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15 February 1978

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1503

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIAN, HUNGARIAN LEADERS GREET CEAUSESCU ON 60TH BIRTHDAY

Todor Zhivkov Message

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jan 78 p 1 AU

[Apparent text of telegram by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, to Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the occasion of his 60th birthday]

[Text] Dear Comrade Ceausescu,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, all Bulgarian communists and working people, and on my personal behalf I greet you most cordially on the occasion of your 60th birthday.

The Bulgarian communists and working people are familiar with your tireless activity to build the comprehensively developed socialist society in the Socialist Republic of Romania. They highly regard you as a friend of our people, an activist in developing Bulgarian-Romanian friendship and a noted figure of the international communist and workers movement.

The Bulgarian people sincerely rejoice at the remarkable successes achieved by the fraternal Romanian people in building socialism and implementing the decisions of the Ninth RCP Congress. These successes are a contribution to the constantly increasing power of the fraternal socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

On the occasion of your birthday I take the opportunity to express my deep satisfaction with the fruitful meetings and constructive talks with you, which have always contributed to constantly developing Bulgarian-Romanian relations.

In this context, I would like to once again express the confidence that the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our countries will

continue to develop and strengthen also in the future in the interest of our two peoples, and the unity of the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you, dear Comrade Ceausescu, good health, personal happiness and even greater successes in your multifaceted activity for the benefit of the socialist republic of Romania, the flourishing of Bulgarian-Romanian friendship and peace and socialism throughout the world.

[Signed] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman.

Kadar, Losonczi Message

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Jan 78 p 4 AU

["Greetings Message by Janos Kadar and Pal Losonczi to Nicolae Ceausescu"]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest.

Dear Comrade Ceausescu,

On your 60th birthday, we send you greetings and good wishes on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic and ourselves.

Our people regard with respect the efforts by the peoples of the Socialist Republic of Romania in building socialism under your direction. May there be further successes in the development of the people's economy and the improvement in the people's standard of living.

We are convinced that cooperation between our parties and governments on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism serves equally the good of our peoples and our common socialist objectives.

Permit us, dear Comrade Ceausescu, to wish you good health and further successes in your responsible work performed in the service of the prosperity of the Socialist People's Republic of Romania and the strengthening of friendship among peoples.

[Signed] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROSALYNN CARTER DISCUSSES FIRST LADY ROLE

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 78 p 8

[Exclusive PERSPEKTYWY interview with Rosalynn Carter: "Rosalynn Carter: 'I Am Impressed With Poland'"]

[Text] Rosalynn Carter, wife of the President of the United States, accompanied him on his official visit to Poland last week. She plays an important role not only as the hostess of the White House but also in the social and political area. She speaks about her activities in these areas, about the private life of the Presidential family, and about her stay in our country, in an interview with Editor Jerzy Walaski, chief of the foreign section of PERSPEKTYWY, held in Wilanow.

[Question] Mrs Carter, the wife of the President of the United States usually bears the title of First Lady. What duties are related to this?

[Answer] As you know the First Lady is of course responsible for the White House and for receiving guests there. This is a place which belongs to the whole nation and is open to the whole nation, which elects the American president. My position provides me with the opportunity of meetings and conferences with many heads of state who come to the White House. I also receive people from all over the States. Many of them are people with whom I happened to come in contact on the road during the Presidential campaign around the country. It is interesting to entertain them now in the White House, but what particularly interests me and has always been one of my concerns is work in the area of mental health and aid to children with retarded development. This activity places a tremendous responsibility on me.

[Question] What does this activity consist of?

[Answer] I have been working in the mental health area since 1970, that is, from the time Jimmy was elected Governor of Georgia. We devoted a great deal of attention to this issue and in this state now have a very good system of care for the mentally retarded. When Jimmy became President, he

set up a national mental health commission, of which I am honorary chairman. We are investigating the possibility and need of using a mental health program and are preparing special recommendations for the President to indicate the directions in which we should be headed. In the early 1970's there was another commission which worked for local officials' support for aid to those people most afflicted by mental health problems, but these efforts were not very successful. Now the situation has changed.

[Question] I know that you are also involved in efforts to bring help to the elderly.

[Answer] We are involved with many such undertakings. There is still a great deal to be done in this area. This is why I am collecting information which will be used in drafting programs on our senior citizens. We are also encouraging people to volunteer in these undertakings, especially young people.

[Question] You are the first U.S. President's wife since the war to take an active part in the country's political life. Is this a role which you have chosen, or is it part of the operating style of the new administration?

[Answer] I think that it is my own choice. When Jimmy was running for the office of Governor of Georgia, I did everything to help him. I traveled around the state campaigning for him. I tried to meet and teach people. I did this again during the Presidential campaign. I again traveled and met people, for example, the elderly in need of assistance. And in this way I became involved in political life, first in Georgia and then later all over the States.

[Question] How do your official duties fit your family life and obligations as the mother of your 10-year old daughter Amy?

[Answer] During the election campaign I really did not have too much time for Amy, and besides here I also have three sons who are already married. Nevertheless, since we have been living in the White House we have been together all the time again, just like it used to be in Georgia. In the evenings Jimmy is almost always at home, and together we are trying to create for our daughter a normal family atmosphere. Amy does not watch the news on television or read the papers, except for papers intended for children of her age. She is just not interested in them. She is an ordinary girl going to public school. Each Wednesday afternoon we take violin lessons together, and we do a lot of things like this together. I think that it is very important to maintain such a family atmosphere. The reason Everybody needs family warmth and somebody to take care of him.

[Question] May I ask you about your impressions related to your contact with Poland?

[Answer] The visit to Poland has really been nice for me. I am impressed with Poland, its industrialization, and the courage of the Polish nation. Seeing the monuments today with Jimmy (the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, "Nike," and the Heroes' Ghetto -- editor's note) and seeing what a tremendous task the total reconstruction of the destroyed city and the reconstruction of the old part of Warsaw were, I could bear witness to this courage. I have just come back from the child health center, which is to remind us of the youngest war victims. This is a great idea. I am working with children. I am acquainted with the children's hospital in Washington, and I think that the center -- and I have also read about this -- is the one hospital which is comparable to what we have in Washington. I can understand the hope related to this hospital, and the opportunities and possibilities which it is based upon. Most of the mothers in the world understand this.

[Answer] Thank you for the interview.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GREETINGS TO YOUTH CONFERENCE--Berlin--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the GDR people cordial greetings to the delegates of the European Youth and Students Conference in Budapest. "In the face of the continuing arms race the extension of detente to the military sphere and disarmament prove themselves to be the key question," says the message of greetings. "The socialist GDR will continue to stand by the side of all fighters for a lasting peace, security, cooperation and social progress, continue in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community in its consistent peace policy, and work with all its strength for effective measures of arms limitation and disarmament." [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0310 GMT 20 Jan 78 LD]

SOVIET ARMY COMMEMORATION--Schwerin (ADN)--At a meeting of functionaries and propagandists of the Soviet-German Friendship Society devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army, Col Gen Ivan Mednikov, member of the military council and chief of the political administration of the group of Soviet forces in Germany, described the Soviet armed forces as a child of the Great October Socialist Revolution embodying the best traditions of the workers class and all working people. He stressed that the danger of a war today has been reduced but not eliminated and that the reactionary and aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed, and he depicted the firm friendship between the USSR and GDR peoples and the soldiers and officers of the Soviet armed forces and the National People's Army as the guarantor of all successes in protecting the achievements of socialism. In accordance with the slogan "Comrades in Arms--Comrades in Class--United Invincible." [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

'ZERI I POPULLIT' EXAMINES CONTRADICTIONS IN EEC

Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 29 Jan 78 LD

[Text] Tirana 29 Jan ATA--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes in an article that the European Common Market is in the grip of economic crisis and contradictions. 1977, says the article, was just as for all the capitalist-revisionist world the year of the further deepening of the economic crisis and interimperialist contradictions in the countries of the reactionary organization of the common market. Such important branches of industry, as those of steel, mining, textile and others have experienced great difficulties and have registered perceptible declines in production. Steel production in all the countries of the common market fell by 18 percent last year as compared with that of 1974. Coal production of the European Common Market member countries registered a decline by 3.8 percent during the first 7 months alone of the past year as compared with the same period of 1976. An expression of the grave economic difficulties the European Common Market member countries are undergoing is also the constant increase of the budgetary and trade deficits. The budgetary deficit of this organization has reached the figure of 18 billion dollars.

The process of the concentration of capital has been intensified. The crisis in production has been interwoven with the financial one, making thus heavier the general situation in the common market member countries. The economic crisis, the article continues, has also led to the aggravation of the political crisis. This is expressed in the frequent changes and government instability in various common market member countries as well as in the sharpening of class contradiction in these countries. All this has dealt a powerful blow to the plans of the European bourgeoisie in the West for a "faster economic political integration." Thus, the latest meeting of the heads of 8 member countries of the common market, which was held in Brussels last December, noticed that as a result of the great economic difficulties and other problems of a political character, it is impossible to achieve in 1980, as it was decided as far back as 1972, a "true economic and monetary unity." Therefore, this plan was postponed for a later period.

In face of the deepening of the economic crisis and political upheavals, the chieftains of the ruling bourgeoisie of the nine are seeking to find

various ways to preserve their profits intact and increase them. First and foremost, they continue to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the broad masses of their own countries by intensifying the capitalist oppression and exploitation. At the same time, they do not (?leave) aside also their attempts to pass a part of their economic difficulties over the other countries by plundering and exploiting them through the export of the capitals, the seizure of markets, the so-called "aids" and credits. But, as life is proving, there are used as a wayout also the efforts of the most powerful monopolies, such as the West German ones, to draw profits to the detriment of the weaker partners of the nine.

The article points out further on that the antipopular economic "measures" and "programs" of member countries have not mitigated the crisis. Their aim has been the further worsening of the standard of living of the working masses.

The savage exploitation of the broad working masses of the common market member countries as well as the expansion of the monopolies of this reactionary organization to other countries, the article stresses, clearly show, just as Comrade Enver Hozha stressed at the 7th congress of the PLA, that "from its inception, the aim of the common market was to find ways and means of barbarous plunder for the great trusts and concerns and to rescue capitalism from crises and upheavals."

The deepening of the economic crisis has led and is leading to a visible aggravation of the interimperialist contradictions among the common market member countries, continues the newspaper. This is clearly seen in the efforts of each one of them to shift a part of the consequences onto the backs of the other partners, in order to ensure a dominating and privileged position in this capitalist grouping. Known in this direction are the French-German contradictions in the field of agriculture, the aims of Bonn to play the role of the "first violin" in the market, the British-German quarrels about the regional fund of the community the so-called "summer struggle" between France and Italy, etc. The truth is that, as a result of the action of the law of unequal economic and political development of the capitalist countries, today West Germany has emerged as the main economic and political power in this organization, that it is striving to impose its will and dictate on its European "allies." Such an aim is not concealed any longer by the very top representatives of West German imperialism, who are becoming more aggressive and arrogant in their statements. "It is becoming a new division of the world, the West German Foreign Minister Genscher has stated, and Germany should prepare to bear its responsibilities. Europe, in its widest meaning, is incorporated in its sphere of influence.

"Contrary to what has been advertised since the inception of the common market," says the article, "this organization not only that has not mitigated the contradictions that exist in the economic development of its member countries and has not drawn from the backwardness those regions which are considered as backward ones, such as the south of Italy and some regions of Britain,

but it has further deepened the unequal economic development." "In the economic market, just as in the capitalist world in general," wrote recently the British newspaper THE WORKER, organ of the C.P. of Britain (M-L), "the poor countries become poorer and the rich become richer."

The grave situation of the crisis and the interimperialist contradictions which exist in the common market is complicated and instigated also by the interference of U.S. imperialism, which through its military presence and its capitals uses this reactionary organization as a powerful pillar in its rivalry for hegemony and expansion with Soviet socialimperialism and the other reactionary organization, the COMECON, which is directed and dominated by Moscow. At the same time, the U.S. monopolies pursue a savage protectionist policy towards the European commodities, at a time when they try to invade the European market with their exports, creating thus new deficits in the trade balances of these countries.

ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion: the deepening of the economic crisis and the aggravation of the class struggle in the common market once more show that the economic integrations, just as all the other measures and projects of the capital, are incapable to save capitalism from its contradictions and wounds, from its political-social crises and upheavals, which will be its co-travelers till its inevitable end.

CSO: 2020

PAPER COMMENTS ON CARTER'S STATE OF UNION MESSAGE

Tyrana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Jan 78 p 4 AU

[Article by Vladimir Prela: "Annual Message of Deception"]

[Excerpts] For Carter, the traditional "State of the Union" Message which U.S. presidents present to Congress at the beginning of the year was also a balance-sheet on his first year as president of the United States.

As is customary, the president devoted an important part of his message to the U.S. economy, its present state and its future prospects. To better understand this part of Carter's speech, we must recall the days of the election campaign. In those days, a film was being screened in various cities, the main hero of which was Carter himself. In this film, he was presented as a pious believer praying to God to "bring" peace to the world, praying for "human rights" he was presented as the savior of the United States, as the man who would abolish unemployment. He was shown as a close friend of the blacks and all the blame was placed on his Republican opponent, Ford, the incumbent U.S. President. Carter won, replaced Ford and has now completed his first year as U.S. President. But even this one year alone has been enough to indicate that the film's predictions were not fulfilled and are not going to be fulfilled.

Although he tried not to overdramatize the situation, the message spoke about a high rate of unemployment, unchecked inflation, various deficits, the disturbing position of the U.S. dollar, the energy crisis and so forth. This is the present-day reality of the United States. Carter cannot conceal it. As in all other capitalist and revisionist countries, the economic crisis is going on its inexorable way. The monopolies are trying to shift the effects of the crisis onto the backs of the working class and the working masses.

Unable to deny all this U.S. President is demagogically trying to present black as white. He is trying to convey the impression that the various elements of the current crisis are but temporary phenomena, to convey the impression that the current crisis of the system is a chance happening that will disappear as a result of the measures that will be taken. He is thus

trying to confuse public opinion concerning U.S. reality and is again relying on empty fruitless promises. In his message Carter spoke, or rather "complained" about Congress' failure to pass the new U.S. energy program. Because his plans to overcome the energy crisis, which he has been terming for some time now as the "salvation" of the United States, have not been approved yet, and so forth.

In the past devoted to foreign policy, Carter repeated the slogans of U.S. imperialism for a strong America. He declared that he attached great importance to the modernization of the army and navy, as well as the air transportation capacities of man and materials, seeking at the same time an increase in military expenditure. The fact is that the Washington leaders have allocated unprecedented sums to military expenditure this year.

Carter's declarations concerning [this] increased military expenditure are not only an indication of the U.S. imperialism aggressive aims, but also a revelation concerning the true nature of the myth established by both Washington and Moscow on the issue of disarmament and security. They show that Carter's reference to the SALT talks, to the possibility of concluding a treaty for "the abolition of nuclear weapons" in Europe and so forth--all this is but a bluff and a lie to conceal rearmament. "The imperialists and the social imperialists," Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, "know that by preserving their stock of arms and the monopoly of the production of modern weapons, they are thus also preserving their blackmail and intimidation, the fear and insecurity that their military machine instills in others. They know that they are thus preserving that constant pressure exerted by weapons even when they are not fired." The way of the U.S. imperialism has thus remained the same as ever: the way of violence, aggression and conspiracies, the way of the militarization of the country's life and for the intensification of the arms race and of military expenditure.

Despite all this, the president did not fail to mention the word "peace" several times. For Carter and the Washington leaders "peace" presupposes the subjugation of free peoples to the hegemony of U.S. imperialism, the free penetration of U.S. monopolies in their countries and the acceptance of enslaving prescriptions. As an example of "peace" efforts, he mentioned the current situation and the initiatives of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. However, the president knows from experience that such imperialist plans are destined to fail. That is why he was forced to admit that "our role is a difficult one and frequently the results are not there."

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

'ZERI I POPULLIT' ON STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN AFRICA

Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 30 Jan 78 LD

["African Peoples Are Determined To Uproot Racism From African Continent"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 30 Jan (ATA)--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes in one of its articles about the resolute struggle that the Azanian, Zimbabwe and Namibian peoples are waging against the savage racist domination. The century-long aspiration of the African people, writes the newspaper, has been to uproot racism and the old and new colonialism, to live in true freedom and independence. The course of events shows that the freedom loving Zimbabwe, Namibian and Azanian peoples have enhanced the patriotic consciousness, have intensified their actions, passing into large-scale attacks against the racist forces in almost all the regions of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The newspaper points out that this struggle has caused upheavals to the South African and Rhodesian racist regimes and worry to their bosses. It denounces the "initiatives" and "proposals" of the imperialist-racist alliance for the alleged political solution of the problems of South Africa, under the signboard of "the transition of the power to the black majority." These plans, the newspaper writes, are nothing but attempts to perpetuate the hated racist domination and to justify the presence of the imperialist powers in that area of the world. It is precisely to realise these diabolic aims that the representatives of the imperialist powers, including the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany, etc., held recently another round of talks with the top officials of South Africa on "granting independence to Namibia." To these aims serves also the forthcoming visit of the foreign minister of South Africa, P. Botha to New York.

The article writes further on: the Soviet social imperialists, too, who as is known, are in fierce rivalry with the U.S. imperialists for every region of the world which is of economic and strategic importance for them, do not lag behind in their efforts for neocolonialist expansion in the southern part of Africa. Under the false slogans of the "support for the South

African peoples," the chieftains of the Kremlin try in reality to put under their control the liberation movements of the peoples of that area, so as to realize their hegemonic aims.

But the aggressive and rapacious nature of the imperialist powers and first of all of the two superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, the newspaper underlines, is becoming even more clear for the oppressed peoples of Africa, who have experienced on their backs how valuable are the "interest and concern" of these enemies of their freedom and independence. The interference of the imperialist powers in the internal affairs of various African countries has always been accompanied with grave consequences. A testimony to this are the present-day events in the south, east and north of Africa and in other regions of the world, where the direct or indirect interference of the two superpowers and their followers has stirred up various conflicts, which have inflicted many victims to these peoples. Life is teaching more and more the African peoples that the fate of the freedom and independence of their own countries is in their hands. It is they themselves who through their determined liberation struggle will break the shackles of the racist and neocolonialist yoke, will realize their century-long dreams to live in true freedom and independence, ZERI I POPPULIT writes in conclusion.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

MILITARY DAILY ON STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH

Sofia NAROONA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Jan 78 p 4 AU

[Article by Mariya Neykova: "A Situation of Temporizing"]

[Text] On the day U.S. President Carter delivered his first state of the union message, AFP summarized the results of the White House Administration's first year. AFP's evaluation can also be applied to the traditional message which aims at reviewing the work performed and outlining the future tasks and goals. The moderation and lack of new points in the president's message made the WASHINGTON POST call it "a retreat from vulnerable positions."

