism or on the movement and country in which this view is advocated.

In other words, the sovereignty of individual countries and the independence of movements cannot be set in opposition to the interests of socialism, nor can theories of excommunication be established along those lines and justified on the basis of the general authority of Marxism-Leninism. In the same context new types of international relations and constructions cannot be proclaimed and emphasized as objective needs, socially homogeneous developments cannot be artificially established when their essence has not been analyzed, beginning with the system of ownership and property and going on from there. Unity of ideologies cannot be used as justification or their disunity, nor can objective interests be negated because of the need for unity. What the people feel intimately within themselves is another question, since there does exist something which is objective. The proclaimed intention of pursuing the general goal is merely a proclamation; to get there, one has to travel some specific road. To speak only in generalities about an objective basis is not the same as spelling out what that objective basis is. An attempt is made to idealize the pattern of the objective basis by using an overgeneral approach. Something is imagined and projected, and then it is represented as if it were reality. Often the imagined type of new relations is represented as though it had been already achieved and as though new rules had been built on that basis, a new consciousness, a new culture and a new pattern of behavior.

When the discussion comes to aid, we should see the structure of that aid, we should see what it objectively means in socioeconomic terms and in every other aspect within those relations. The theory of the simultaneous transition to the various phases of socialism does not signify that they are possible if the objective conditions do not allow. All the schemes so far have proven to be utterly unrealistic. After all, subjective wishes cannot resolve the problem. No sort of precise conclusions and rules can be framed in this context, since this leads to abuses, dogmatism and pressures which inflict harm on socialism and objectively hinder it. In this manner black can easily become white, and white black, and then it is all changed overnight, and we have already had that in practice more than once. Principles must be accepted by all, and tried and true rules cannot be delegated by a construction. Centralistic power which is based on a particular interest, on particular power, consciousness, intolerance and a right that has been usurped must necessarily be abandoned as practice. The new is winning in this domain, as is mutual understanding in the world.

#### Equality and Independence Represent the Objective Interest of All Peoples

The right of the stronger is being pushed back, that is, the duality of the policy which justifies this is being exposed by various means. It is quite understandable that we do not view equality and independence as on something absolutized and sacred, but above all as the objective interest of all peoples. Nor is it eternal, but it is an historical category, and that also applies to the nationality question. It disappears as a category with the disappearance of everything which brings it into being. But so long as this kind of democracy is necessary in resolving contradictory interests and solidarity, it is progressive and cannot be rejected, since otherwise there is

no mutual support and aid of the socialist progressive forces in the world and mutual solidarity. That is why every imposition of a particular arrangement can only be harmful.

If in a given situation someone is carrying the chief burden, be it one country or several, this does not mean that it takes priority or should be allowed to take priority in any respect whatsoever. If it bears that burden in the right way and in conformity with the interests of the internationalism of the working class, this does not mean that all its prestige and authority and everything that follows therefrom will be disputed. Its prestige will in this case grow, as I have already emphasized. But it cannot then be described as the prototype by which all others must be measured. Even less can one say that a policy must be oriented in that direction or that only that aid serves as the criterion of what is socialist and what is not. This is directly contrary to current developments in the world, and one must take a decisive stand against such theories, which we are encountering in the writings of many authors.

Numerous examples now offer evidence that development is going in the opposite direction. Yugoslavia, for instance, China, Albania, Eurocommunism, Cuba, Angola, Algeria and others indicate that all the communist parties or all the parties of the working class movement have importance, that it is extremely important to respect national conditions, equality, independence, self-sufficiency, and that the fight against imperialism and all pressures is becoming increasingly important. The differences that have arisen are certainly enormously important, class consciousness is no longer pooled in one and only one area, but is spread out over the entire socialist process which should be acknowledged. It is also bound up with certain spontaneous initiatives, and consciousness is also being borne in that spontaneity. In this context theories calling for negation of national interests--even though nations are not an eternal category, this fact is stressed in a desire to shore up a theory of the merging of nations, a theory of so-called pseudonational interests--are fraught with an acute danger to socialist development, to the solidarity of the working class, to mutual understanding, and they cannot be justified even by momentary calculations as to who is giving more or receiving more in a given relationship; socialist development and internationalism cannot be boiled down to this, nor can they be justified in this way.

By Recognizing Unity Within Differences, We Will Truly Strive for Solidarity

A bad practice is always costly. It is certainly important that there are some authors in which we are finding more and more assertions about the conflicts between certain interests in socialism, that is, between national interests. But this should be taken as the point of departure, and appropriate conclusions should be drawn, especially now. To say this and leave it at that would not be sufficient, particularly in view of the situation in which the general interest is singled out, in which the international is detached from the national as something altogether objectively given, when in fact we find that it operates in an alienated and unreal way, as something mystical and divine. The conflicts and contradictions in this respect

are obviously enormous, and they must be given more consideration. All of this should be viewed more concretely in the present social context. All of this is relevant, as a category for internationalism, its entire structure, its genesis are an integral part of its essential nature. One should therefore bear in mind what constitutes the continuity and what have been the qualitative changes since the era of the First International, the era of the first socialist country, by contrast with the present.

As it is sometimes represented in certain theories, what is called proletarian internationalism does not suit important parts of the world, and it is unacceptable. We are in deep conflict with it as a conception. And any imposition of proletarian internationalism is out of line with the internationalism of the working class; it is neither perceived as such, nor understood as such. So, we can speak about unity in the world only if we also bear all the differences in mind, and in some places they are great and important. I emphasize the recognition of a simple unity in differences or with differences, since objectively this kind of unity already exists. Recognizing this, we also recognize cooperation on an equal footing, and under those conditions we can authentically strive toward cooperation and solidarity. Then everyone will want to cooperate in a cause which affords a comprehensive benefit, since their own interest is bound up in that cause as well. We can understand certain endeavors on the part of some countries even quite recently, even since the war. But we cannot elevate an opportunity or an opportunism at a certain point to the level of a principle, as some people do.

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