Neither the form and content of the message nor the first evaluations of it is a surprise, considering the growing scepticism in the United States regarding the president's ability to cope with the most important problems. This also had an effect on the public opinion polls on Carter's popularity. Not mentioning the specific results of the various institutes dealing with such polls, I will again cite AFP: "The popularity of the former Georgian governor today, on the first anniversary of his inauguration as president (20 January), is the lowest of all presidents elected since Eisenhower after their first year."

Under these circumstances, Carter's efforts to maximally change things in his favor, as in his message to a joint session of the congress, are understandable.

The larger part of the president's message was, as usual, devoted to internal problems. "Our main tasks at home is the country's economy and the power supply is the central element." After this formulation, Carter outlined the basic guiding principles that must bring about a revival of the unstable U.S. economy. Private business must promote the economy's growth. Inflation should be reduced. The United States must participate in the intensification of the world economy. He touched quite vaguely on the problems of unemployment which, according to official data, was 6.4 percent in December 1977. The president again touched on his previous promise to balance the federal budget by the end of his term of office, but his chief economic adviser,

Shultz, admitted at a press conference that a particularly high economic growth was needed to achieve this. The appeal to save energy was also repeated in his message.

In order to evaluate the basic points in the President's economic platform, it is necessary to compare them with the real state of affairs. The bourgeois economists predict the gradually increasing industrial production will slow in 1978--production having been affected by the crisis in 1974-1975--leveling off and even an increase in unemployment, and an increase in inflation compared with its present level of 6 percent. The intention to balance the budget when the annual deficit amounts to 50 billion and when the U.S. trade deficit was unprecedented in 1977--30 billion--is uncomfortable. In addition to this, the tax reduction that was promised in the election campaign, which was not accomplished in 1977 and postponed for 1978, is linked with the approval of the President's energy program which, according to predictions, cannot be approved earlier than this spring.

In the foreign political part of the message, Carter reaffirmed "his adherence" to the defense of "human rights," not referring to the United States itself but to "various parts of the world." Among the U.S. foreign policy goals, Carter gave first place to the country's security and reaffirmed his loyalty to the European NATO allies by adding that "he will demonstrate this determination in 1978 by improving and strengthening our military possibilities there." It is not difficult to guess what these words conceal if one takes into consideration the Pentagon's intentions to store Cruise missiles and neutron weapons in Western Europe as well as the statement by the president himself during his visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels during the first half of January on increasing the number of the U.S. troops on the old continent.

Compared with these concretely expressed intentions, Carter speaks in an unusually moderate and non-committal manner on the prospects for signing a SALT II two agreement. The president devoted a substantial part of his message to the approval of the Panama Canal agreements and emphasized mainly their advantages for the United States--securing the right to defend the canal by U.S. troops and "impeding the dissemination of hostile ideologies in this hemisphere--in addition to their direct contribution to U.S. economic prosperity and security." Such problems as halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and reducing the trade in conventional weapons were also briefly mentioned. The United States' "kind assistance" in the Middle East affairs was also offered.

The concrete activities by the administration during its first year in office and the "new" tasks set in the message by President Carter arouse doubts not only regarding the administration's military policy. The solution of a large part of the other problems will depend on the interest of big business and on Carter's skill in cooperating with Congress.

CSO: 2200

YOUTH DAILY ON CARTER'S FIRST YEAR

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 24 Jan 78 p 3 AU

[Article by Vladimir Ignatov: "United States--Promise and Realities"]

[Text] One year has elapsed since 20 January 1977, when Jimmy Carter was inaugurated U.S. President. This represents one quarter of his term of office. It is a period of time that fully justifies a traditional assessment of the new U.S. President's Administration achievements.

What are the results of Jimmy Carter's Administration in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy? What happened to his numerous election promises, which he so generously used to distribute before assuming his office at the White House?

Jimmy Carter assumed the leadership of the U.S. state affairs with ambitious intentions, resolved to settle, or at least to restrict the expansion of the most serious, crucial problems in the country's life.

However, his administration's attempts to stop inflation failed. As a matter of fact, inflation is certainly expected to increase this year. No radical measures have been taken against unemployment, and the majority of the bourgeois economic experts in the U.S. are expecting unemployment to increase in 1978.

The Carter Administration's energy program, which was advertised as a true remedy for all ills in resolving the energy crisis, actually manifested itself in an even greater increase in the profits of the large oil corporations, at the expense of an increase in prices for and in the expenditures by the small consumers, in the expenditures of millions of ordinary American citizens.

Jimmy Carter widely proclaimed during his election campaign that his policy and that he would do everything within his power in order to restore the U.S. people's confidence in the government and in its institutions. In this case, too, however, he did not fulfill his promises. The "Burt Lance affair" caused Carter's attempts to restore the American citizen's lost faith in the

"decency" and "incorruptibility" of his leaders to fail. This affair most drastically demonstrated the fact that among the president's most inner circle, there are people who are quite familiar with illegal financial operation, such as was the case of Burt Lance, Carter's old friend and former director of the office of management and budget.

Before assuming office, Jimmy Carter ostentatiously demonstrated his concern about the racial problem. He included American negroes on his team, thus intending to win the support of the U.S. black population. The racial problem, however, far from being naturalized, as the president had hoped, was even exacerbated during last year. Above all other things, the economic discrimination between the white population and the black national minorities continues in the United States. The difference between wages continues to increase, while the hardships of unemployment most heavily affected precisely the "black america" to which Carter had made the greatest promises and to which he outlined the most brilliant future prospects. During the first year of the new Washington Administration the manifestations of racial discrimination and of segregation were exacerbated, and the racists began a new offensive against the negroes' struggle for civil rights.

A tradition of long-standing has established itself in U.S. political life-- that is, the tradition that each president should introduce himself in his new office with some kind of new doctrine, concept, or idea. Kennedy assumed presidency under the slogan "the alliance for progress," Johnson under the slogan "the great society," and Nixon adopted the slogan "struggle against the evils of society." Carter, however, tried to dazzle the United States and the world with the slogan supposed to "introduce a new moral element into U.S. foreign policy and purge it from the 'ethical' point of view." Instead, however, Jimmy Carter's doctrine soiled the U.S. foreign policy, because it represented an organized, anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaign directed against the USSR and the socialist countries. The new president's administration seems to have completely forgotten the fact that there are more than enough examples of violations of human rights in the United States, and declares itself as a defender of "human rights" in the socialist countries, continuing at the same time to support the most reactionary regimes in countries where the most barbaric outrages are being committed against human and civil rights, such as is the case of the military junta in Chile and of the racist governments in South Africa and Rhodesia. Carter and his team announced that the rearmament and arms race would not be increased. Instead, the president approved a record military budget for 1979 amounting to the gigantic sum of 126 billion dollars.

During the first year of the Carter Administration U.S. foreign policy did not betray the imperialist interests. It continued to protect Israel in the Middle East conflict and to support the illegal occupation of Arab territories. It continued to maintain the political and military tension in certain areas of the world, such as Ethiopia, for example, by supporting the forces of reaction and backwardness.

The first year of Jimmy Carter's office and of his administration was a new confirmation of the old rule that any new team at the White House quite soon abandons its election promises. At the same time this was a year of an ever greater exacerbation of the existing economic and political contradictions in bourgeois society.

CSO: 2200

FUNCTIONARY RECALLS HIS U.S. ACTIVITIES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 78 p 4 AU

[Article by Georgi Pirinski: "Afraid of Truth"--"Thoughts in Connection With the TV Series 'The Rosenbergs Must Not Die'"]

[Excerpt] The authors of the TV series "The Rosenbergs Must Not Die" have earned great credit in unmasking the anti-humanitarian nature of the U.S. legal system. This series reminded me also of my own personal experience and suffering during the long years of my activities in the U.S. workers and communist movement. I was arrested three times before World War II and also after the war, and each time I had the opportunity to face the two secret services, as well as the inquisitors of the U.S. Senate Committees in Washington. During my first arrest, in one of the offices of the General Motors Corporation in Pontiac, I was accused, together with eight other Bulgarian workers, of instigation to revolt. The reason for this accusation was that we had participated in a demonstration of unemployed workers in front of city hall. The police attacked the demonstrators and thus broke up the demonstration. We were considered the organizers of this demonstration. Fortunately, during the clash with the police forces there were no people killed, as happened in front of the Red River Ford plant where four workers were killed and about 40 other workers were injured.

I was arrested again in Chicago, in 1948. This time I was accused of having advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. In order to support this accusation, four hired professional spies were introduced at the trial in New York. They were paid 25 dollars a day for false evidence. For those times it was an enviable salary. They declared that they had heard my speeches at meetings, in which I had incited the audience to revolt and violently to overthrow the government. Among the material evidence submitted at my trial in order to prove my guilt, there were also Marxist books, such as V.I. Lenin's "State and Revolution" and "Leftism--an infantile disorder of communism," as well as the text of Georgi Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Comintern Congress and others. Even books had to stand trial! The sentence was pronounced soon enough: 10 years in prison or expulsion from the country. I was happy that I could return, not to fascist Bulgaria, but to my motherland, liberated from fascism and capitalism.

CSO: 2200

BRIEFS

SPREAD OF FLU--The flu cases in Bulgaria during the month of December were caused mostly by viruses A2 and B which have circulated in Bulgaria for several years. In Hong Kong and other countries many cases of flu appeared in the beginning of November caused by the virus A1. This virus circulated throughout the world during 1947-1957 and then disappeared. "Those born after 1957 have not encountered this virus and subsequently have no immunity. Therefore, they are the majority of the infected." At the beginning of 1978 the World Health Organization reported A1 flu epidemics in Finland, China and the CSSR. "In January it was proved that the virus had reached Bulgaria, and that it was the cause of the limited epidemics which broke out in schools and other youth collectives." The Ministry of Public Health anticipated this development and already in November dispatched instructions on preventive means to be undertaken against the expected epidemic. Pharmaceuticals and medical equipment were also obtained. "It must be pointed out that the sickness is relatively mild and lasts 2-3 days." The Ministry of Public Health recommends that the infected stay home, take Vitamin C and cover their nose and mouth with a mask, preventing the spread of the virus. [Summary] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 78 p 2 AU] [Unattributed article: "What Do We Know About the New Flu"]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

IUS SCORES NUMAYRI--Prague, 16 Jan CETEKA--"The International Union of Students Secretariat reaffirms its full and unequivocal support for the just struggle of the Sudanese people and students...against the Numayri regime's oppression." This is said in a statement of the Prague-based International Union of Students issued today in connection with the murder of Hassan Khalafalla, a well-known leader of the Sudanese Democratic Teachers' Movement, who was tortured in prison for several years and who died 1-day after his release last week. "The secretariat calls upon all IUS member and friendly organizations, the world public opinion and all democratic and progressive forces to raise their voices against the Numayri regime's oppression and to demand the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including students, from Sudanese Prisons," the statement of the International Union of Students says. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 16 Jan 78 LD]

CSSR, SRV COOPERATION--O. Svercina, CTK central director, arrived in Hanoi to discuss cooperation between the CSSR and SRV press agencies. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 78 p 7 AU]

RECEPTION OF IRAQI OIL GUESTS--CSSR deputy premier Simon received the visiting secretary of the Iraqi Economic Council for Oil Questions, Majid Adham, and the president of the Refining Industry Organization, (Faruq ali-Rawi), in Prague on 9 January. They discussed the further expansion of mutual economic cooperation. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

GDR'S SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM-PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM EXPLAINED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Jan 78 p 10

[Brigitte Hering interview with Prof Dr Walter Schmidt: "We Are Legitimate Heirs to Everything Progressive in History--ND Discussion With Prof Dr Walter Schmidt on the Unity of Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism." For related information see JPRS 70196, 21 November 1977, No 1476 of this series, pp 58-67]

[Text] [Question] The "Appeal on Behalf of the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR," which was carried forward by all political forces in our country, devotes great attention to the unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. How does this unity appear to the Marxist-Leninist historian? What, principally, expresses the GDR citizens' socialist patriotism today?

[Answer] It expresses itself in our pride in our joint effort, in having created the first socialist state on German soil through hard work and heavy class struggle; in the socialist society in our country where exploitation and suppression have been eliminated and the well-being of the working people is the supreme goal; and in our blossoming socialist nation where all yearnings and hopes of previous generations are finding fulfillment and the legacy of the best in the German people has been brought to realization, where the aspirations and struggles of the progressive and humanistic forces were crowned with success.

We are proud that with the construction of socialism on German soil we are making an important contribution, respected all over the world, to enforcing social progress on an international scale. Part of the internationalist consciousness of our country's citizens is the realization that the GDR is deeply committed to the struggle of the international workers class, that it has grown out of the class struggles on behalf of socialism all over the world, in short, that it is a child of the epoch of the Red October which initiated the transition to socialism on our globe.

All our party documents, like the party program and now the appeal on behalf of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, stress the unity of patriotic and internationalist education. We thereby are bringing to

realization a fundamental principle that has been part and parcel of the policy and ideology of the revolutionary workers movement from the very beginning. Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism have one and the same source, the class goals and interests of the proletariat, the realization of its historic mission. The workers class is always and everywhere an international and, simultaneously, deeply patriotic force.

The Workers Class Created a Real Fatherland

[Question] As early as in 1845, Engels pointed out in his Elberfeld speeches that the citizens of a socialist nation alone would have a real fatherland, a true hearth to defend.

[Answer] And that is so because here class interests are identical with the national interest. Through the construction of socialism in its own country, the patriotism of the workers class assumes an entirely new quality. The workers class and the other working classes and strata together are creating their own fatherland. It is the first time that they are putting their own stamp on this fatherland and are shaping its substance. From the socialist production relations, the socialist way of life, there grows a new, a socialist, patriotism.

Socialist patriotism in the GDR emerged from the victorious liberation struggle of the workers class and its allies, by which for the first time in German history the power of reaction was completely broken, imperialism totally eradicated, and the political power of the workers class and the socialist society were established. Being a product of the most penetrating transformation in German history itself, our patriotism finds its firm and indestructible foundations in the socialist production relations: in the power of the workers class, the public ownership in the means of production and the political-moral unity of the people.

What some bourgeois ideologists term a so-called GDR consciousness is nothing else but the GDR citizens' national consciousness marked by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. This is something new, unprecedented in German history. And we are inclined also to develop consciously our socialist patriotism on these new foundations. Of the very greatest importance to that is the statement in the SED program: "The socialist German nation is developing in the GDR."

[Question] What are the criteria and essential features that define socialist patriotism in our country today?

[Answer] Some I have already mentioned. And then there is the justified pride in our country's economic successes and in the great social achievements, highly valued all over the world, of our new society as our educational system, and in socialist democracy. The conscious and creative participation by the masses in shaping the GDR's political and public life is an important feature of patriotism and also a yardstick for the citizens' identification with their state.

Another element of our patriotism is the awareness the citizens in our country have that they, by developing socialism on German soil, are making pioneering achievements in the struggle against imperialism and are contributing to the advance of the revolutionary world process. We have anchored socialism deeply in Central Europe and seen to it that it is implanted today along the Elbe and the Werra. Through our peace policy in the last three decades we have not insignificantly contributed to safeguarding peace in Europe and have made imperialism suffer serious defeats, as on 13 August 1961 for instance, in cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. And we have done our share in enforcing the principles of peaceful coexistence in Europe.

An important criterion of socialist patriotism lies in the steady readiness for the defense of our socialist fatherland. The defense of socialism is in the interest of each individual, of our socialist fatherland and of international socialism.

Socialist patriotism in the GDR, finally, implies the clear and unequivocal rebuff of any kind of nationalism. We have eradicated, for once and for all, chauvinism, hatred among peoples and racism. In our country has grown up the first generation of Germans free from chauvinism, revanchism, aggressiveness and national contempt, brought up in friendship and cooperation among the peoples.

Our socialist patriotism therefore also stands in irrevocable opposition to the FRG's bourgeois nationalism, which likes to call itself "all-German." Patriotic education to us always means resolute confrontation with the bourgeois-nationalistic ideology. Our socialist patriotism finds its source of strength in the GDR's socialist life and nowhere else.

Historic Traditions Are Inalienable Values To Us

[Question] Does this not also mean that the knowledge of German history, of our more recent and our more remote past, significantly affects patriotic and internationalist education?

[Answer] I do attribute great importance in patriotic education to conveying a cohesive scientific image of history about the origin and development of our socialist state. And there is a good reason for that. For it is in this period of German history that our patriotism finds its most important historic roots, from which it receives its strongest impulses.

No one can any longer deny this today: Through the transition from capitalism to socialism, brought about by revolutionary struggle, the GDR people set out on a historic movement entirely new in quality which fundamentally differs from all the previous history of the German people and which also differs in principle from the path of development taken by the FRG people after World War II. The FRG remained within the framework of capitalist society. Our people, however, broke the chains of imperialist exploitation.

We fought for socialist construction in bitter conflicts with FRG imperialism which sought to prevent this revolution on German soil with all the means at its command and would like to reverse it even still today.

Common causes, on the other hand, developed with our socialist friends, the Soviet Union and the other socialist states who have stood by our side on this road and still do. The socialist revolution and the construction of socialism have created new historic traditions that have become inalienable values for our people. There is, for instance, the tradition of the workers class struggling in unity, the prerequisite for the success in our own work. There is the tradition of the alliance of all progressive classes and strata under the leadership of the workers class and its party. And there is the tradition of the activists and innovator movement all the way down to such deeply rooted a tradition as the youth consecration. There arose the tradition of friendship and cooperation with the other socialist countries, and the traditions of solidarity with all the peoples struggling for their freedom. Our steady support of Vietnam, Cuba and Angola is being taken for granted even by our children.

[Question] Thirty years GDR means the victorious struggle for the realization of the historic mission of the workers class on German soil, as the appeal puts it. We thereby comprehend our socialist state as the inevitable outcome of all German history.

[Answer] GDR history does of course not begin as late as 1945. It has its historic roots in the revolutionary traditions of the German workers movement and in the progressive and humanistic traditions of all of German history, a history, in other words, that reaches far back into the Middle Ages and to the time when the German people first emerged. Our party program states: The SED is heir to everything progressive in the history of the German people. Thereby we have irrevocably announced and unmistakably set down our claim to everything progressive in German history.

We are fostering the progressive legacy of German history because we are committed to it and because it constitutes, as it were, our state's and society's prehistory, for we do stand on the shoulders of all those peasants, plebeians, petty bourgeois, bourgeois humanists and, above all, the German workers who for centuries have been struggling for an existence of human dignity, and because we are fulfilling among us the legacy of those very forces in German history. No German state has taken on the progressive legacy of its history as ours has.

Of course we cannot ignore that there also has been a reactionary line of tradition in German history. That would be all the less possible in view of the fact that social progress on German soil for centuries had to be enforced through bitter class struggle against reactionary forces. All the complication but the magnitude of this historic struggle and of the progress and successes achieved as well become truly apparent only when one clearly looks at how stubborn, unscrupulous and dangerous the enemies were whom the workers class and the other progressive forces in German history had to face.

To that extent then we of course have to come to grips with the reactionary legacy of German history -- little as it belongs with our line of tradition.

Our main interest lies in the progressive lines of tradition in German history. It is a particularly important task in patriotic education to make all GDR citizens aware that we are the executors of the legacy from the great pioneers, the German workers movement, the Communist League through the revolutionary German Social Democratic Party, the German leftists all the way to the KPD. At the same time we are cultivating and tapping the progressive traditions created by other classes of the German people throughout its long history, from the times of the early Middle Ages and the Reformation and the Great Peasants' War, through the achievements of German Enlightenment and the classical period, the liberation wars of 1813/14, the 1848 bourgeois-democratic revolution and the November Revolution of 1918, all the way to the antifascist resistance struggle of the '30's and early '40's. Anniversaries, like the 450th anniversary of the Peasants' War, or the 125th anniversary of the 1848 revolution, or the **200th birthday** of Beethoven, are always an occasion in our state and society for thoroughly and extensively dealing with the historic and cultural inheritance from all of German history.

That also includes commemorating the good characteristics of the German people, for the full development of which socialism has created all prerequisites. Justified pride in our diligence and working skills, in the working people's inventiveness and discipline and of the intellectuals throughout German history, the scientific-technical and cultural achievements and accomplishments of our people--none of this suggests nationalistic arrogance in any way. Our socialist patriotism is devoid of any national narrow-mindedness and recognizes and appreciates equally much the great achievements, talents, abilities and characteristics of other peoples.

[Question] Simply because it includes proletarian internationalism.

The Revolutionary World Process--Yardstick of Our Actions

[Answer] It is a patriotism of an essentially internationalist workers class. For that reason it is directly tied up with proletarian internationalism, in an inseparable unity with it. There is a twofold tie-in here, if you like. First: Our own work we understand not only as performed for our own people but also as a contribution to the progress of world socialism. Second, we are aware of the fact that socialism in our country would be inconceivable without the help from the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community as well as the entire international workers class.

Only when these two essential elements in our world-outlook are constantly combined with each other will socialist patriotism get its unique quality, typical of a socialist nation. It is important to us as communists, as the Manifesto says, always to bring to bear on the national struggles the overall interest of the international proletariat.

5885
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER TOASTS BRITISH CP'S MCLENNAN

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jan 78 p 3 AU

[Toast by SED Central Committee general secretary Erich Honecker at dinner for British Communist Party general secretary Gordon McLennan in Berlin on 23 January]

[Text] Dear Comrade Gordon McLennan, dear Comrade Jack Woddis.

It gives me particular pleasure to very cordially welcome you [familiar form of address used] tonight in the circle of the members of our party leadership and responsible Central Committee staff workers. Your visit also offers us an opportunity once more to congratulate you [familiar form of address used] dear Comrade Gordon McLennan, on your reelection to the post of general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain. With you there is a proven and tested communist heading the vanguard of the workers class and working people of Great Britain. We wish you further success and good health from the bottom of our hearts.

Be assured that our party and the GDR people reliably stand at your side just as we are linked in solidarity with all those struggling against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism, peace and the right of men to freedom, happiness and prosperity. This is part and parcel of the noblest duties and tasks of our party.

We also were able to note during the extensive exchange of views we conducted today that our parties agree on the basic problems related to the common struggle for peace, security, detente and social progress. We assess this very positively.

Linked by Friendship and Solidarity

With great pleasure and satisfaction we were able to proceed from the fact that the fraternal relations between the SED and the Communist Party of Great Britain have deepened considerably. Hence we are continuing the traditions of many years of joint struggle and of the friendly and

solidaristic affinity between the workers movement of the two countries under favorable conditions. These traditions are more than 100 years old. Let us remember the activities of the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, which were particularly closely linked with the struggle of the German and British workers class.

(?Fought) Courageously Against Fascism

The founding of our Marxist-Leninist party was deeply influenced by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The activity of Harry Pollitt and Ernst Thaelmann for friendship with the first worker-peasant state will never be forgotten. German and British communists fought against Hitler Fascism courageously and with great sacrifices. We shall not forget what our British comrades did to expose the true causes of the provocation concerning the burning of the Reichstag, for the liberation of Georgi Dimitrov and the comrades arraigned with him, what they did for our Ernst Thaelmann and how many anti-fascists found asylum in Great Britain thanks to their solidarity during the times of fascism. The common struggle of our comrades in the international brigades in Spain was a glorious chapter of international proletarian solidarity.

It is under new conditions, with new tasks but with incomparably greater strength that we are now continuing the struggle for our great common cause which has already scored so many historic victories. Undoubtedly the most important thing in this context is to safeguard peace.

The communist parties and all peace-loving and democratic forces are faced with the task of achieving the cessation of the arms race which the imperialists have stepped up, and of achieving practical steps toward disarmament. This is the fundamental prerequisite for stabilizing international detente and for achieving further progress along the path of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Dear Comrades,

In accordance with the 9th SED Congress decisions we are successfully fashioning the developed socialist society in the GDR and are strengthening socialism in the world in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Our party regards this as an obligation and at the same time as a contribution in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We take an active stand for the consolidation of the unity of the communist movement--the strongest social force of our time. The results of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties are a good foundation for this. Today the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress is taking place under varying conditions. This underscores the need for each party to formulate its policy with due regard for the specific conditions in its own country without losing sight of common aims.

Relations Have Reached a Higher Level

Dear Comrade McLennan, dear Comrade Woddis,

With your visit the relations between the SED and the Communist Party of Great Britain have reached a higher level. This strengthens every one of our parties and is in the interest of our movement. Jointly we are facing great new tasks in the coming year the accomplishment of which requires all our strength.

I beg to raise my glass and to drink

To the health of our comrades, McLennan and Jack Woddis,

To further successes in the struggle of the British communists,

To the friendship and fraternal affinity between the SED and the Communist Party of Great Britain.

CSO: 2300

SED POLITBURO'S SINDERMANN QUERIED ON TRIP TO ANGOLA, SAO TOME

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 3, 1978 signed to press 9 Jan 78
pp 3-4 AU

[Interview with Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo Member,
on his trip to Angola and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe]

[Text] HORIZONT: Comrade Sindermann, you participated as the leader of a
SED Central Committee delegation in the First Congress of the People's
Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA. What importance do you at-
tach to this congress?

Horst Sindermann: The term "historic" should be used sparingly in our time
of revolutionary transformations, but I would definitely like to apply it
to the First MPLA Congress. The MPLA went through more than 20 years of
struggle, hence it is a liberation movement with revolutionary experiences
in the struggle against colonialism. The main outcome of this struggle was
the achievement of national independence on 11 November 1975 and the founding
of the Angolan People's Republic.

Two years after the achievement of national independence the First MPLA
Congress adopted a program which assesses the current stage of the struggle
as a people's democratic revolution in which the political and material con-
ditions for the building of socialism are being created. This revolutionary
process requires the establishment of a vanguard party that lets itself be
guided by Marxism-Leninism. Therefore the First MPLA Congress decreed the
transformation of the liberation movement into a Marxist-Leninist party of
the workers class which now bears the name MPLA-Party of Labor. And there-
in lies the historically significant fact: it constitutes another example
of socialism as a state power having made its appearance on the African
continent.

HORIZONT: Let us turn again to the program on whose basis the political
and material conditions for the building of socialism are to be created.
What does this program contain in detail?

Horst Sindermann: I want to put it briefly. In this program the issue of
power is defined as the basic issue of the revolution, which calls for the

liquidation of the old state apparatus set up by colonialism. The workers class led by the MPLA party is termed the leading force of the revolution, while the peasants, in accordance with the development conditions in Africa, constitute the main force. In the economic field there is set forth the task of consistently continuing the socialist-oriented road as the only possibility of overcoming the colonial heritage in order to finally eliminate the exploitation of man by man and this is chiefly to be done by expanding and consolidating socialist production relations. Public education and the health service play a great role in the program. By training 25,000 teachers it should be possible to introduce compulsory education by 1980.

HORIZONT: And in the foreign policy field?

Horst Sindermann: The first congress described the socialist countries as natural allies with whom all-encompassing relations of friendship, mutual support and cooperation are being developed. On this solid basis the MPLA-Party of Labor advocates the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Within the framework of the nonaligned states the People's Republic of Angola will actively struggle against imperialism and will work for the economic independence of the former colonial countries.

The People's Republic of Angola stresses the need for the unity of the African states and for solidaristic support of the peoples still struggling for their independence, particularly in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. This unity is all the more necessary because the racist policy of South Africa constitutes a constant danger for the progressive development of the African states.

HORIZONT: Didn't the problems of the liberation struggle of these African peoples you listed play a great role at this first congress?

Horst Sindermann: Naturally, after all Namibia, which is still dominated by the South African reactionaries, is Angola's neighbor and the liberation movements of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa have been comrades in arms of the MPLA for many years. But at this congress the liberation movement on that continent always was interlinked with the revolutionary world movement, whose main force is the Soviet Union and the socialist states. It was a moving event for us when the delegates to the first congress responded to all revolutionary movements and manifestations of solidarity with the rhythmic chants: "Proletarian internationalism--viva, viva, viva." The MPLA-Party of Labor regards itself as a detachment of the revolutionary world movement--and from this position it promotes all progressive movements against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

HORIZONT: U.S. President Carter has charged socialist Cuba with interfering in Angola's internal affairs. What was the response of the first congress to this?

Horst Sindermann: The MPLA-Party of Labor holds the position that it picks its allies itself and refutes the arrogant claims of imperialist powers.

Thus the first congress was at the same time a display of affinity with the Soviet Union, Cuba and all the other states of the socialist community. And as far as Cuba's role in the movement of solidarity with Angola is concerned, the imperialist powers will never understand this in their arrogance toward the previously oppressed colonial peoples of Africa. In the last century slaves from Angola were traded like a commodity as cheap labor for the sugar plantations on the islands in the Caribbean, including colonial Cuba. Revolutionary Cuba regards the Angolans as brothers who were ground down and trampled on by colonialism for 500 years and whose human dignity was disregarded and degraded to the level of a cheap commodity. Whoever strives to disturb these revolutionary ties of a common past will hurt the pride of the Cuban and Angolan people. Socialist Cuba has set a wonderful example of solidarity and fraternity for the former colonially oppressed peoples and has thus conquered the hearts of not only the Angolan people.

HORIZONT: Surely the consequences of colonialism in Angola cannot be overcome in a relatively short time, particularly in the economic field?

Horst Sindermann: This is a protracted and complicated process. But, after all, the People's Republic of Angola can depend on the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries. The colonial master's most serious crime against the African peoples was the arbitrary and deliberately pursued suppression and destruction of people. There is still some 80 percent illiteracy in Angola. No African was permitted to acquire the technical knowledge to control a production process; all the posts of skilled workers and foremen, not to mention the leading posts, were filled with Portuguese or other Europeans. Africans were in the truest meaning of the word, beasts of burden for the colonial masters, ones who were not supposed to think but to toil like a slave.

Now they have achieved political independence through the finest sons of their people and these people, who are eager to learn and grateful, must be helped to acquire knowledge related to the control of technical equipment and labor organizations.

HORIZONT: There are skilled workers and specialists from the GDR in the Angolan People's Republic. How do the Angolans assess their work?

Horst Sindermann: They enjoy great respect. Our delegation met with FDY brigade members near Luanda who are training truck drivers and automotive mechanics--for the W50 truck which we are delivering to Angola--in various regions of Angola. Hats off to these boys and girls from the GDR. The conditions under which they are working are not easy. We are not used to such climate and naturally the food and accommodations are different from that at home. But they are proving themselves as internationalists. They maintain cordial relationships with our Angolan friends and are imparting to them all their knowledge. In a voluntary work effort they repair coffee-peeling machines and other machinery and equipment. One FDY group in the country's interior has set a mineral-water factory going and another group the circulation plant of a swimming pool. They are present in general

whenever crises arise. A brilliant representation of the socialist GDR. They have accumulated many experiences in the meantime and will evaluate them with their leaders. Jochen Hertwig spent another evening with them and it was allegedly quite a comfortable and instructive event.

HORIZONT: Once again back to the first congress: did you see strong participation by foreign delegations?

Horst Sindermann: There was an international participation. Of the 47 foreign delegations, 20 were from communist and workers parties; at the head there was the CPSU delegation with Comrade Kirilenko and the delegation of the Cuban Communist Party with Comrade Raul Castro. There were 19 delegations from revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements and 8 delegations from social democratic or socialist parties.

It is understandable that the greetings addresses of the communist and workers parties were received with great sympathy and approval. The greetings address of our general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, drew really stormy applause: the SED is well known in Angola, and its solidarity is fraternally appreciated. For our delegation the acquaintance with many revolutionary leaders of Africa was extremely valuable and of mutual interest.

If I may be permitted to say a word about the delegations of the socialist and social democratic parties: all parties have expressed their sympathy for the Angolan People's Liberation Movement, the MPLA. Some spoke on behalf of the socialist international and recommended to the Angolan comrades that Angola make use of the socialist international's 100 years of experience. However, since it cannot show any experiences of the building of a socialist society over 100 years in any country where it has influence, this does not benefit the MPLA-Party of Labor in implementing its socialist program. The MPLA-Party of Labor wants to eliminate the exploitation of man by man, and therefore, as was stated by Agostinho Neto, president of the MPLA-Party of Labor, it must apply the teaching of scientific socialism to the conditions of Africa. Only in this manner will the MPLA-Party of Labor fulfill its creative role to the benefit of the Angolan people, as was stated by the first congress.

HORIZONT: What can you say about our delegation's talks with Comrade Agostinho Neto, the president of the MPLA-Party of Labor of the Angolan People's Republic.

Horst Sindermann: I had the good fortune to congratulate Comrade Neto after his election as president of the MPLA-Party of Labor, which took place at the first congress, and to personally convey to him the fraternal greetings of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman. Agostinho Neto paid tribute to the SED's work and expressed great satisfaction over our party's attitude of solidarity. He briefed our delegation about important problems in southern Africa and about

the endeavors of imperialist circles to prevent the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. In this context he expressed concern over the missile bases that are being constructed by the FRG in Zaire, Angola's neighbor country. Comrade Neto's remarks were highly informative and clearly showed us once more the will to victory of the Angolan people led by the MPLA-Party of Labor. At the end of this valuable talk, for which Neto had invited us, he said literally: "I am convinced that we will consolidate our friendship and expand our cooperation."

HORIZONT: You have also visited the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. What was the purpose of this visit?

Horst Sindermann: After our visit to the Angolan People's Republic our delegation proceeded to Sao Tome and Principe where it met good acquaintances and friends. On the instructions of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, it returned the official visit of Comrade Pinto da Costa, general secretary of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP) in the GDR in April 1977. We had very extensive talks with the president, Comrade Pinto da Costa, and the prime minister, Comrade Mignet [presumably Miguel] Trovoada, and with Comrade Konel [presumably Leonel] d'Alva, MLSTP deputy general secretary, National Assembly chairman and foreign minister. The talks concerned problems of the international situation, of the party relations between the SED and the MLSTP and bilateral relations between our states.

HORIZONT: What is the content of the agreements signed between the two parties and states?

Horst Sindermann: There was a joint statement in which the two partners' positions on international questions were outlined, and there were agreements for the preparation of bilateral agreements which are to be concluded later on by the competent government organs. Everything was worked out in mutual cordial agreement, and it must be stressed that a cordial relationship exists between our parties and states.

The Island of Sao Tome which we visited is a marvelous island. After a long flight over the sea one suddenly reaches a land of miraculous beauty, with mountains up to 2,000 meters high, abounding in water and green all over. One might think one has discovered a fairy island but on closer study the deep scars inflicted on that country by Portuguese colonialism are to be seen everywhere.

The people, men filled with friendliness and trust, are still living under primitive conditions. The colonial masters built houses and palaces only for themselves. They established neither an education system nor health service and left no infrastructure whatsoever. They only robbed and exported the fruit of this country in a primitive-brutal manner. There are cocoa and coffee plantations, palm groves for oil fruit and coconuts, banana plantations and other tropical fruit. The Portuguese plantation

owners showed up once a year on the island, pocketed the proceeds and instructed the Portuguese administrators and slave drivers to step up the exploitation. With the establishment of the people's power, all the Portuguese experts disappeared with the colonial masters and the citizens of Sao Tome and Principe, who had been forbidden to acquire scientific and administrative knowledge, now took over the sad heritage of a colonial history of 500 years.

HORIZONT: And how are the liberated citizens of Sao Tome and Principe coping with all this?

Horst Sindermann: The party and state have formed an excellent leadership, both politically and economically, with a drive to act. It placed the productivity of the plantations which had been transformed into state farms at the center of its activities, appointed cadres who acquired knowledge while working and mobilized the people for labor feats. During the cocoa harvest the entire leadership went to work in the plantations and gave an example to the ordinary people who had never seen anyone of "those at the top" working.

We saw for ourselves these massive initiatives at some state farms and were enthusiastic about them. Naturally they are just starting on the road to success and we admired the courage with which they tackled problems. They have set up schools in the woods and under roof shelters and have founded a Pioneer organization in which the children are being trained and organized. They have an active women's organization which takes care of the health service, kindergartens and nurseries, has set up sewing rooms and is doing many other useful things.

They have started to set up sports organizations and many other activities. One can only correctly understand what all this involves if one knows the conditions of work and life left behind by the colonial masters. There are mothers carrying their babies on their backs at work, operating processing machines, for example, drying cocoa and sorting it, machines that were manufactured in 1900 and are on their last legs, arousing extreme disdain for the colonial masters in a person observing this backwardness on the one hand and great respect for the work of the ordinary people on the other.

HORIZONT: The GDR is also rendering solidaristic aid in the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. How is this being assessed by the country's public?

Horst Sindermann: The GDR assistance is well known to the citizens and because of it we were enthusiastically welcomed everywhere. We are setting up a gynecological center and a maternity station; we have equipped sewing centers, have provided equipment for the elimination of illiteracy and are now even training sports teachers there. What is involved now is a bilateral contractual cooperation which, above all, envisages the setting up of a processing industry, also for the production of building materials to help the leadership in developing housing construction.

HORIZONT: On which political road has the DRSTP [Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe] leadership embarked after the liberation?

Horst Sindermann: They're pursuing an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and democratic line. They are concentrating all forces on national reconstruction. The strategic objective is the establishment of a socialist society. Presently they want to create the structures required for this.

HORIZONT: It is often mentioned in the capitalist countries that Sao Tome and Principe could become lovely vacation islands for Europe.

Horst Sindermann: The comrades from Sao Tome and Principe know these intentions. But they do not fall in with their policy of developing the people in a new society. Should the people of this magnificent island be degraded to servants and tip-collectors or should they be educated to become masters of their own destiny? This is how the comrades from Sao Tome and Principe reply. Such a development into a vacation island for foreigners does not fit into the socialist-oriented prospects that should develop a man oppressed for centuries into a free man.

We absolutely see the point of our comrades and friends in the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to whom we wish success in their courageous work for the benefit of their citizens.

CSO: 2300

CRITICISM OF WAR-GAME TOYS REPUDIATED

Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in German 7/8 Jan 78 p 6

[Article by Friedrich Kindel, pedagogy section, Ernst Moritz Arndt University, Greifswald: "Our Child Plays 'Tank Driver'"]

[Text] War toys with swastikas and so-called Fuehrer dolls with their arms raised in the "Sieg Heil" pose are offered for sale in stores in Bremen, the FRG paper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU reports.

In view of such information there are parents who ask what our position is with respect to such toys fashioned after the weapons of our NVA. Some even are of the opinion such toys instilled a "thinking in terms of friend and foe" and that this "was a reason why one can always again find people with whom one can go to war."

Soviet psychologist Rubinstein especially has commented on the nature of play, the connection between games and child development.

In playing, there expresses itself the child's need to affect the world. This need forms in the child in relation to adult social behavior. The child is guided by direct impulse interests and needs arising out of the contact the child has with the world and conditioned by all human interrelations that include the child from the very beginning. Part of the practical social world of the adults, and of the child's environment, also is our NVA with its soldiers, arms and services.

We know how necessary the NVA is, nor can or must the child overlook it. The armed organs of our republic enjoy particularly high regard within our population, for they are serving a deeply human concern to the fulfillment of which the members of our armed forces are dedicated with all their abilities, enduring deprivation and arduous efforts.

The child senses this high regard more or less clearly--which always depends on the educational climate found in the family, the kindergarten, the school and public affairs. Playing, the child loves to take on such roles that are so highly attractive.

The child loves to perform apparently important and highly creditable activities, objects, persons, vocations and so forth. Accordingly, he also loves to play tank driver, soldier, pilot, sailor. The child does so spontaneously, without any educational influence from the outside, yet there is an objective inevitable basis for it in the child-environment relationship. If we do not give the child that kind of toy, he will make himself one on his own -- a stick becomes a rifle, a carriage becomes a tank and so forth. It would be wrong, and probably impossible, to prevent the child from playing this kind of game.

Instead, the adults, as educators in the broadest sense of the word, should try to bring our educational goal fully to bear on what the child is playing here.

An important part of our educational goal is to instill defense preparedness. This, in turn, in part consists of the following: The proper attitude toward the peace struggle, the realization of the aggressive nature of NATO's militarism, the love for the working people and the socialist fatherland, and understanding for the tasks of our army.

One can of course not operate with such concepts among five-year old children. Pedagogic and psychological skill is required for making complicated matters simple, for presenting them meaningfully in terms of the various age groups.

In connection with games of a defense education content and the child's dealing with toys that are fashioned after our weapons technology, even a five-year old, for example, should and can be made to realize that the tank driver (pilot, soldier or sailor) is protecting us and what we love, that his being here helps maintain peace, and that he advocates peaceful and friendly relations among the peoples, which he reinforces and strengthens by being there. History has proven that peace is threatened above all when the aggressor thinks he has an easy job. Withholding from the child, especially from the pupil and the youth, that there are still enemies of mankind would render children and youths defenseless. It would mean supporting those forces that would like to force all mankind into spiritual and physical slavery, even at the cost of megaton death. And that we do not want. Else we would act irresponsibly toward us and other nations.

We cannot separate play, the substance and nature of games, from social conditions. It is therefore inadmissible to grant any parallel between what games and toys mean to us and the revanchist and militarist inciting of youth in the FRG and the NATO states.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

CULTURE MINISTER VISITS AUSTRIA--GDR Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann is at present paying a visit to Austria at the invitation of Austrian Minister for Education and Arts Dr Fred Sinowatz and Minister for Science and Research Dr Herta Firnberg. Minister Hoffmann, who will stay in Austria for several days, is at present holding talks on GDR-Austrian cooperation in the fields of culture and science, and will attend the opening of two GDR art exhibits in Vienna. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 78 p 2 AU]

INCREASING BIRTHRATE--With a total of 223,100 newborn infants, 1977 has witnessed the highest birthrate in the GDR since 1972. The number of births has been steadily increasing since 1975; in 1977 it showed an increase of 27,600 over 1976. The 1977 ratio of female to male births was 100: 106, respectively. [Excerpt] [East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21/22 Jan 78 p 1]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

BOLDIZSAR, FRIENDS REACTION TO RETURN OF CROWN RELATED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 14 Jan 78 pp 5-6

[Article by Ivan Boldizsar: "The Day of the Crown, From Minute to Minute"]

[Text] Morning

Morning--6 January 1977, Friday, Epiphany--belonged to the radio. I had already decided at midnight that at six I would listen to the Morgen Journal from Vienna to see if it gave any indication of the return of the Hungarian crown, whether its reporters would comment with a telephone report on the event. In the meantime I turned the dial to the West German Sudfunk, only one millimeter to the left, to see if the world "Stefanskrone" was to be heard there. Then at eight I would go to shortwave for the BBC World Service. I tuned in Vienna at six fortyfive. Could it be by chance that they were playing music by Liszt? Then I was seized by a sudden anxiety: Had I missed what was said by a radio station which bears the name of a man who deprived a Hapsburg king of this throne? Smoldering on the slopes of the anxiety--I hesitate to even write this down now, 24 hours later--was the thought that we ourselves would find less to say about it than foreigners. For little was said about it for a generation, no, for an entire historical epoch. What does the word "crown" say to a young man today, and to those not so young, to those 30 or 45 years old? Not much more than what the dailies wrote about it in recent weeks, actually discovering anew something which in our day, in that of our fathers and great grandparents, was synonymous with the concept of the nation. Now the Hungarian people were to receive it back, give it shelter; thus symbolizing that in these 32 crownless years the nation has become a nation and that the concept of the nation is inseparable from the people.

Thus did the crown--the crown of Saint Stephen and of Saint Laszlo too, and of Kalman the Booklover, and of Louis the Great and of Matyas the Just, and of the elected but uncrowned Istvan Bocskai and Kossuth too, hidden in his flight--thus did the crown become the people's and become a complete symbol and in a new sense.

Back to the Kossuth transmitter. This day could start with bad feelings if they talked about the crown only in second or fifth place, perhaps only after the Sadat rope dance and the Carter trip talks, in among local items. What sort of bad conditioning or growth rings of age maintain or reawaken the fear that the radio, the papers or television will not deal with suitable weight and emphasis with that which most interests people, and is most important? Because now the Morning Chronicle was on and in first place, before everything else, they not only give the news that the Hungarian crown was returning home today but they also expressed appreciation of the event and of its significance in a neatly turned, live report.

I listened to the end with only one ear--with one ear in the physical sense --because meanwhile I was listening to Vienna too. Here it was the third item in the news reports and last among the correspondents' reports, but the one giving it was no other than Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi, daughter of the prophet of the Pan-Europe movement between the wars. She is famous for having wanted, several years ago and together with her aged father, to make no other than Otto Hapsburg president of the Pan-Europe movement. This morning she approved of the return of the Hungarian crown and used the occasion to praise contemporary Hungarian politics.

The South Germans mentioned it among the new items but greater emphasis that needed, especially considering the result, was given to the protests of certain American Hungarian professional emigres. BBC also carried the news and provided an interpretation too, quoting the Reuters correspondent sent to Budapest. I note a few words: "In the course of centuries the crown of Saint Stephen has become a mystic symbol of authority." (At such times I am always glad that I learned shorthand.) I did even better when a German station in the south read a report from the special correspondent of Associated Press: "Communist and Catholic leaders alike are ready to greet the returning 977 year old crown of Saint Stephen, this symbol of national identity the mere sight of which has brought generations of Hungarians to tears."

That was a nice jouranlistico-poetic sentence, nice to hear, although I do not believe that the generations of Hungarians had many opportunities to see the crown. And would they have cried?

Forenoon

The forenoon belonged to the telephone. The first sent shivers down my spine--poetry always stumbles into truth, even if it starts with journalism. M. Cs. called. Was it true that I had received an invitation to Parliament for the return of the crown? And if so would I be able to go? (Because I am here at home nailed to an easy chair with my leg in a cast and a broken Achilles tendon.) I was going, yes, hobbling in a walking cast, because such things happen once every 977 years and it is not likely that I will be around for the next one. There won't be a next one, my caller announced with determination, and then said that she had already seen the crown once. Not the original, but a faithful copy, 10 years

before in the Vatican Museum. Until then she had had no mental picture of the crown and not even any concept of the crown. Before she had become a communist she had been, as a girl in school, a ferocious republican. "But, imagine, there in Rome I stood before it and looked at it and suddenly my eyes filled with tears."

Why? I asked.

"I don't know. I didn't know then. Perhaps I thought that this band of metal had touched the forehead of Saint Stephen. All of Hungarian history wore it on its head or carried it in its hand. Don't laugh. Because I was angry too. Those who kept back the original were casting doubt on the existence of the Hungarian state. They think that if we don't have the crown we don't exist. But I was there with a Hungarian passport in my pocket at the place from which the crown was sent to Saint Stephen. Do you understand this?"

I think that I understood.

People speak more freely on the telephone than they do face to face. I then said something that as I recall had not occurred to me for decades--I saw the crown. Not only in 1938 when it was exhibited for a few days in honor of the Eucharistic Congress. I saw it on the head of Charles IV in 1916 too, from a window of a house on Danube Street looking out on the Square of the Vow. The coronation procession passed there. I was four years old, how can I remember it? Because my mother talked about it so often. I asked why was the cross bent? Then who those soldiers were who walked beside the king on the horse. The crown guards, my mother said. Didn't they have to go to war? (My father was at the front.) My mother and aunt--it happened in her house--laughed. No, they don't have to. Then I will be a crown guard, I announced.

I had hardly hung up when the telephone rang again. It kept it up the whole forenoon. People had a sudden desire to communicate. An old class-mate called with whom I speak once or twice a year if at all. His life is going well now, he has an honorable pension, he travels abroad--but for the first 10 of the past 32 years he was interned and exiled, and with two diplomas. He called just because he was in good spirits. "This return of the crown is a magnificent thing." When he learned that I would be present he was happy for me as an old friend. "Please, represent me there too." I promised.

Many journalist acquaintances arrived from Vienna, Paris, London. This one would like to have dinner. The second asked if I was sure that everyone in Hungary was happy about President Carter's decision. At first I did not understand the question. He repeated it and explained: Some American Hungarians argued before the courts that "the patriots in Hungary also would protest." I had a question for him: How long have you been here? "Two days." And have you not been able to establish in 48 hours that the

hypothesis is insane? "Sure." But he knows me personally and wanted to hear that. Could he quote me by name?

I always think that after so many years I am beginning to understand the Western press and then, lo, there are always surprises. But here too. One of my friends is the daughter of a nurse who has to get up at five; yesterday evening she stayed up until 11:15 to watch the arrival of the crown at Ferihegy Airport on the third edition of television news. It came on so late because of the showing of the Othello television opera. I waited up too, with heavy eyes. I got to thinking that it would do no harm to Verdi's music, the songs of Simandy or Melis or the production of Adam Horvath if they interrupted the opera between acts. Even then I would have watched it to the end.

After a brief telephone conversation, an unexpected guest. Csanad Toth. He arrived yesterday from Washington. The climbing vines of human lives grow together inseparably on the tree of fate. Csanad Toth's father, Laszlo Toth, was my first editor-in-chief in the early 1930's. I was the first boss of his son in September 1956. I took him into the editorial office, not without difficulty, in order to express a small part of my appreciation for his father. Laszlo Toth had found room in NEMZETI UJSAG for my sociographic writings and even for other of my articles which did not rhyme with the trend of the paper a bit. Condemned on fabricated charges, he died in prison in 1951. In the United States his son had opposed those who wanted to obstruct the return of the crown. Now, as a recently named high ranking official of the Department of State in Washington, he had arrived in Budapest as the special interpreter for Secretary of State Vance. They wanted to put beside Vance a person who certainly would not commit the gaffes in translation that Carter's interpreter had in Warsaw.

I was happy for his coming, for his success and even more for his views of the crown and his old homeland. Then even he surprised me. What did I think, was Gyula Illyes invited to the Parliament festivities? If so, would he go? I started at him in surprise. I was certain of both answers but I called the poet. I questioned him carefully, so that he would not think I had taken leave of my senses in asking such a thing. Of course, he was going. Of course, he was happy about it.

My guest was relieved. Yes, he had hoped too, like most American Hungarians, but some had tried to use the name of Illyes as a pirate flag to arouse a mood of bluster.

Afternoon

One cannot drive with a leg in a cast. I was the guest of Jozsef Bognar in his car. He was out at Ferihegy yesterday evening. They stood on the concrete for 40 minutes, in the icy wind. Everyone was freezing; no one complained. Of the American delegation he knew only Albert Szentgyorgyi and Zoltan Gombos, editor-in-chief of AMERIKAI MAGYAR NEPSZAVA.

Many people were waiting at Lajos Kossuth Square. They knew that they could not see the crown yet. Did the magnetic field of the even draw them here? Did they want to see those arriving? There were many young people. Bogнар got out at the Lion Gate. Luckily they had just removed the dense scaffolding which has covered the facade of this neogothic building for 2 years, as it has that of the real Gothic cathedral, for 200 years. This thought dissociation helped one through the minutes of waiting. The car took me to gate six from which I could go to the cupola hall by elevator. Jozsef Somogyi got into the elevator too. He avoids the stairs; he had a heart attack 6 months ago. "What will it be like?" we asked each other at the same time. It was a sort of dilatory question. We felt that our good fate had given us the rank of participant in such an event. What sort of event? Historical? As if this word had been more or less worn out in recent decades.

The ceremony began at 4 o'clock; a little note in the invitation requested that we arrive at 1530 hours. In the corridor leading to the cupola hall we met with Laszlo Nagy. Just as we reached the hall Gabor Garai arrived on the broad, red carpeted stairway with Andras Kovacs, Sandor Sara and Gyorgy Gyorffy, the historian who is an expert on the crown. Endre Illes was getting his breath in the anteroom to the hall. He was talking to Magda Szabo; Eva Ruttkai was just coming up the stairs. I had imagined that during the half hour before the start we would be standing up, each finding his designated place and thus wait until they brought in the crown and the coronation regalia. Even at 1530 hours none or few were present. I was taken aback and had to stand, supporting myself on my cane, when in the exact geometric center of the hall I unexpectedly glimpsed the crown.

I turned my head to one side. I waited. I wanted to consciously take it in. I prolonged the moment; it would not come again. Meanwhile I felt, rather than saw, that the hall was divided into four rectangles. The Hungarian guests were gathering in a rectangle to the right of the main stairway designated by cord. The rectangle to the right of that was empty; the delegation of the American people would be coming here. There were two other rectangles toward the Danube from the center of the cupola hall. These were for the journalists and television people. These were already packed, people on each other's backs; there were many domestic and foreign correspondents, film cameras and television cameras side by side. They were taking pictures standing on chairs or stools; and then the photo reporters.

"Aren't you coming? Come, let us look together." Dezsó Keresztury arrived. Here, in this rectangle, people were not yet packed so densely and this easily permitted one to pass. I was standing 2 meters from the center, at the meeting of two sides of the rectangle. I raised my head. I was there before me.

How small!

It appears that I said it out loud because Professor Ligeti answered: "The cupola hall is large."

He was right. In recent days we have often seen the crown in pictures, up close, in premier plan. Human heads are usually not shown up so close in newspaper pictures, and the crown is just the size of a human head. Was it just an optical illusion? Yes. The gigantic air space of the cupola bloomed above it in the form of a crown a thousands times larger, so as to quench it. But perhaps our imagination too, and that thousands years which radiates from its matter and its history, had magnified it in our consciousness.

It would have been good to go up quite close, bend over it, spell out the Latin and Greek inscriptions, recognize the pictures of the apostles. It would have been even better to touch it, at least with the tip of my finger. The Gold Wall, the Pala d'oro, behind the main altar of the Basilica of Saint Mark in Venice is a contemporary of Saint Stephen's crown. The gold glows with the same deep yellow. The figures of the apostles on the enamelled gold panels are the twins of the pictures on the Hungarian crown. Emeralds, rubies, diamonds, sapphires, true pearls; who can register where there are more or greater. The fourth time I went before it I could not resist the temptation and I could touch the Pala d'oro. It was cold, like all metal, glassy, like all precious stones, and yet it was good to make skin contact with it. I hope that our crown, soon to be exhibited in the National Museum, will be so guarded that it can be seen from up close but let no inquisitive finger touch it.

I looked at it for perhaps a minute, from a distance of three paces as its dignity and feudal origin deserve. By this time it had lost its smallness. A time in which it lived in the picture gallery of our brains. The yellow of its gold was darker than I had thought and as I had remembered from a distance of almost 40 years. It struck me for the first time that there is a bright gold fabric between the two cross bands, a sort of brocade. Obviously this derives from the time of the 1916 coronation. In every photograph, even the ones in color, it appeared to be the same color as the lower hoop and the curved cross-bands. Now it could be seen easily that it is darker, more bronze, the gold fabric has oxidized.

Gyula Illyes and Ferenc Juhasz arrived at the same time, Laszlo Gyurko a few steps behind them. We let them into the row closest to the crown. Did Illyes think about what came into my mind on seeing him? That he has encountered--and a good number of the older people present--the crown, or as they said then, the holy crown, if not in the shining physical reality of gold, precious stones and enamelled pictures then with the symbol which it represented in our youth. And do the young people even know that the Hungarian state at that time was a kingdom without a king, and for that reason the sentences of the courts were passed "in the name of the holy Hungarian crown"? It was in this name that they condemned Illyes, Sarkozi, Erdei, Feja and Imre Kovacs in 1938, in the "national insult" trial of

the editors of VALASZ for publishing the proclamation of the March Front. I stood under the same charge, at the age of 26, before a provincial court because I wrote about the inhabitants of a slum in a valley beneath the bishop's palace. That in the name of which the sentence was passed lay before me now, on red velvet, before the representatives of those in whose name our courts pass sentence today.

They switched on the great spotlights in the balconies of the cupola hall. The photographers jumped forward, there was hand-to-hand fighting around the crown and the regalia, naturally at a respectable distance of three paces. The television cameras were at work too. The stronger lighting clearly said that they were changing the guard around the national relics. Strapping young men of the government guard stood in two lines around the crown. This great jewel virtually rose from its cushion in the stronger light; one could clearly see now the darker forms of the apostles on the hoop and bands. And now for the first time I consciously saw the coronation regalia. In the foreground on the left the national orb, the scepter behind it, to the right the sword--this little brother of the others, four centuries younger. The robe lay spread out behind the oblong table holding the crown and regalia. There was much gold embroidery on a white base, more cannot be seen. It was spread out in a 4-meter segment, like the outstretched wings of a mythical bird.

In the great light I looked up for the first time into the upper galleries of the cupola hall. I have been in the Parliament many times, I have been in this hall for celebrations and receptions, but never before have I looked upward. I saw now for the first time that there were colored statues of kings around it. It does not begin with the kings but with Arpad and Prince Geza, the kings coming after them. Saint Stephen is the first, I recognized Saint Laszlo too from the battle axe bringing water forth from the cliff, Kalman from his books. I only guess at Louis the Great but Matyas is copied after his surviving likeness. And who is this? Maria Theresa with gigantic breasts. In the post-millennium zeal they even portrayed Francis the First. Or is it him? It makes no difference. As I looked at them I realized that seeing the crown had not thus far been coupled in thought to the word "king." It has expressed the historical continuity of old symbols as it now returns to its rightful owner and comes into the possession of the Hungarian people. Today, for the first time, the crown of Saint Stephen has entered the building of the National Assembly, and this is not by chance, rather it is a historical necessity.

Four O'Clock

The spotlights went up again at precisely 4 o'clock as Gyorgy Lazar, Gyorgy Aczel and Antal Apro appeared in the cross corridor on the north side of the cupola hall while the delegation of the United States, accompanied by Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, entered from the left. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was first accompanied by his wife in a gigantic fur-cap of blue fox; behind them were Kaiser, the U.S. ambassador to Budapest, and his wife.

Of the others I recognized Senator Adlai Stevenson, who much resembles his father. Behind him was Istvan Deak, the historian from Columbia University, and the tall man in a clerical collar must have been Geno Baroni, deputy secretary for urban affairs, who is a Catholic priest. The tall young man resembling a basket ball player was probably Congressman Hamilton who for years has made it his special cause, what should have been the honorable cause of every American legislator, to return the Hungarian crown to Hungary. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi followed after him, 85 years old with the face of a scholar and moving more nimbly than those who could be his sons or grandsons.

The delegation began to shake hands with those Hungarians whom careful protocol put in the first row of the rectangle. First with Cardinal Archbishop Laszlo Lekai and Antal Ijjas, Archbishop of Kalocsa, with Cserhati, Bishop of Pecs, and then with the representatives of the Protestant churches, bishops Kaldy, Bartha and Jozsef Ferencz, and with Imre Heber, representative of the Hungarian Israelites. The President of the Patriotic People's Front, Gyula Kallai, was next and then three ministers, Pozsgay, Polinszky and Korom, and then Mrs Duschek, vice president of the trade union council, Professor Szentagothai, president of the Academy, Illyes and then in the center of the hall they shook hands with Aczel, Lazar, Mrs Apro and Antal Apro. The Americans took their places in their rectangle and the Himnusz was played.

During the hand shaking I had withdrawn from the rectangle, the cast was pinching my leg and I had to sit down. Attentive hands provided a chair which they placed in the north end of the cross corridor. From here I could see both the crown and the two delegations. A recording of a large orchestra played the Himnusz over loudspeakers. I could see well from here how everyone drew himself up and even the machines of the journalists rested for half a minute. I could observe the faces of my compatriots. I could see them doing what I myself was doing, repeating to myself with small movements of the lips the line from the anthem: "This people has atoned for past and future." And I remembered that the full title of Kolcsey's poem was "A Hymn From the Stormy Centuries of the Hungarian People." It is impossible to think without wonder that this object made by man, this noble goldsmith's work, had survived these centuries and these storms. And that the people had survived.

The national anthem of the United States is a bright march, the anthem of a young people whose past began when the Hungarian crown was already 800 years old. The two anthems had not sounded together before between these walls.

My erstwhile editorial apprentice translated the speech of Secretary of State Vance faultlessly and, luckily, not word for word but thought for thought. It was a nice thought to begin with Colonel Mihaly Kovacs who had founded Washington's hussars. Is there anyone here who knows his name? We received again his fame and memory together with the crown. The

Secretary of State eloquently recalled a few memories of the meeting of an old, small people and a new, large people, first and naturally the "proud name" of Kossuth. For a moment even Attila Jozsef was present in this hall; Vance was recalling those of our people who had staggered out to America, "whirled along" to use if not his word then one of similar meaning. There were a few euphemisms in regard to how the crown of Saint Stephen was carried to the West but it would be a historical blasphemy to pronounce now the names of those who carried it from Buda. It was good to hear the letter from President Carter--he was proud to be able to return to the people of Hungary this treasure of inestimable value--and this long overdue gesture received an especially timely emphasis in that the personal representative of the president referred to the spirit of the Helsinki closing document and the confirmation thereof "to which both peoples have fundamentally obliged themselves." He also saw a "confirmation of the traditional friendship" of the two peoples in the "act of returning the crown."

Now came the practical execution of this act. Cyrus Vance did not physically hand over the crown, as many had imagined including myself, but did so symbolically--yet another symbol!--with a handshake to great Hungarian-American applause.

When Antal Apro spoke the vice presidents of the National Assembly stood beside him: Janos Peter, Sarolta Raffai and Janos Inokai with Foreign Minister Puja and Deputy Foreign Minister Janos Nagy behind him. The greatness of the moment undeniably had an effect on the President of the National Assembly, his voice was softer, huskier than Vance's; a technician stepped forward and brought the microphone closer. If that was a good speech then this was a beautiful one. Solemn and dignified, it reflected the satisfaction, the joy of the nation, but it was restrained and in proportion to historical perspective. He noted that to which the leader of the delegation bringing back the crown had referred, that the history of the Hungarian people was full of glorious chapters and difficult trials but of these he mentioned only the recent past, that point in time when the Hungarian crown was taken from the country and "a ruined country bleeding from a thousand wounds mourned its 600,000 dead." It seemed, as I watched from the end of the corridor, that he was about to turn toward the crown. He might well have done so for the Hungarian people had not had so many dead since the crown came into existence. That climate of detente the warmth of which could bring back the crown provides the holy hope that it will not happen again.

The Szozat was intoned. The beauty of the rarely heard anthem made even more profound and emotional this moment crowded with thoughts and events. It is not to be wondered at if my neighbors noticed that my eyes were brighter than usual because I saw this, here and there.

Soft words of command were heard in the meantime; the commander of the guard ordered his soldiers to execute an about-face. Two by two from either side they took up the low table holding the crown and coronation

regalia, others taking the table with the robe, and carried them with slow, ceremonial steps into a side room of the cupola hall, into the Hunter's Hall. The door closed behind them to the words of the Szozat: "Here must you live and die."

Many waiters brought champagne on many trays. Hungarians clinked glasses with Hungarians, Hungarians with Americans and Americans with Hungarians. The rectangles broke up, the journalists stormed the two speakers, the Hungarian premier, the American senator, the cardinal archbishop, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, the American deputy secretary. The overflowing good spirits were the answer of human nature to the deep emotion.

Late Afternoon

At home I again watched on a special television program that which I had seen and heard in person, which I had lived through as a crown witness--I am playing with the word, but perhaps it can be forgiven in our good spirits. One camera recorded the event from an upper balcony. How interesting--from above the crown did not appear small. The robe, which at the same level I thought to be a segment of a circle, appeared as a half circle from above. I heard the speeches even more clearly and understood every word. And the concept of time, face to face with an object created by man 977 years ago, also changed for now, an hour later, I viewed that in which I had participated.

Evening

Bognar's car came for me again and we went to the Parliament again. We were officials for a dinner in the Hunter's Hall. After the Hungarian participants had arrived in the cupola hall we stood in line, as required by protocol, and waited for the guests. Every American shook hands with every Hungarian, in a nice line, as they had 4 hours earlier, but now as personal acquaintances.

They were laughing, wondering cries among the Americans. They had discovered that Albert Szent-Gyorgyi arrived earlier and stood with us, as a host instead of a guest.

It was my good fortune to sit next to the secretary of the American secretary of state at the table. I told her what sort of drink "barack" was. During the "assorted Hungarian appetizers" I explained to her that paprika is green at first and turns red only as it is dried. I translated for her the name of the Badacsonyi Keknyelu served with the roast goose liver and tried to explain to her that Badacsony was. My task was easier with the stuffed cabbage. Partly because I could not get down a bit of it while my neighbor would have taken another, and partly because with this we drank Egri Bikaver and it is easier to translate "bull's blood" than "blue-stalked." Speaking of Eger I also talked about the siege and the Egri stars.

With the Tokaji Aszu I mentioned the "Tokaj vinestalks" and at her request haltingly translated the words of the Himnusz. "And what was that very beautiful music which we heard at the very end?" she asked. I told her and translated it too. She drank a second glass of the Tokaji and turned toward me:

"You know, 2 weeks ago I didn't really know where Hungary was. But this afternoon, when I heard that music and saw them slowly carrying out of the hall the crown which we had given back, I started to cry. Do you understand this?"

I think I understood.

8984

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

COMMENTS ABOUT CROWN OVERHEARD

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 21 Jan 78 p 9

[Excerpts] They are talking about the crown on the bus. Inevitably, I overhear. They appear to be settled 30-year olds--perhaps they work together somewhere. My generation. "Those things were in a better place in America," says one of them. "They would surely have continued to guard them there. Will we be able to air condition the place where they are to be displayed?"

"Besides," says the other, "they will display only the crown and the orb."

"Well, and the new sword and the what's-its-name?"

"The sceptre. Oh, well, but the jewels won't be put on display, and they are what count. They are what is really valuable."

"Were there jewels, too?" asks the third.

"Well, yes. They are also referred to as the coronation jewels. Rings, necklaces, girdles. All of pure gold."

CSO: 2500

ANTAL APRO TOUR OF USSR REPORTED

Minsk Tractor Plant

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 26 Jan 78 LD

[Text] A delegation of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Apro, politburo member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and chairman of the State Assembly, is in our country. The guests have been getting acquainted with Minsk. Yesterday they visited the republic's Supreme Soviet and looked around new areas of residential building. At Ploshchad Pobedy they laid a wreath at the obelisk to warriors of the Soviet Army and partisans. The guests also visited the museum of the First Congress of Russian Social Democratic Workers Party and the Belorussian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War.

They were warmly greeted at Minsk Tractor Plant. A meeting of Soviet-Hungarian friendship was held here.

Visit to Moscow Plant

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 78 p 4 LD

[TASS Report: "Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Is Strengthening"]

[Text] A Hungarian National Assembly delegation headed by A. Apro, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly, is continuing to familiarize itself with the life and sights of Moscow. On 24 January the delegation visited the Vladimir Il'ich Electrical Machinery Plant--a collective member of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society.

The Hungarian guests were warmly welcomed by plant party committee secretary V. D. Gaydukov; lathe operator team leader and Moscow City Soviet deputy V. P. Tikhomirov; and sho Komsomol organization secretary Olga Pereverza. They stressed that their plant has a strong working friendship with

collectives of related Hungarian enterprises, including the celebrated "Red Csepel" combine. The Il'ich plant workers are proud that their Csepel friends launched the remarkable initiative calling for the development of socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October, which was supported by all Hungarian working people. The Csepel workers, like all Hungarian working people, fulfilled their pledges and marked the jubilee October with high labor indicators.

A. Apro greeted the enterprise collective on behalf of the delegation. He conveyed to the workers and employees friendly greetings from J. Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. "It is pleasant for us to visit the plant at which V. I. Lenin often spoke," he said. The speaker stressed that all the Hungarian people's successes are linked to friendship and multifaceted cooperation with the Soviet Union. This cooperation, the guest said, is a sure guarantee of the fulfillment of all our economic plans. This year trade between Hungary and the USSR will reach a record total of R4 billion.

A. Apro stressed that the meetings between L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and J. Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and also the broad exchange of state, government and parliamentary delegations play a tremendous role in strengthening and broadening friendly Hungarian-Soviet relations. Hungarian-Soviet relations serve the interests of the international communist and workers movement and the cause of peace and relaxation of international tension as well as the interests of our two countries.

A. P. Shitikov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Soviet of the Union, and J. Marjai, Hungarian ambassador to the USSR, were with the delegation.

The delegation members visited the V. I. Lenin mausoleum and laid a wreath. They observed a minute's silence in memory of the creator of the world's first socialist state and leader of the world proletariat.

A wreath was also laid on the grave of the unknown soldier at the Kremlin wall. The guests paid homage to the memory of the Soviet troops who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism for the sake of lasting peace and people's happiness.

CSO: 1800

CARTER VISIT DISCUSSED IN CONTEXT OF DETENTE

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 78 pp 4-5

[Article by Zbigniew Kot: "In Keeping With the Logic of Detente"]

[Text] During the final days of last year an important event, a visit by Jimmy Carter, President of the United States, to Warsaw, was included in the panorama of Poland's international activity. The two countries are linked by traditions of joint struggles for independence and ethnic ties. The sentiments built upon these traditions are vital, and they create a lasting framework for friendship and a force which inspires the strengthening of mutual cooperation; but it is not difficult to notice that in the present day the current political realities in Europe and in the world are the major factors in the logic behind the multisided dynamic development of contacts between Poland and the United States.

There are three basic factors which are decisive in determining our country's important place in the balance of power during the postwar era in Europe and in the world. First is Poland's role in the socialist community, as a close neighbor and ally of the Soviet Union. Second is our country's great economic and demographic potential and strategic significance. Third is Poland's creative function as a constructive partner in the dialogue between East and West, a function which has a direct relationship to the ages old moral authority of Poland and its current political significance, in this dialogue, which has as its ultimate goal the bolstering of peace and detente.

Our fruitful dialogue and cooperation with the United States is developing on the basis of world detente, for which the Soviet Union's peaceful policy and the solid joint efforts of the countries of the socialist community are most consistently creating the conditions. President Carter's visit to Poland came during a period in which justified hopes for constructive understanding are being born concerning the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation negotiations, which are key to the long-range peaceful prospects of the world. The broad international backdrop, which features efforts on behalf of detente in relations between the two great powers and is successfully developing bilateral Polish-American relations and, in general, our relations with states with different social systems, is a phenomenon which is interdependent and mutually interactive. The proper development of both of these phenomena is

one of the priorities of Poland's foreign policy, at the source of which lies our inviolable alliance with the Soviet Union. In his address on the occasion of President Carter's visit to Warsaw, Edward Gierek called detente a great opportunity of our times, emphasizing: "We link our aspirations, plans, and hopes for today and tomorrow to lasting peace, the success of which we yearn to share with all the other countries of Europe and the world."

President Carter's visit to Warsaw carried the conviction of the continuation of a policy of detente in the world and complete recognition of the fact that the key to detente is the Soviet-American dialogue and emphasis of the role which countries like Poland have to play in the world dialogue. Jimmy Carter correctly grasped the essence of this in the address which he delivered in Warsaw: "Poland and your leaders have this great talent of seeing the issues of both the East and the West. You can make a great contribution to our joint effort which we are making together with the Soviet Union to reach agreements which we very much desire." These words contain recognition of Poland's contribution to the work of creating the circumstances for security and cooperation in Europe and to the work of bolstering European peace and democratic prospects for the future.

The force of the peaceful aspirations of Poland, the Soviet Union, and other socialist states must have been very favorable and convincing during Edward Gierek's presentation in his talks with Jimmy Carter, inasmuch as the American President said after his meeting with the PZPR First Secretary: "I know now perhaps better than before that such countries as yours and the Soviet Union will never begin war without terrible provocation or misunderstanding for lack of proper contacts." The truth contained in these words, which is obvious to us, is the repudiation of these forces in the West, forces which more than once in the past, concealing their own anti-detente aims, made false accusations against Poland and the Soviet Union.

Jimmy Carter's press conference at the Hotel Victoria in Warsaw became a platform for a public presentation of the American President's views on the most important issues of international life. Carter stated that in key world matters he does not see "any real difference in views" between the United States, Poland, and the Soviet Union. The President was optimistic on the prospects of American-Soviet negotiations in 1978 on the question of reaching SALT-II agreements, on prohibiting any nuclear arms tests in the future, on containing arms in the Indian Ocean, on preventing the use of bacteriological and chemical weapons, and on reducing the sales of conventional arms to other countries of the world. It was probably for the first time that Jimmy Carter confirmed so conclusively his approval of the final document of the Helsinki conference or his readiness to continue the dialogue initiated by the Helsinki talks, which is a new element as an expression of U.S. foreign policy.

President Carter presented a different assessment of the problematics of the development of tactical nuclear arms, among them controversial arms

with limited radiation, or the neutron bomb. The announcement of the introduction of this bomb evoked protests and justified criticism on the part of many countries. Jimmy Carter also talked about American preferences in the complicated diplomatic game currently in progress concerning Near East problems and the game which divides more than just the Arab world today.

On many occasions President Carter publicly expressed admiration for the creative powers of our nation and for the achievements of Poland. In the course of his visits, he favorably assessed the past developmental dynamics of Polish-American cooperation in the scientific-technical, cultural, and commercial realm. The President stated there was a growing possibility of cooperation between the two countries in resolving energy problems, a realm in which Poland's experience enjoys worldwide renown. It is to be anticipated that the Polish-American talks will produce the result of extended areas of cooperation between the two countries. President Carter was the third U.S. President in office to pay an official visit to Poland during the past 5 years. His meeting with Edward Gierak was confirmation of the will to continue the successful structuring of Polish-American relations on a partnership basis and within the framework of detente, the main tone of which is set by the dialogue between the USSR and the United States. This was a visit which was important and good for Poland and for the world.

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CSO: 2600

POLAND

DAILY VIEWS SIGNIFICANCE OF POPE-GIEREK MEETING

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 6 Dec 77 p 1

[Editorial by STEF: "Important Meeting"]

[Text] Edward Gierek's visit on 1 December with Pope Paul VI made a deep impression not only in Polish Catholic circles. Regardless of their outlook on life, all patriotic Poles who think in terms of national reasons of State are aware of the importance of relations between the State and the Church with respect to deepening the moral-political unity of our society, as well as of the positive role which the Church has to fulfill in shaping citizen attitudes.

The importance of this meeting at the international level is based in emphasizing mutual respect and trust as to intentions, actions and goals in the area of world peace and detente. In expressing the feelings of the Polish people, the First Secretary of the Polish United Worker's Party forcefully emphasized the great values flowing from the Pope's own personal attitude as well as the positive effects of the Apostolic Capitol's activity, particularly with respect to the problem of security and cooperation in Europe. Reflected therein is a deep conviction that the question of peace is not only a question of political solutions but, perhaps above all, a problem which demands not only practical measures, but also intensive and widespread educational work in shaping human conscience and behavior. On his part, the Holy Father expressed beautifully and clearly the conviction that, aware as Poland is of the painful experiences of the past and shaped as it is by generations in the spirit of friendship towards other nations, Poland is and always has been especially dedicated to the question of peace and that its current foreign policy reflects consistency and effectiveness in efforts to strengthen peace.

We attach great significance to the sociopolitical context in which the Holy Father places the mission of the Church in Poland. Paul VI said: "We are convinced that we can say with sincere assurance that the Church today is also ready to contribute its positive input to Polish society. In the

course of this talk, we expressed the wish and, from our side, the hope of cooperation so that we could work on behalf of the unity of Polish people and the success of the Polish People's Republic in a climate characterized by mutual confidence on the part of the Church and State and a recognition of the Church's proper tasks and goals in today's Poland. This also is the wish of the Episcopate. Only in this way will the Church be in a position to contribute that input, an input it wishes to contribute and which is expected of it."

From the standpoint of today's Church, this statement can be compared to the analogous recognition of the French system given by the Church one hundred years ago, one hundred years after the French Revolution. From the standpoint of the Catholic Church in the Polish People's Republic, the statement places an emphasis on the need of a positive role for the Church's apostolic mission in today's sociopolitical realities.

The Catholics' socially progressive movement considers the Pope's statement to be a confirmation of the path it took during the first years of the new state. Our efforts during the years 1945-50 were directed toward concluding an agreement between the State and Church. We operated on the conviction that a socialist society ought to be built by believers as well as by unbelievers. We considered and still consider that the moral-political unity of the Polish people requires respect for different outlooks on life. That is why we listened very attentively to the words of the First Secretary and were aware of their significance: "All of our people unite in working for Poland, its development and success. This patriotic unity, rising above differences in philosophies, is for our people and the political powers at the helm of our ship of state a historical imperative and highest good. Governing ourselves by this philosophy, we continue a condition in the spirit of traditional Polish tolerance whose characteristic is the fact that there is no conflict between the Church and State; we have the will to cooperate in materializing great national goals. As we emphasized jointly with Polish Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński in a communique about our talk, concern for the success of our motherland, the Polish People's Republic unites all of us."

Not only the institutional but also the social dimension of the meeting was reflected in the talks. This is the only way in which one can interpret the concurrence with which both speakers emphasized the importance of strengthening the family, shaping the views of the young generation and improving relations between people. These are the essential areas of cooperation not only of State and Church authorities but also of lay catholic opinion. The Church confirmed through Paul VI's words that it is on this level that the exponents of both philosophies of life ought to meet daily, and that doctrinal differences cannot be detrimental to joint concern for the people's moral and material development.

Both sides expressed the strong wish that the relations between the Church and the State be based on the proper differentiation of jurisdiction as well

as on understanding the need for cooperation for Poland's sake. A basic condition for this is the mutual conviction that the State as well as the Church are both interested in actively shaping national unity and will be seeking the best solutions leading to this goal in the dynamic social and economic reality of today's Poland.

It was about twenty-five years ago that our movement hailed the first agreement between the Church and the State as a triumph. It was not just a summary one. The measure of the progress made is the meeting between Edward Gierek and Paul VI. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this event, and the proposals resulting from it will have important repercussions in our activity.

STEF.

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CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI ADDRESSES FAITHFUL IN WARSAW BASILICA

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 9 Jan 78 pp 1,2 AU

[Report on address by Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski at the end of the 6 January mass at the John the Baptist Basilica in Warsaw in the presence of "many thousands" of the faithful]

[Excerpt] At the beginning of his address the Primate discussed the symbolic character of the gifts brought to Jesus born in Bethelhem by the Magi from the east.

Referring to the ad limina visit to Rome by the Polish bishops and himself and, especially, to the audience with the Holy Father on 12 November 1977, the Primate stressed their significance and said that, on behalf of the Episcopate, he had evaluated for the Holy Father the religious situation in our country and that this evaluation, based on the syntheses of the Polish Episcopate, had been pronounced in the presence of almost all the diocesan bishops of Poland.

Discussing the second important event in the Vatican--the meeting and talks between the Holy Father and the political representatives of the Polish people and State on 1 December 1977--the Primate recalled that what the Holy Father had said to his guests is well known to the faithful gathered in the basilica because the text of the Papal speech was published by the Warsaw press. This is why the Primate recalled just the most significant issues discussed by the Holy Father, primarily the fact that the Holy Father had assured his guests of his great love for Poland.

The Primate devoted much attention to the need to overcome whatever negatively influences our social life in its moral aspects, especially whatever diminishes responsibility for the nation's common good, stressing the need for cooperation in this regard between the Church and the population and for creating the most favorable conditions for spreading the gospel.

Our own, national, native way of viewing and comprehending various issues and problems as well as the need to solve the difficulties challenging us

is the key to correctly interpreting the Episcopate's pastoral letters. However, it happens at times, the Primate noted, that the foreign press tries to read something else into the Episcopate's statements, seeing in them what they do not in fact express. The starting point of those documents is always moral and religious assumptions, but also have a bearing of the nation's life as a whole.

The Primate defined the past 30 years in Poland as a stage of a new point of contact between the gospel and the materialistic doctrine. It has been a period rich in experience and changes because the problems concerning this point of contact and reaching far beyond the affairs and disputes rooted in the 19th century, have grown apace. Looking back at the 30 years of the Church's work and dialogue with the new world outlook, one is in a better position to understand the thousandyear presence of the Church in Poland's history. With the help of the gospel and its injunctions concerning the betterment and sanctification of man and his entire environment, the Church has served the nation all throughout its millennial history, making its own indestructible contribution to the nation's entire life and always championing respect for human dignity in every man.

The experience of the past 30 years has also shown new ways of overcoming the difficulties and moral distortions arising out of the excessive domination of the modern technical civilization over the human being as well as the difficulties created by mutual prejudices.

Expressing his gratitude to the Holy Father for his cordial reception of the Polish bishops and our political representations, the Primate noted that the universal Church and the Church in Poland follow the same line and enjoin man to be a truly Godly man so that he can reveal in himself the magnificence of a rational and free creature who is aware of the great responsibility for his own life and the life of the world.

In the name of the Holy Father, the Primate extended the apostolic blessing to the faithful in the Basilica and to the entire fatherland.

CSO: 2600

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[Republication*--Law on the Press of the Socialist Republic of Romania No 3/1974]

[Text] Considering the sociopolitical mission of the press in implementing the general policy of the Romanian Communist Party on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and building communism in the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. The press in the Socialist Republic of Romania has a high sociopolitical mission by serving through its entire activity the cause of the people, the supreme interests of the socialist nation.

It is the mission of the press to permanently militate for implementing the policy of the Romanian Communist Party, the lofty principles of socialist ethics and equity and to unabatedly promote progress and advanced ideas in all fields of life and social activity.

As the forum of public opinion, the press expresses the concept of the workers class (the leading class of Romanian society), the strivings of all people and spreads valuable ideas and initiatives among the masses and contributes through all its activity to building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Article 2. The press carries out its activity under the leadership of the RCP--the leading political force of all society in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

*) Republication on the basis of Article II of Council of State Decree No 471 of 24 December 1977, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 138 of 26 December 1977, giving the articles and sections new numbers.

Law No 3/1974 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 48 of 1 April 1974.

Article 3. Freedom of the press is a fundamental right sanctioned in the Constitution. All citizens have the guaranteed right to express and enjoy the conditions for expressing their views in the press on problems of general interest and public nature and of being informed about the events in domestic and international life.

Article 4. Fully in keeping with the party-state policy of insuring real equal rights for all the country's citizens, the working people among the ranks of the country's nationalities enjoy the conditions of being informed and also of expressing their opinions in press organs written in their mother tongues.

Article 5. In the sense of the present law, the press is understood as the activity of public information achieved by any form of printing, recording, broadcasting or communication such as:

- a) newspapers, reviews, periodic bulletins;
- b) radio and television programs containing current information and using the informative techniques specific to those media;
- c) topical newsreels, topical news films and documentary films;
- d) any other such form of printing or graphic, audio and visual recording designed and used as means of public expression and information.

In the sense of the present law, the means of public information envisaged in the preceding paragraph are defined as press organs.

Article 6. The profession of the journalist is recognized and protected on the basis of the present law.

Chapter II. The Sociopolitical Functions of the Press

Article 7. In the Socialist Republic of Romania the press plays an active part in the masses' becoming acquainted with the domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian Communist Party. It militates for implementing the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and the communist society.

Article 8. The press contributes to the affirmation of the party's scientific, dialectical-materialist and historic concept on life and society, it shows revolutionary intransigence toward obscurantist, retrograde and anti-humanitarian concepts and positions.

Article 9. The press has an important educational role in developing the citizens' socialist awareness, in shaping the new man and in the all-round assertion of the human personality.

The press fosters love for the Romanian Communist Party and the socialist fatherland, respect for the glorious traditions of the workers class struggle and the struggle of the Romanian people for social justice, national freedom and progress, it fosters the feeling of fraternity, unity and cohesion of the working people--Romanian and other nationalities--and of all members of the socialist society around the Romanian Communist Party.

The press militates permanently for the unabated assertion in all social life of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, for strengthening socialist legality.

Article 10. The press pays particular attention to training the younger generation and all citizens in the spirit of creative work and high civic and moral responsibilities, in the spirit of the ideals of socialism and communism and of peace and progress.

Article 11. The press is a means of extensive public information on domestic and international life and of shaping public opinion; as the representative of public opinion, the press is a forum for discussions and exchange of opinions, a means by which the country's citizens exercise the freedom of speech and opinion.

Article 12. Through its entire activity, the press contributes to the development and deepening of socialist democracy, to the masses' participation in drawing up decisions and in exercising control over their implementation, it contributes to the continuous improvement of the organization of social life and to the society's entire leadership activity.

The press is obliged to offer the masses the possibility of extensively discussing the party-state documents and draft bills submitted for public discussion.

Article 13. As an important factor of progress, the press has the duty to contribute to spreading and generalizing the positive, advanced experience gained in all fields of activity on both a national and international level; it stimulates the exchange of ideas, the creative thought and activity in the service of efficiently utilizing the material and spiritual resources of the entire country.

Article 14. It is the duty of the press to intervene in a self-critical and militant spirit in order to eliminate shortcomings and negative states of affairs in every field of activity, to combat manifestations of an antisocial nature, the violation of the norms of socialist ethics and equity and to reveal harmful phenomena for our society and to act for their elimination.

Article 15. The press examines the phenomena that occur in the present-day world, it participates in the confrontation of ideas on a world level, publicizes the achievements of the human genius and the remarkable accomplishments of the world civilization and contributes to the assertion of the cultural and humanitarian values.

Article 16. The press promotes the principles of socialist internationalism, it serves the cause of socialism, peace and progress and understanding and cooperation among nations and peoples.

Chapter III. The Organization of the Press Activity

Section 1. Press Publishing

Article 17. The publishing right of the press belongs to political, state, mass, and public organizations or to other juridical persons.

Article 18. Political, state, mass and public organizations or other juridical persons who publish press organs hold the rank of press publishers.

The publishing of press organs is carried out on the basis of a publishing permit which is registered at the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and which specifies the publisher, the name and nature of the publication, circulation, conditions of publication and financing, price of a subscription and of a single copy of the publication.

Changes in the elements mentioned in the publishing permit can be made only if a new permit is obtained.

Article 19. The organization or institution which publishes the press organ has, basically, the following duties:

- a) to establish the nature and orientation of the press organ, guide and control all its activity;
- b) to appoint the chief editor and, when need be, the deputy chief editor and the secretary general of the editorial office;
- c) to appoint the leading council and the editorial board;
- d) to guide and control the way in which the leading council executes its functions in accordance with the law and party decisions;
- e) to establish the conditions of publication, financing and administration of the press organ, as well as the organizational structure of its editorial office, in keeping with the law;
- f) to examine the informational activity of the press organ and its economic, financial situation, aiming at their improvement.

Article 20. Press organs are published by press publishers, directly or through editorial offices especially set up for one or several publications.

The administration of publications can be insured by the publisher or by specialized enterprises for administering publications.

Editorial offices can attain a juridical personality distinct from that of the publisher or, as the case may be, from the administration of the respective publication.

Article 21. Press and radio-television agencies and cinema studios, as organizations publishing press, carry out their press activity through editorial offices in keeping with the rules established in the present law for publishers and their press organs, as well as in other legal documents on the organization and operation of these institutions.

Section 2. The Management of the Press Organ

Article 22. The press organ is headed by a managing council, a deliberative organ, which decides on all matters pertaining to its activity.

In keeping with the nature of the publication, the managing council includes representatives of the central and local organs of the party, of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, the Union of Communist Youth and other mass and public organizations, of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, workers from the production units in industry and agriculture, from other sectors of socio-economic life, whose number will represent about one-third of the total members of the Council, as well as journalists from the editorial board of the respective publication.

The chairman of the council is one of the members of the leadership of the organization or institution which publishes the press organ.

Article 23. The managing council guides and controls the entire activity of the press organ and bears full responsibility for its orientation in accordance with the program of the Romanian Communist Party, the decisions and tasks established by the party leadership, for the political, ideological content and the quality of the materials published, for the strict observance of the provisions of the present law and of all the laws of the country, for the preservation of state secrets and the correct and objective informing of public opinion.

Periodically, the managing council analyzes the entire activity carried on by the editorial board.

With a view to increasing the economic efficiency of the activity of the press organ, the managing council analyzes the economic-financial situation of the organ.

Article 24. The meetings of the managing council are held monthly or whenever necessary and are convened by the chairman.

The managing council carries out its activity in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members and adopts decisions on the basis of the vote of at least half plus one of the total number of its members.

Article 25. The managing council carries out its activity in keeping with the principle of collective work. The council in its entirety, and each member separately, are responsible to the organization or institution which publishes the press organ for its entire activity; the members of the council are responsible to the council and its president for the implementation of the tasks assigned to them.

Article 26. The collective management of the actual, day-to-day activity of the press organ is carried out by the editorial board appointed from among the members of the managing council.

The editorial board is composed of the chief editor, activists from the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the county party committees, representatives of the publishing organization or institution, deputy chief editors, the secretary general of the editorial staff, the secretary of the party organization, other cadres from the editorial staff, members of the managing council.

The editorial board as a whole and each member individually is responsible to the organization or institution which publishes the press organ for the way in which they carry out the tasks assigned by the party and state leadership.

Also, the editorial staff is responsible to the managing council for the operational activity of the press organ as well as for the execution of the tasks assigned by the council; each member of the staff is responsible to the board and its chairman for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to them.

The chairman of the editorial board is the chief editor.

Article 27. In case of differences between the chief editor and the majority of the members of the editorial board, the problem on which no agreement has been reached will be submitted to the publisher so that he can make a decision.

Article 28. The chief editor is responsible for the editing, economic and organizational activity of the press organ.

The chief editor is obliged to take measures so that the plan of subjects that has been approved by the editorial board is fulfilled, that the editorial staff is rationally employed and so that the political and economic efficiency of the press organ are continuously improved, by insuring that the entire activity is being carried out in keeping with the sociopolitical role of the press and with its orientation established by the publisher and the managing council.

Article 29. The hiring or firing of editorial cadres and technical-editorial cadres is carried out by the chief editor, on the basis of a decision of the managing council, under conditions provided by law.

In editorial offices without juridical personality, the chief editor exercises the tasks envisaged in the preceding paragraph, under the conditions envisaged in it and upon the publisher's authorization.

Article 30. The chief editor represents the press organ in dealings with the publisher, the public, state and political bodies and organizations and with the citizens.

If the editorial office enjoys juridical personality, the chief editor represents it in juridical dealings with juridical or physical persons, as well as with juridical organs; in these dealings and toward these organs, the editorial office which does not enjoy juridical personality is represented by the publisher or by the chief editor authorized by the former.

Article 31. If the chief editor is absent or is for any reason hindered from exercising his tasks, these are carried out, according to the case, by the deputy chief editor or one of the deputy chief editors designated by the chief editor. If the editorial office has no deputy chief editor, the tasks of the chief editor are to be fulfilled by another person from the editorial board designated by the publisher.

The person who fulfills the functions of the chief editor in keeping with the preceding paragraph is responsible for the exercise of these tasks in keeping with the law and under the same conditions as the chief editor.

Article 32. Some press organs may have a director who fulfills the functions of the chief editor.

Article 33. Each publication will mention the name of the publisher on its first page and one of its pages must include the list of the editorial board, stating which persons exercise the functions of the chief editor, the deputy chief editor and the secretary general of the editorial office, in keeping with the structure of the collective leadership organ.

Simultaneously, the address and telephone number of the editorial office and administration must be mentioned, as well as the printing house where the publication was printed.

Section 3. Dissemination of Press

Article 34. Printed press is disseminated, as the case may be, by the publisher, the publications administrations or directly through the press organs by subscriptions, by direct sale, or by making use of both ways.

Press dissemination can be carried out by the organ's own means or through specialized enterprises and organizations. The contract for press distribution concluded with these organizations and enterprises will envisage: circulation which will be either firm or on account; time limits; delivery and distribution conditions; mutual duties in order to achieve efficient distribution, control means and forms, as well as the penalties for each contractual side for not properly fulfilling the contractual obligations.

Article 35. Each press organ is entitled to a number of noncommercialized preprint copies for corrections and other purposes to meet the requirements of internal and legal deposit, as well as for the noncommercial internal and international exchange of publications.

Article 36. The distribution of the number of printed copies, as well as of the broadcasts and films which are regulated by this law, are carried out only on the basis of the approval by the chief editor and, in his absence, by the person designated to replace him in keeping with Article 31.

Article 37. To efficiently manage material means made available to the press, publishers, and the press organs, the publications administrations as well as the specialized organizations and enterprises for the distribution of the press must follow up the distribution results and know the circulation needs and the concrete ways whereby the press reaches the reader or listener, as the case may be.

Article 38. The price of each publication--per copy or subscription--is established in keeping with legal provisions and upon the publisher's proposal.

Chapter IV. The Profession of the Journalist

Section 1. The Journalists' Tasks and Rights

Article 39. In the sense of the present law, a person who insures the editing, drawing up, or management of publications, of radio-television broadcasts and of newsreels and in general carries out press activity, is considered to be a professional journalist.

A person who militates for the application in practice of the Romanian Communist Party's policy of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, who behaves in his activity and private life in keeping with the norms of socialist ethics and equity, who has a degree from a higher educational institute or from a specialized educational institute, who has talent for the profession of journalist and has proven it in practical activity, who knows at least one foreign language and has knowledge and practical capabilities needed for appropriately exercising the profession of journalist, can be employed as a professional journalist. In keeping with the nature of the press organ, the publisher can also require other conditions for employing his editorial staff.

Article 40. In exercising his profession, it is the journalist's duty:

- a) to contribute with all his capacity to fulfilling the sociopolitical functions of the press as established in the present law and in the documents of the Romanian Communist Party;
- b) to devotedly serve the cause of socialism and communism, to struggle for implementing the party's and state's domestic and international policy;

- c) to militate for promoting the revolutionary spirit in all social life, to struggle against inertia, routine and conservatism, against everything that is outdated and able to hamper the progress of society;
- d) to give evidence of high ethical-professional awareness, objectiveness and spirit of responsibility in commendably exercising his profession, to respect the laws and state secrets, to militate unabatedly and under any circumstance for the triumph of the truth;
- e) to consistently observe the norms of socialist ethics and equity in life;
- f) to permanently improve his professional-political training and continuously expand his horizon of knowledge.

Article 41. In exercising his professional functions, the journalist is entitled to:

- a) request and receive information on behalf of state and public organs and organizations, economic and sociocultural units, and on behalf of juridical persons in keeping with the law;
- b) attend through accreditation the work sessions of the leadership organs in ministries and the other central and local organs of the state administration, those of public and mass organizations and of economic and sociocultural units;
- c) attend events and meetings of the working people at which they discuss problems of public interest;
- d) have access to reference and information sources in keeping with the law;
- e) enjoy the support of the relevant organs whenever the fulfillment of the office tasks require this;
- f) benefit from transportation and telecommunication facilities as stipulated by decision of the Council of Ministers, as well as from accommodation during travels, from access to sports and cultural events and from the supply of apparatus specific to this profession.

Article 42. The rights envisaged in Article 41 are exercised on the basis of the credentials issued to the journalist by the press organ he represents.

Article 43. The views expressed in the press do not have an official character, with the exception of those stated by organs or persons especially authorized for this purpose.

Article 44. The exercise of any pressure or action of intimidation against the journalist on behalf of anybody and of a nature to hamper him in his professional duties and to harm his social and professional prestige is prohibited. In fulfilling the tasks incumbent upon him, the journalist employed in the press activity enjoys the protection of the law.

Article 45. In press disputes caused as a result of the exercise of his office duties, the journalist is entitled also to be assisted by the representatives of the press organ, of his publisher or of his professional organization.

Article 46. The remuneration of the journalists' activity is done in keeping with the law.

The work schedule of the press is established in keeping with labor legislation and by considering the specific nature of this activity.

Article 47. Journalists can form professional organizations in keeping with the law.

Section 2. The Free Lance Journalist

Article 48. Journalistic activity can be performed by other workers, in the capacity of Free Lance journalists.

Free lance journalists are workers from industrial and agricultural units, in transportation and construction units, in socio-cultural, research, and educational institutions or from other fields of economic-social life who, without being employed on the editorial staffs of press organs, support the activity of these organs in carrying out their socio-political functions.

Article 49. In the units in which they work, the free lance journalists are in collectives which have the following functions:

- a) ensuring the publication of factory newspapers, flyers, wall newspapers, making radio broadcasts and other public information activity in the places where they carry out their work;
- b) collaborating with the central and local press organs to which they supply information, articles, and other journalistic materials dealing with political, economic, and cultural-educational activity in the units in which they work;
- c) participating in the distribution of the press in the respective units, contributing to the process of explaining to the workers the content of the principal materials published in the central and local newspapers.

The provisions of articles 40-42 also apply to the free lance journalists.

Section 3. The Establishment and Employment of the Journalist

Article 50. The following persons can be employed in the press and for editorial work:

- a) degree holders of the Faculty of Journalism;

b) degree holders of other higher educational institutes--after the legal period of specialized activity has been completed--who in their former activity proved their talent for the journalistic profession and who fulfill the requirements stipulated in Article 39, paragraph 2.

Degree holders from the Faculty of Journalism will work for 2 years in the editorial office where they have been assigned if before joining the faculty they did not work in the press at least for a period equal with the term. Up to its cancellation, the term is reduced in keeping with the period previously worked in the press.

Graduates of the Faculty of Journalism are able to attain their accreditation as professional journalists after they have completed their term in the press that is stipulated in the preceding paragraph; graduates of other higher educational institutes employed in the press after completing their legal term in their specialty can attain accreditation as professional journalists after having worked for 1 year in the editorial office.

The accreditation will include, besides the verification of the journalistic activity, examinations and tests in foreign languages, typing, shorthand, the use of a camera or a motion picture camera, sound recording means and telex.

If the accreditation test results are not satisfactory, the term of gaining experience in the editorial office will be prolonged by 1 year. Nonaccreditation leads to reassignment to another activity in keeping with the candidate's training or the canceling of the work contract in keeping with the law.

Article 51. The members of art unions and other persons with outstanding journalistic activity can request accreditation as journalists through the accreditation commission without being obliged to complete the term envisaged under Article 50.

Article 52. Freelance journalists from the ranks of the workers who are not employed on the editorial staffs of the press organs, who have special results in press activity--confirmed by material which has appeared and the favorable report on the part of the editorial staff or staffs with which they have collaborated--who meet the conditions provided in Article 50, paragraph 1, can present themselves for the accreditation examination without the obligation of completing the term in an editorial office.

Article 53. Accreditation as a professional journalist is approved by the accreditation commission, composed of representatives from the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the professional organization of journalists, and from the editorial board on which the respective person is working.

Article 54. Accreditation as a journalist confers the right to the issuance of journalist credentials and the exercise of the profession.

Journalist credentials are issued by the accreditation commission. The record of the journalist credentials is kept by the Council for Socialist Culture and Education.

Article 55. During his term, the journalist has the rights and duties of an established journalist, this being recognized on the basis of the credentials issued by the editorial office he is working for.

Article 56. In cooperation with the professional organization, the editorial board insures the improvement of the journalists' professional training in keeping with legal provisions.

Article 57. The studies and length of service requires for being employed and promoted in press activity are those established in the legal provisions.

Article 58. The length of work in journalism by journalists who have another professional qualification will apply in the specialty they come from if their journalistic activity concerns this specialty.

Specialists employed as journalists will have the time spent in their basic specialty applied toward work in the press once they have been confirmed as journalists and if they carry on their journalistic activity in that specialty or a similar one.

Journalists who have been confirmed in their profession and who have been transferred to other fields of activity to carry out duties for which they have been nominated or selected, upon returning to press activity will get credit for work during the entire period of their absence; they will further benefit from the rights conferred by law to the profession of journalist.

Article 59. The grave or systematic violation by the journalist of his duties or professional ethics will incur the temporary or final withdrawal of the journalists credentials and his transfer to another activity in keeping with the law.

The withdrawal of the journalists credentials is decided by the organs which issued them and at the proposal of the press organ.

Chapter V. The Press Activity

Section 1. The Relations of the Press With State Organs and Organizations and With Public Organizations

Article 60. State organs, enterprises and institutions, as well as mass and public organizations, will supply the press with information of public interest regarding their activity and in keeping with the law and will assist journalists in conformity with Articles 41 and 42 in the present law.

Article 61. An exception to the provisions of Articles 41 and 60 are the data and information of any nature which are secret by law, as well as those referring to private aspects of personal life.

Article 62. The leaders of socialist units will answer demands and questions from the press and will invite the press representatives accredited to the respective socialist organizations to attend meetings of the collective leadership organs at which problems of public interest are being discussed.

Central state organs, central organs of mass and public organizations, as well as executive committees of the county people's councils and of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council will nominate spokesmen for matters regarding current relations with the press.

Article 63. Press organs do not have to reveal the sources of information to those in question, information on the basis of which they had worked out their material and published it. Unrevealed sources are a professional secret.

Article 64. State organs, enterprises and institutions, as well as mass and public organizations, must reply in writing to the press organ within 30 days from the date of receipt of the communication containing critical opinions expressed by the press on their activity.

Article 65. In exercising their profession and in view of certain actions of public interest, journalists are entitled to install visual, audio or recording apparatus in enterprises, institutions, halls or other public places, gratis, and upon the approval of their management and without disturbing the normal process of the activity in the respective unit.

Section 2. Relations Between the Press Organs and Citizens

Article 66. In fulfilling their sociopolitical functions, the press organs are assisted by a large aktiv of freelance journalists from among the ranks of the working people in all fields of socio-economic life.

Article 67. Any physical or juridical person is entitled to appeal to the press organs regarding any problem of public interest or nature, and to voice opinions, make proposals, give information and lodge complaints.

The press organs must either publicize them as such or make use of them for their own articles or broadcasts or forward them to the organ or organization which in keeping with its legal duties has the capability and obligation to resolve them. It is the latter's duty to inform the press organ within 30 days of what measures have been taken. Within 15 days the press organ will then inform the person who appealed to it about the answer it has received.

Article 68. The press must take a firm attitude against any person who hampers the exercise of the right to criticism regardless of the functions he holds.

Section 3. The Protection of the Society's and People's Interests Against the Misuse of the Right to Publish in the Press

Article 69. Freedom of the press cannot be used for purposes which are contrary to the socialist system, the legal order established by the Constitution and the other laws, contrary to the rights and interests of physical and juridical persons and to socialist morality.

In protecting the interests of society and persons against the misuse of the right to publish in the press, the publication and distribution in the press of the following materials is prohibited. Materials which:

- a) are contrary to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania;
- b) contain attacks against the socialist system, the principles of the domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Socialist Republic of Romania;
- c) calumniate the party-state leadership;
- d) release secret information, data or documents defined as such by law;
- e) include false or alarmist information and commentaries which threaten or disturb public order or are dangerous to state security;
- f) lead to nonobservance of the state's laws or to deeds which constitute infractions;
- g) propagate fascist, obscurantist and antihumanitarian ideas; make chauvinistic propaganda and stir racial or national hatred, lead to violence or harm national feelings;
- h) are harmful to good manners or incite persons to violate the norms of social ethics and coexistence;
- i) supply information about legal processes that are being resolved and anticipate the decisions that will be made by the juridical organs;
- j) include untrue data or facts of a nature to harm the legitimate interests, the dignity, honor or reputation of a person, his social or professional prestige or by which insults or calumnies are expressed or threats are made to a person.

Article 70. The responsibility for the observance of the provisions of Article 69 by each press organ lies with the managing council, the editorial board, and the chief editor of the organ.

Article 71. In the case of the violation of the provisions of Article 69, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education can order the suspension of dissemination until a definite decision has been made by the organs concerned or the courts, as needs be.

Article 72. The physical or juridical person harmed by assertions made in the press which he believes to be untrue can, within 30 days, ask that the press organ in question publish or disseminate an answer under the form of a retort, correction, or statement.

The answer must be objective and must aim at reestablishing the truth.

Objective, principled, and constructive criticism exercised by the press in fulfilling its sociopolitical function is not considered harmful.

Article 73. The press organ is obliged to publish the answer gratis and in keeping with the preceding article within 15 days after its receipt if the organ is a daily, and at the latest in the second issue after the receipt of the answer if the organ is not a daily.

Article 74. The refusal to publish or disseminate an answer in keeping with Article 73 is made known to the harmed person within 15 days from the receipt of the notification from this person.

Nonpublication or nondissemination of the response within the time limit envisaged in the preceding article is viewed as a refusal, even if it has not been made known in keeping with paragraph 1.

Article 75. In the cases envisaged in the preceding article, the harmed person can ask the judge's office to oblige the press organ in question to publish or disseminate the answer.

If the judge's office finds out that the refusal is unjustified, it obliges the press organ to publish or disseminate the answer within 15 days, which are calculated from the date of the final decision made by the judge.

In the case envisaged in the preceding paragraph, the publication or dissemination of the answer is carried out by mentioning that it has been done upon a court decision mentioning its number and date and the court which issued it.

Article 76. The journalist is fully responsible for the observance of the provisions in Article 69 both in his own published materials and in those for whose publication he is responsible within the framework of his office duties.

The journalist is responsible for the exactness of the information and data supplied, for their objective interpretation, for keeping state secrets and professional and office secrets.

The same responsibility falls on freelance journalists who are not employed by the press organ and who publish under their signature, grant interviews, supply information or data meant for publication under any form.

Article 77. The chief editor is responsible for the violation of the provisions of the present law by those mentioned in the preceding article if their deeds were possible through the nonfulfillment or inappropriate fulfillment of his office duties.

The chief editor is also responsible when the disseminated press material which violates professional duties, according to the provisions of the preceding article, is not signed, if the press material was disseminated without the author's approval or if there is an obstacle, of any nature, preventing the author from answering and the obstacle is known to the chief editor.

Chapter VI. International Cooperation in the Press Field

Section 1. Romanian Press Activity Abroad

Article 78. In fulfilling its sociopolitical function, the Romanian press militates for developing relations with the press in other countries in keeping with the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 79. The press organs and organizations, the professional organization of journalists--the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania--can conclude, under conditions of the law, agreements, conventions, and understandings for cooperation with press organs and organizations from other countries or with international press organizations.

Article 80. In the spirit of the basic principles of the foreign policy of the party and state, the press organs and organizations, the professional organization of journalists--the Council of Journalists--contributes, by specific means, to the popularization abroad of the achievements of the Romanian people in all fields, to making the domestic and foreign policy of socialist Romania known abroad.

For this purpose, the press organs and organizations, the professional organization of journalists--the Council of Journalists--organize international meetings and actively participate in actions organized by international press organizations or other unions; they organize exchanges of journalists for documentation with similar organizations in other countries; they organize exchanges of publications and press materials.

Article 81. The press organs and organizations can send temporary representatives abroad to produce press material designed to inform public opinion in the Socialist Republic of Romania. They can also accredit permanent correspondents abroad.

Article 82. The Romanian correspondents and representatives abroad must militate for relations of cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the countries in which they are carrying on their activity, must objectively inform Romanian public opinion about the problems and state of affairs in the respective country and observe that country's laws.

Section 2. Foreign Press Correspondents in the Socialist Republic of Romania

Article 83. Foreign press organs and organizations can dispatch representatives as permanent or temporary correspondents to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Permanent correspondents are accredited with the approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the basis of the applications forwarded in writing to it by the press organs and organizations concerned.

Article 84. In exercising their functions in the Socialist Republic of Romania, foreign press correspondents enjoy the support of the Romanian authorities in attaining the needed documentary material from the authorized persons and institutions so that they can carry on their activity under good conditions.

Foreign press correspondents are able to pay information visits, conduct talks, hold interviews and participate in actions of a national or international nature.

Foreign press correspondents carry out their activity in observance of the laws of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Section 3. The Distribution of the Foreign Press in Romania and of the Romanian Press Abroad

Article 85. Under the present law, the foreign press is considered to be the means of public information stipulated in Article 5, which is printed, duplicated and recorded abroad in a foreign language or in the Romanian language, as well as that which is printed, duplicated and recorded in Romania by foreign publishers or upon their order.

Article 86. The introduction of foreign press for distribution or its sale is done by permit and is carried out by enterprises and institutions designed for this purpose.

Exempt from permit are the publications of the United Nations and its specialized institutions.

Article 87. The diplomatic offices in the Socialist Republic of Romania can print and distribute, upon the approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, information and documentary press material which serve to make known the respective office they represent.

Article 88. The distribution of the following foreign press is prohibited:

- a) that which is contrary to the provisions of Article 69;
- b) that which is introduced in the country for distribution or sale without the approval of the enterprises and institutions especially authorized for import and distribution of foreign press.

Article 89. The distribution abroad of the Romanian press is done directly by the publishers or by the press organs by observing the legal provisions regarding foreign trade relations and press distribution.

The press export that is being achieved by the authorized and specialized organizations and institutions will take place on trade bases and within the framework of foreign trade contracts.

Publishers and press organs can exchange international publications and radio-television broadcasts or films on noncommercial bases and within the limit of established ceilings.

Chapter VII. Punishments

Article 90. Violation of the provisions of this law entails, as the case may be, disciplinary, material, civil, restrictive or penal responsibility.

Article 91. The following actions are considered to be petty offenses if they are not carried out under conditions which make them infractions under the penal law:

- a) when press representatives are hampered in any manner in carrying out their professional duties in keeping with the provisions of the present law;
- b) when information and data which are known not to be true are supplied to the press or for publication in the press;
- c) the persecution under any form of those who have contributed to informing the press or have expressed their critical opinions in the press, as well as pressure or other act of intimidation exercised over these persons;
- d) the failure to communicate, unjustifiably, the answer to the critical opinions expressed in the press within the time limit envisaged in the law and in keeping with Article 62;
- e) the introduction of foreign press for distribution under conditions other than those envisaged in Article 82;
- f) the change of the price per copy or subscription without observing legal provisions.

The petty offenses envisaged under the present article draw fines from 1,000 up to 5,000 lei.

Article 92. The verification of the offenses stipulated in article 91 is made by persons empowered to do so by the Council for Socialist Culture and Education which notifies the responsible organs, with a view to the application of the measures provided by law.

Complaints can be lodged against the report on the offense within 15 days from its communication; the complaint is resolved by the judge's office in the area where the offense took place.

If not otherwise stipulated by this law, the offenses envisaged under Article 91 fall under the provisions of law No 32/1968 regarding the determination and punishment of offenses.

Article 93. The nonpublication and nondistribution of the answer owed to a physical or juridical person upon which a final decision had been made by a judge in keeping with Article 75 will oblige the press organ to pay a fine to the state of 200 to 1,000 lei for each day of delay.

If the press organ can prove that the delay is due to justified reasons, the judge can cancel the fine.

Article 94. The printing, recording or broadcasting of graphic or audio material, material from a tape or a film designed to be used as means of public information, without having legal authority to do so, is an infraction and is punished with a 3 months to 2 years imprisonment or with a fine.

Article 95. In the case of actions envisaged by the penal law for which a penal law-suit is started upon the complaint of the harmed person--if the action was taken by the press--the preliminary complaint will be addressed to the organ for penal proceedings and the infraction will be tried by the judge's office.

The withdrawal of the complaint eliminates penal responsibility.

Article 96. When the person who has committed an infraction in the press is punished by imprisonment, the exercise of the profession of journalism and functions in the press field can be prohibited in keeping with the provisions of Article 115 of the penal code.

Chapter VIII. Final and Transitional Provisions

Article 97. Bulletins and the other publications of an internal or office nature, school children's reviews, as well as amateur cultural activities utilizing the press as their means of expression are organized, develop and are managed in keeping with the rules established by the relevant state or public organs in their branch or field of activity.

Article 98. The publications of the cults and religious faiths are organized, guided and managed in keeping with their own statutes approved by the law.

Article 99. The provisions of Article 69 are applicable for all printed or duplicated, recorded or broadcast material, or material made known to the public under any form of communication by any person, organization or institution.

Article 100. It is the duty of the press organs to insure that within a maximum of 4 years the editorial staff employed on the date when this law came into force is in keeping with requirements regarding the studies and professional training envisaged under Article 39.

Exceptions to these conditions are journalists who on the date when this law came into force have less than 10 years remaining to retirement age. Those whose journalistic experience exceeds 20 years will be able to continue in the profession of journalism without meeting the requirements of training envisaged under Article 39.

Those journalists who have less than 2 years experience in the editorial office on the date this law came into force can take the accreditation examination after they have fulfilled the term envisaged under Article 50.

Article 101. The provisions of the present law come into force 30 days after publication in the Official Bulletin of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

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ROMANIA

EMIGRE PRESS DESCRIBES PASSIVE, ACTIVE 'ANTIWORK' TACTICS

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian
1, 16 Nov 77

/Article by Vasile Lazar/

/1 Nov 77, p 2/

/Text/ In their 2,000 years of history the Romanian people have shown that they know the value of work. In 1944, however, the invaders, the Russians, came and brought with them a foreign concept of work and they placed their flunkys to govern the country, the ones who never had worked: tramps, lazy ones, gangsters. The ones who established the base for the communist party. That is how the idea of anti-work was born in Romania. We can't find the concept of "anti-work" in the dictionary. It is not a concept for the dictionary. It was used by communists to enslave the peoples of Eastern Europe and today is used to weaken the western peoples. There, however, also can be a reverse to anti-work-- the weapon of struggle against dictatorship and communist exploitation.

In Romania anti-work has meant destruction of the national economy, expropriation, uncultivated land, factories which did not operate, millions of people who endured hunger, people herded like cattle to meetings, street demonstrations, the shouting of slogans, the yelling of communist gangs, the promoting of stupidity, cheating and robbery, the establishment of general misery. Through anti-work the Bucharest Sovrom was aided in achieving its goal: establishing the RCP dictatorship. This hateful dictatorship installed its people in power, created a class of masters, managers, stupid ones, illiterates, even imbeciles, unfit persons, lazy ones, grabbers and traitors of the country. However, the masters had to live and live well. To gorge themselves. Plus to give the Soviets as well as the international communist anarchy. Work was required but, of course, not from them.

They are the masters. Let the people work! However, the people do not want to work! Today the people are using anti-work with a proven anticommunist character. And anti-work is proving to be the most effective weapon of economic struggle against communist oppression. On one hand, anti-work achieves blocking further bleeding of the people and enrichment of the oppressor class and it is making them think about the revenge of the people, a revenge which surely will come; on the other hand, it hinders the economic, military and political strengthening of the Soviet bloc.

The Romanian people are applying anti-work in the most varied ways, which can be included in two large groups: passive and active anti-work. Passive anti-work means general passiveness toward anything connected with carrying out orders and laws of the RCP and its state and isolating the party and state and their activists and organs, respectively. The peasantry is carrying out anti-work and has been since the beginning of forced collectivization. The workers are pretending they work and actually are working slowly, they are refusing work operations with shifts, they are "pulling legs," they are going to work late, they are taking sick leave, they are retiring. Office workers are not solving bureaucratic acts and are slow in resolving them. Scientists and people in culture are producing hardly anything.

They go to work avoiding work for various reasons: a lack of a certain material, a lack of plan, outline, there is a meeting and so forth.

They are stopping any kind of initiative, innovation, invention, rationalization.

The army, schools and universities are working slowly and with much absenteeism.

In the next issue we will show how active anti-work is manifested; this is the most effective thing in the Romanian people's struggle against the communist dictatorship in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

/16 Nov 77, p 12/

/Text/ Active anti-work is manifested in this way: Discrediting party and state activists; avoiding them and not allowing them in social circles, circles of friends and so forth; demoralization of those carrying out party and state orders and defying them; unmasking RCP agents and state agents; tendentiously producing poor quality products, particularly those for export, in order to bring rejection of them and thus have a large number of

rejects and big amounts of waste remain in domestic consumption; tendentiously hindering the reduction in consumption of raw materials and materials, massive wasting; the destruction of raw materials and materials; the breakdown of machinery, holding back imported parts, disruptions in the energy system which rob electrical energy for the communist bloc, disruptions in the high tension network, disruptions in the thermal electric centrals in plants; a large variety of sabotage which leads to catastrophes for the communist regime; for example, the lock at the Iron Gates being out of repair for a year, the fire in the Pitești refinery, the explosion at the Brasov Tractor Plant, the explosions at the Turnu Severin naval shipyard and so forth.

The railroad: the disrepair of electrical orders from regional controllers, disrepair of diesel and electric locomotives, breakdowns of freight trains, pulling the train alarm signal, holding cars and trains back, writing mobilizing slogans on the cars.

Motor transport: disrepair of trucks, holding spare parts back, poor quality repairs, exceeding fuel consumption.

Strikes: partial, total, through not reporting at enterprises or occupying enterprises or mines.

The revolt of peasants of various villages and collective farms and the revolt of worker groups in enterprises. Breakdown of the supply system and not executing the enterprise's contracts. Not turning over the agricultural quotas and not carrying out the forced contracts to hand over agricultural products to the state. Disrepair of silos. Not collecting the harvest. Not having the machine stations plough the land. Disrepair of tractors and other agricultural machinery.

Doing personal work in the enterprises and with the enterprise's material. Taking material needed for household work. Keeping agricultural products from the ploughed lands needed to feed the people. Placing obstacles for the export of agricultural products and clothing.

The "black market" among inhabitants of Romania and between them and foreign tourists. Reports with mistakes, erroneous decisions in the leadership of enterprises and offices. Instigating people to anti-work. Notices, graffiti on walls, cars, word of mouth.

Anti-work is carried out individually and on a mass basis, spontaneously and in an organized way. The RCP is receiving the reply of a people chained to a sinister dictatorship.

The party knows all these demonstrations and can act only through laws, decisions and decrees in order to cope with the population's demonstrations.

Ceausescu has found that those guilty of this state of affairs are the party activists. But these activists are also doing anti-work under the cover of the position they have in the party. Thousands of decisions and orders are issued during the year in order to cope with the passive as well as active anti-work, but without results.

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RECIPIENTS OF ACADEMY HONORS FOR 1975 ANNOUNCED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Nov 77 p 5

[Article: "The 1975 Awards of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania"]

[Text] The awarding of prizes by the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania for the 1975 year, took place on Tuesday, Nov 29.

Among the participants were members of the Academy's presidium, members of science academies, leadership personnel and other specialists of central research institutes, as well as personalities of our scientific and cultural life.

Academician Serban Titeica, Vice-president of the Academy, delivered the address at the opening festivities.

MATHEMATICS: The "Gheorghe Lazar" Award--a) The set of works "Contributions to the theory of integral equations for dissipative materials and to the theory of propagation of non-linear wavelengths." Author: Ion Suliciu; --b) The set of works "Contributions in the area of generalized mechanics of transformable solids with linear elastic characteristics." Author: Nicolae Sandru.

The "Simion Stoilov" Award--a) "The discrete, weak convergence of solutions with unequal variables." Author: Elena Stroescu; --b) "The Von Neumann algebra lectures." Authors: Serban Stratila, Laszlo Zsido.

The "Gheorghe Titeica" Award--a) "Introduction to combinatorics." Author: Ioan Tomescu; --b) "The Taylor spectrum and spectral decomposition." Author: Stefan Frunza; --c) "Monogeneous functions in commutative algebra." Author: Marcel N. Rosculet.

PHYSICS: The "Constantin Miculescu" Award--a) "Contributions to the study of plasma characteristics produced in air with the aid of laser beams." Authors: Ileana D. Apostol, Dumitru Dragulinescu, Constantin Grigoriu, V. I. Konov, Ion N. Mihailescu, Ion Morjan, Alexandru Nitoi, Ion M. Popescu, Vasile S. Tatu, Mircea Udrea.

The "Dragomir Hurmuzescu" Award--a) The cycle of works regarding the improvement of nuclear reactors. Authors: Margarit Pavelescu, Horia Dumitrescu, Sanda Adam, Simion Ghilea; --b) The set of works regarding the magnetic characteristics of solid materials. Authors: Nicolae Angelescu, Mircea Bundaru, Gheorghe Ciobanu, D. T. Prasad, Voicu Dolocan, S. M. Chander.

CHEMISTRY: The "Nicolae Teclu" Award--a) "Terpolimer technology based on ethyl-dipropylene." Authors: Nicolae Tudorache, Trandafir Balan, Maria Margineanu, Paula Lebeda, Elena Mihailaescu, Cornelia Ivascu; --b) "Liquid sulphuric polymer technology." Authors: Mircea Corciovei, Lorica Duzinschi, Steliana Florescu, Constantin Cristea.

The "Gheorghe Spacu" Award--a) "Production technology of ethylene copolymers with di-n-butylmaleate and di-2-ethyl-hexylmaleate." Authors: Constantin Andrei, Victoria Tomescu, Marin Costea, Stelain Drugan; --b) "Production technology of dicalcic phosphate fodder from concentrated phosphoric acid." Authors: Emil Ionescu, Laurentia Cristescu, Constantin Simionescu, Gheorghe Lorincz, Ion Tincu; --c) "Procedure for obtaining etanolamines." Author: Alexandrina Weidenbacher.

TECHNICAL: The "Aurel Vlaicu" Award--a) The set of works: "Research on the thermodynamics and kinetics of heterogeneous systems in processing nonferrous metals." Authors: Florea Ioan, Oprea, Dragos Ioan Taloi, Petru Petru Moldovan, Nicaolae Ioan Panait, Nagy Elemer Iozsef; --b) "Resistance and feasibility in variable solicitations." Author: Dragos Cioclov. The "Traian Vuia" Award--a) "The effects of wind, snow and temperature on structures based upon the theory of probability." Authors: Dan Ghiocel, Dan Lungu; --b) "The calculation method of the MC8 microcalculator." Authors: Adrian Petrescu, Trandafir Moisa, Nicolae Tepus.

BIOLOGY: The "Emil Racovita" Award--a) "The activity mechanism of steroid hormones." Author: Alexandru D. Abraham; --b) "The genetics of cell division." Authors: Lucian Gavrila, Ion Dabala. The "Emanoil Teodorescu" Award--a) "Vegetation cover in the Siriu Mountains." Author: Gheorghe Dihoru; --b) "The biology of plant cells." Author: Gheorghe Acatrinei.

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY: The "Ion Ionescu de la Brad" Award--a) "Autumn rice strain Mirage 1." Authors: Lazar C. Draghici, Alexandru Dragos, Grigore Bude.

The "Traian Savulescu" Award--a) "Plant viruses and virosis." Author: Ioan V. Pop; --b) "Improvement of the main forest species." Author: Valeriu Enescu.

GEOLOGY, GEOPHYSICS, AND GEOGRAPHY: The "Gheorghe Murgoci" Award--a) "Geophysical study of andesite bodies from Rosia-Poieni and Bucium-Tarnita (Metallic Mountains) with the aid of a source model of potential fields."

Author: Justin Andrei; --b) "Research program of mining and drilling works of the gravimetric and magnetic anomalies outlined in the Baia Sprie-Suior zone, in the Maramures district." Authors: Sotiris Fotopolos, Oscar Edelstein, Dieter Hannich, Aurelian Stefanoiu, Emanuel Chaim.
The "Grigore Cobalecesu" Award--a) "Atlas--The complex management plan of the Upper Mures hydrographic basin." Authors: Florin Lazarescu, Gheorghe Harja, Nicolae Petrescu, Boris Alexa, Teodor Gutu, Justin Handra, Tiberiu Nits, Nicoale Popescu, Mihai Stancu, Paul Steganoiu, Dumitru Teaci.

MEDICINE: The "Victor Babes" Award--a) "Calcium in the human body." Authors: Liviu Gozariu, Rodica Dascalu; --b) "The vegetarian nervous system." Author: Ion Haulica; --c) "Acute hepatic insufficiency." Author: Ludovic Paun.
The "Gheorghe Marinescu" Award--a) "Guidance speed in peripheral nerves under normal and pathological circumstances." Author: Constantin Vasilescu; --b) "Dental prothesis." Authors: Eugen Costa, Lucian Ene, Stelica Dumitrescu.

ECONOMY AND SOCIOLOGY: The "Petre S. Aurelian" Award--a) "Problems of work force reproduction." Author: Constantin Enache.

PHILOSOPHY, PSYCHOLOGY AND JUDICIAL SCIENCES: The "Simion Barnutiu" Award --a) "International Trade Law." Author: Tudor R. Popescu; --b) "Sociology, politics and ideology." Author: Nicoale Kallos; --c) "Finance Law." Author: Ioan Gliga.

HISTORY: The "Nicolae Balcescu" Award--a) "Documenta Romaniae Historica B"--"Wallachia," vol 11 (1593-1601). Mihai Viteazu's reign. Authors: Marieta Adam, Constantin Balan, Sasa Caracas, Ruxandra Camarescu, Olimpia Diaconescu, Coralia Fotino, Maria Balan; --b) "Documenta Romaniae Historica A"--"Moldavia," vol 1 (1384-1448). Authors: Constantin Cihodaru, Ion Caprosu, Leon Simanschi; --c) "Historical sources of the Germans in Transylvania." Author: Gustav Gundisch.
The "Vasile Parvan" Award--a) "Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae."--"Byzantium scriptures, 11-14 centuries." Authors: Alexandru Elian, Nicolae Serban Tanasoca; --b) "Burebista and his times." Author: Ion Horatiu Crisan.
The "Stefan Gheorghiu" Award--a) "The agrarian reform of 1921 in Romania." Author: Dumitru Sandru; --b) "Transylvania's peasantry at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th." Author: Acatiu Eged.
The "Nicolae Iorga" Award--a) "The techniques of grain production in Wallachia and Moldavia up to the 18th century." Author: Vasile Neamtu; --b) "Contributions regarding country education in Wallachia up to the second half of the 19th century." Author: Gheorghe Isclu.

PHILOLOGY, LITERATURE AND ART: The "Timotei Cipariu" Award--a) "Abstract of Romanian dialectology (North and South of the Danube)." Author: Matilda Caragiu-Marioteanu; --b) "Historical dictionary of Hungarian lexicon in Transylvania," vol 1. Author: Attila T. Szabo.

The "Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu" Award--a) "Romanian fantasy prose." Author: Sergiu Pavel Dan; --b) "Junimist literary criticism (1864-1885)." Author: Dan Manuca.

The "Mihai Eminescu" Award--a) "Description of the tower." Author: Gellu Naum.

The "Ion Creanga" Award--a) "The equal road of each day." Author: Gabriela Adamesteanu.

The "Ion Luca Caragiale" Award--a) "Contemporary Romanian theater, 1944-1974." Author: The Art History Institute collective and other collaborators, coordinated by: Simion Alterescu.

The "Ciprian Porumbescu" Award--a) "Fundamental principles in music theory." Author: Victor Giuleanu; --b) "Music and esthetics." Author: Istvan Angi.

The "George Enescu" Award--a) "Tristia." Author: Theodor Grigoriu; --b) "The engagement" and "Waves." Author: Nicolae Brindus.

The "Ion Andreescu" Award--a) The monument of Steven the Great (erected at Podul Inalt--Vaslui). Author: Mircea Stefanescu.

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